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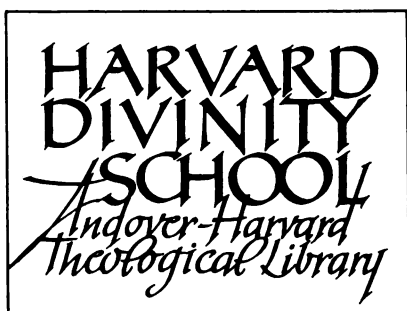
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THE
CLASSICAL JOURNAL:

FOR
SEPTEMBER AND DECEMBER, 1821.

VOL. XXIV.

*Ὁ φίλος, εἰ σοφὸς εἴ, λάβε μ' ἐς χεῖρας· εἰ δέ γε πάμπαν
Νῆϊς ἔφους Μουσέων, ῥήψον ἄ μὴ νοέεις.

EPIGR. INCERT.

T

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1821.

ERRATA.

IN NO. XLV.

- P. 23.** l. 6. for *heremes* read *haremes*
l. 7. for do. do.
l. 2. from bottom, for *on* read *or*
25. l. 6. for ~~TNE~~ read ~~DNE~~

IN NO. XLVI.

- P. 383.** l. 23. particularly
l. 28. in No. 48.
l. 30. author of the article in No. 44.
l. last. Mr. B., wounded to the quick as his
feelings must have been, has expressed—

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TO THE BINDER.

Place the Oblong Zodiac of *Dendera* opposite page 251.

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THE
CLASSICAL JOURNAL. 1821
Nº. XLVII.

SEPTEMBER, 1821.

ON THE
**ORIGIN, PROGRESS, PREVALENCE, AND
DECLINE OF IDOLATRY.**

BY THE REV. GEORGE TOWNSEND.

PART V.—[*Continued from No. XLVI. p. 341.*]

SECTION VII.—*Origin of Oracles.*

IT seems necessary that some notice should be taken of another subject, from its intimate connexion with the history of the ancient Idolatry—"the Origin of Oracles among the Heathen Nations." I do not wish to enforce my opinion as entirely correct, yet I cannot but think it is as well supported by internal evidence, as the generality of those positions which are not warranted by direct testimony.

The Levitical law was not a collection of arbitrary and positive enactments, which were imposed for the first time by Moses, and the greater part of which had been utterly unknown before; it was a renewal of the patriarchal ritual and worship, with such changes, omissions, and additions, as were suited to the circumstances of the tribes of Israel, on their leaving Egypt and commencing their wanderings in the wilderness! A minute resemblance, or more properly an entire coincidence, is proved to have existed in many respects between the Patriarchal and Levitical ritual and worship, by every proof and testimony which can possibly be collected on the subject. Our best divines are, I believe, unanimous on the point. There has ever existed a wonderful similarity between the customs of those nations, who pretend to great antiquity, the religious code of the Jewish law.

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giver, and the early patriarchal notions. Such books as Burder's *Oriental Customs*; Harmer's *Observations*; Ward's *History of the Hindoos*, &c. &c. abound with the most ample confirmation of this fact. To mention only a few out of many, the Hindoos give permission to a husband to marry a second wife, if the first prove barren; wives are chosen from the branches of their own families who may live at a distance, rather than from among strangers, with whom they may have contracted habits of friendship; a goat is frequently permitted to run wild, as if consecrated; the first-born are often devoted to their gods. The Hindoo laws relating to personal cleanliness are nearly, sometimes exactly, similar to those prescribed by Moses. Like the Hebrew Nazarites, the Hindoos offer their hair; and many other minor, as well as more important coincidences, may be added. Stronger evidence than these instances afford, to prove the early identity between the Patriarchal and Mosaic Religion, is found in the singular fact, that the ancient Egyptians had so many enactments among them similar to those afterwards appointed by Moses; so many indeed, that Dr. Spencer wrote his celebrated treatise *De Legibus Hebræorum*, to prove that the Israelites borrowed from the Egyptians; I need not observe that Spencer's reasoning has been long known to be fallacious. Unless too there were some decided resemblance between the Patriarchal religion, and the worship of the surrounding idolatrous nations, on what "known principle of the human mind," to use the celebrated expression of Mr. Gibbon, can we account for the frequent lapses of the Jews into idolatry? Even immediately after their deliverance from the Red Sea, when that most stupendous miracle, the parting of the waters, was still fresh in their memory, we find they complied with the invitations of the first idolatrous tribe they came near, and sacrificed to Baal Meon. To express his abhorrence of their crime, Moses changed the word into Baal Peor; and Mr. Faber has certainly given us a most ingenious solution of the reasons which influenced the newly delivered Israelites to comply with this worship. He proves that the traditional religion was the same, and the Jews were only led to comply with the idolatrous additions which had been made to the original patriarchal ritual, in consequence of their agreeing in opinion with the idolaters, on the several points of faith, common to both religions. I shall close this paragraph with one additional proof, deduced from the narrative of Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzclarence. The plan of the temple of Solomon was the same as that of the Tabernacle in the wilderness. In his progress through India, Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzclarence

came to the immense temple of Keylas; and from the description he has given of it; it was undoubtedly formed on the very same plan, which Lightfoot has proved with his profound learning to have been the plan of the temple at Jerusalem. The temple at Keylas has been deserted for ages; its origin is unknown even to the natives. It is only known to have existed from the most remote antiquity, and to have once been the object of great veneration through the whole of India. Its extent, and grandeur, prove that it must have been a national work. It was either built before or after the temple at Jerusalem; if after, we should certainly have some records of it; if before, as is most likely; it was formed after the plan of the tabernacle, and the plan must have been known therefore to other nations besides the Hebrews.

It will now be asked, what is the connexion between these desultory remarks and the origin of the heathen Oracles. If there was such a coincidence between the chief circumstances of the Levitical and Patriarchal ritual on the one hand; and between the original customs of the early nations, and uncorrupted patriarchy on the other; it will necessarily follow, that it is possible, and probable, that the peculiar characteristic of the ancient religion of the Jews was common also to the religion of the Patriarchs, and known therefore in the first ages among the primitive settlements of mankind. Oracular responses were evidently delivered in some mysterious manner from the adyta, the penetralia, or the holy of holies, both of the temple at Jerusalem and the tabernacle in the wilderness. The Patriarchal worshippers too, as is repeatedly related in the book of Genesis, are said to have gone to enquire of the Lord, that is, to consult the oracle, in the appointed way, in their own places of worship. Thus Rebekah (Gen. xxv. 22.) went to enquire of the Lord; and the Lord said to her, &c.: the answer was a prophecy of the future destiny of her children. In what manner the oracular responses were given, we cannot certainly tell: divines have enumerated several modes in which God imparted his will to mankind in the early ages of uncorrupted truth; and it is certain that the knowledge of Religion, while men were still few, must have been universal; and that so long as they continued to preserve the faith of Noah, to whatever part of the globe they might have retired from Nachshevan, there, according to his promise, the God of Revelation would be with them. Wherever the respective families of the sons of Noah proceeded they carried with them the useful and innocent memorials of the deluge, and the traditions and religion of their ancestors; they would ea-

tablish also their respective places of worship in groves, on hills, in caverns, or in plains. They would for a time worship the true God. So long as they preserved the purity of their faith, oracular responses would be given; and though these tokens of the divine presence would be withdrawn as they gradually became infected with the corruptions of the encroaching idolatry; the veneration for the places where these oracular responses had been delivered would remain for ages. It would be perverted, as indeed it uniformly was perverted, to the purposes of priestcraft; but the impression would not be entirely lost, till the light of reason, rekindled by the renewed revelation, had exposed the absurdity, and silenced the pretensions of the imposture. All this appears so very theoretical, that it ought to be rejected by every sober-minded reader, unless the whole hypothesis shall appear to be confirmed by undoubted facts.

The Oracle of Dodona was the most celebrated in all Greece. Though the testimony of Herodotus is not of much value on this point, both on account of the late period in which he flourished, and the very contradictory and absurd tales which he so gravely relates, and which were evidently of later origin; yet Homer and Hesiod mention Dodona, as a sacred place, having its holy grove, &c. &c. Hesychius tells us, it was once called Hella: it seems to have been venerated from the earliest ages, and its oracle was consulted, it is said, before any temple was built. Though the exact situation of Dodona is not known, some placing it in Thessaly, others in Epirus, Thesprotia, &c. &c., yet it is generally acknowledged to have been in the northern part of Greece, and to have been consecrated to Dodonæan Jove.

I refer to the learned Joseph Mede, book i. Disc. 50., to the writers collected in Poole's Synopsis, to Bochart, and others, to prove that Dodonim the son of Javan, the son of Japhet, established his family in that part of Greece. Though Mr. Faber has wrought up all his materials with great ingenuity into one magnificent theory, yet the very perfection to which he has brought his hypothesis, is with me one chief reason for suspecting the solidity of some part of the structure. A systematising spirit, says Sir Wm. Jones, is not friendly to the discovery of truth. Mr. Faber would take the whole of the families of the sons of Noah to Shinar, and thence disperse them. I cannot but think with Mede, Sheringham, Sulpicius Severus, and a long list of others, that mankind dispersed quietly to their respective settlements, that Dodanim the son of Noah, of whom we are now more particularly speaking, retired to the north of Greece; and there

established the patriarchal religion, and worshipped the true God; and possibly, at least during his own life, oracular responses were given in the mode appointed in those early ages by the giver of Revelation. His descendants relapsed into idolatry. The oracle ceased; the place was venerated; interested men perverted that veneration to their own purposes; till accident, or revolution, or the increase of knowledge, overthrow the whole system of priestcraft and deception.

We might trace the early histories of the oracles of Delphi, Amphiaraus, Ammon, Trophonius, and others; and through the corruptions of subsequent ages we should undoubtedly find the remnant of the pure Patriarchal religion, however afterwards corrupted and perverted.

The history of Micah, as related in the book of Judges, appears to be a complete history of the manner in which these oracles were established by the heads of families and tribes. No religion was properly established and enforced, because the several tribes had not taken possession of their appointed homes. Micah therefore resolved to set up a place of worship in his own house. He made his son, (the interpreters say his eldest son,) a priest, and united with the worship of Jehovah, the veneration of graven images. The tabernacle, or chapel, or place set apart for worship, was made on the plan of the tabernacle at Shiloh. He consulted the Teraphim, and an enigmatical answer was returned. We may justly conclude, that as the giver of Revelation was pleased to communicate his will to man in those ages, by oracular responses, the answer which Micah would have received, if his worship had been pure, would have been decided, and directory. There is a mystery and difficulty in the whole history, which I am anxious to see entirely solved. The Danites consult the Oracle. Micah had engaged a Levite to take place of his son: this priest returns to the consultants an ambiguous answer, of the very precise nature which the heathen oracles were accustomed to return. We may justly suppose, that the Levite deceived the Danites, by fabricating an answer of this nature. On their return from the expedition in which they were then engaged, they stole the Teraphim, and other images, and established idolatry in their tribe.

This narrative seems to contain a complete history of the probable manner in which the Oracles were first established. A private individual, who had not entirely lost the knowledge of the true God, but who was partly, through apparent ignorance, contaminated with the surrounding idolatry, establishes a worship, which combines both truth and error; founded on, though

not entirely compatible with, the original religion of his fathers. The learned Spencer (in his treatise *De Urim et Thummim*) supposes the Teraphim of Micah to have been the exact resemblances of the Urim and Thummim used in the tabernacle of Shiloh: this is doubtful; but it is certain that when Micah set up the graven images, he did not intend to offend Jehovah. This tabernacle and oracle, established by Micah, is forcibly taken away; and was adopted by a whole tribe, as their chief place of worship. So, it is reasonable to suppose, the oracles of the Heathen were set up; they united true Patriarchism, with incipient Idolatry: they gave oracular responses, because these were common to the places of worship appointed by Jehovah; and Priestcraft continued, in a corrupt state, what had originally been the criterion, and peculiar characteristic, of uncontaminated Patriarchism.

SECTION VIII.—*Origin of Pride of Rank.*

I know that I shall indeed be deemed fanciful if I merely hint at the possible origin of another strange peculiarity in the history of the human race; the origin of pride of rank. The tables of pedigree were carefully preserved among the Jews, that the line in which the Messiah was to descend might be kept distinct; and the genealogy of the Priests be recorded, to prevent the intrusion of improper persons into the sacred office. The tables of pedigree were handed down from the beginning; and either in tradition, or in letters, must have been preserved among the Patriarchs. The first beginnings of idolatry were, an attempt to set aside the acknowledged line of the future Messiah. Nimrod assumed the title of "the Son;" assuming most probably, as Mr. Faber with much ingenuity has attempted to prove, the name and office of their expected Messiah. To effect this, he must have been able to make out some title from his descent, which was from Ham the eldest son of Noah; who according to the usual customs of the Patriarchs would have inherited the birth-right; one of the privileges of which was, to be the progenitor of the branch from which one parent of the Messiah was to descend. The Patriarchs esteemed that line of descent to be the most noble, from which the Messiah was to be born: the excluded tribes would not easily resign their claims; they too therefore would preserve their line of descent, and the ambition of being supposed to have descended from some celebrated ancestor would have become universal.

Ishmael for instance, as the first-born of Abraham, is said by the best commentators to have derided Isaac, because he claimed the inheritance, and the birth-right; which were allotted to Isaac. The Arabians still commemorate the immediate descendants of Ishmael, and boast of their lofty descent: and there is much traditional evidence on record to show that it is not improbable that they remembered and asserted in those early times the claims of their progenitor. The Edomites undoubtedly opposed Israel on this account: and we know that this family were so tenacious of their pedigree, that it has even been inserted by Moses in the sacred canon; as if to prove to the surrounding nations at the time when the Pentateuch was written, by the miracles which he wrought, that the line of Esau was rejected and that of Jacob approved. The people of Edom must have known that the ancestors enumerated in their tables, had apostatised from the worship of Jehovah, and could bring no proof that they were entitled to the birth-right except the sole circumstance, that their father had been the elder born of Isaac. In opposition to this claim he relates minutely the sale of his birth-right by Esau; the subsequent blessing of Isaac; the perseverance of Jacob and his family in the true Religion; the uninterrupted pedigree of Jacob; and the evident proofs of a miraculous nature, by which God confirmed the right of the second brother to the forfeited inheritance of the elder. Though it is true, that men wish to be renowned, as partaking in some measure of the honor of their fathers, yet when these tables of pedigree were first formed, little or no temptation of this kind existed. They were compiled for political and religious purposes; and were therefore entirely independent of any of those feelings which are the offspring of a more advanced stage of society. All this however is a theory which may be rejected at pleasure. The fact is certainly curious, that in the very earliest ages men should be so anxious to preserve the respective tables of descent, and identify themselves with the names of their fathers.

SECTION IX.—*The subject of Idolatry illustrated from the Book of Job, and the Poems of Homer.*

It is most probable that Job was contemporary with Nahor; and that Idolatry, though it had made some progress, could neither have been universal nor formidable, for it was an offence punishable by the civil magistrate, that is, by each patriarchal

head of his own tribe. We learn this from observing that among the offences cognizable by the magistrate, the superstitious adoration of the Sun and Moon is enumerated (Ch. 31: v. 26—28.): no notice however is taken of other kinds of Idolatry, than this of Teshaim. And I think we should be warranted, from this omission, in rejecting one great part of Mr. Faber's theory. So far from the book of Job containing a hint of universal defection from the knowledge and worship of Jehovah, it presents us with a most beautiful idea of the admirable opinions and sublime notions of God entertained by the patriarchal families.

From the times of Job, we proceed to the age of Abraham: Idolatry had now made a great and melancholy progress; for Abraham travelled from Ur in Chaldaea, through the whole of Palestine, to Egypt, and among nearly all the immediately surrounding nations, to recover and establish among them the knowledge of the true God. We are not informed in scripture of the nature of the idolatry thus prevalent; we know only that it still continued to increase till the period of the Exodus. At that time, the worship of images, the cruelty, obscenity, and abominations of every kind were fully established among the surrounding nations; though even then, the knowledge and worship of Jehovah had not been entirely resigned among several of the neighbouring tribes: I refer to Jethro the Midianite; to the Kenites; and to the manner in which the God of the Hebrews seems to have been spoken of by many even of those who opposed the Israelites. I have not alluded to the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, for though their crime was probably connected with, or as others suppose, originated in, the rites of Baal Peor, or Chemos, or some other obscene Deity; we have not sufficient documents to prove that this is more than mere supposition.

It is singular that neither Mr. Bryant, Mr. Faber, Mr. Maurice; nor many of the early researchers into the remains of antiquity, have made much use of Homer. He seems to me to present a complete picture of the age when the more peculiar customs, and the religious or rather the moral notions of the Patriarchs had not yet become entirely extinguished by the grosser corruptions of Heathenism. He fills up the interval that elapsed from the times of Job, and in some measure the deficiency in the history of that period which elapsed between the origin or general prevalence of the worship of the heavenly host, and that system of infamy and crime, which degraded below the beasts of the field, the inhabitants of Canaan. It must be remembered here, that of the com-

author of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* we know little or nothing. Pisistratus put the several books together, in their present order; before his time they were rhapsodised in every city of Ionia and Greece. The narratives contained in them were common to all the people of Asia Minor: they are found to this day among the stories of the Hindoos, whose curious legends are filled with the wars of the gods, and their assembling on Mount Ida. The rivers of the Troad are plainly described in the volumes of the Hindoos; and the reason why the author of the *Iliad* celebrated this siege rather than others, was, that the scene of the Troad so exactly corresponded with the imagined residence of the newly-worshipped gods. This, however, is mere conjecture; nor can it be insisted upon for one moment. The reasons why Homer ought to be valued by the lovers of knowledge, as well as by the admirers of poetry, are of much more importance; particularly as Virgil has copied the manners, and described from tradition the same scenes, the same superstitions, gods, and heroes.

The most probable date of Homer, is that assigned him by Herodotus, about 884 years before the Nativity. About that time, the collections of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were, we may suppose, completed. Whether Homer, or the Homeri, who sang them among the cities of Asia Minor and Greece, composed them as one story, or what is their true history, is not at present to our purpose; I allude only to the internal evidence they bear of their great antiquity, and the assistance they render to our present enquiries.

Lycurgus is said to have found the poems of Homer in Crete: they seem to have then formed merely a collection of ballads with their appropriate titles. In the 5th, 6th, and 7th volumes of the *Asiatic Researches*, the story of the Trojan war is given from original Sanscrit authors; its episodes, like those of Homer, are placed in Egypt; and the traditions of Laius, Labdacus, Oedipus, and Jason, are all found among the same ancient compositions.

The pages of Homer, it was observed, appear to describe the manners of that interval which elapsed between the origin of image worship, and the establishment of the grosser abominations of Paganism. I refer to such facts as the following.

The chiefs in Homer were patriarchal heads of families. Thus Priam was considered as the father, as well as the ruler, of the Trojans. He was the priest, as well as king. Calchas is represented as possessing the gift of prophecy, which was undoubtedly the prerogative of the early priests among the first postdiluvian families. The characters of Homer seem to have

been unacquainted with the use of money. We well know that the wealth of the first ages consisted in cattle; oxen and sheep constituted of course the only measure of value. Glaucus and Diomed exchange armour; the poet tells us how many oxen were given for the respective suits. Now as this measure of value would soon be found to be very inconvenient, it would very soon happen that some more uniform, permanent, divisible, and generally esteemed standard must be adopted. We accordingly find, that even in the time of Abraham, silver was used for this purpose; and this useful and convenient metal has been uniformly employed as the common measure by all nations. The heroes of Homer, therefore, must have been earlier than the time of Abraham, or they lived within the few years which elapsed after that Patriarch, as they could not otherwise have been ignorant of this useful mode of conducting their commerce. The Iliad too could not in this case describe the manners of an age so late as that usually attributed to the supposed Priam. It is evidently a collection of early traditions.

In addition to these remarks, it may be observed that the sentiments of the several characters of Homer are evidently derived from the confused remnant of ancient religion. We might instance the beautiful appeal of Hector to Paris: the reflections of Agamemnon on the treachery of Pandarus, when he pronounced the certain punishment and destruction of Troy; two lines of which speech were quoted by the philosophic Scipio over the ruins of Carthage. Instances of sublime addresses to the Deity; the punishment of the blasphemy of Asius; the perpetual completion of a truce or treaty by a sacrifice, a custom which was common to all the patriarchal nations, (whence the expressions in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, which are used to describe the making a treaty, are uniformly derived from the striking the fatal blow to the victim,) with some others, may be mentioned.

The gods in Homer always partake of that mixed character which would naturally be the consequence of the deification of mortals, which we shall soon see was one of the primary sources of Idolatry. Jove is addressed in the most lofty strains, yet, like the Hindoo god, who corresponds to him in attributes and powers, he makes love, and sleeps, and is deceived. Apollo is a man, and the epithets by which he is described, are appropriated to the Sun: and so we might proceed with the rest. The confusion we are hinting at, is the complete picture of the language which must have been induced by the society of that age; when their ancestors began to be venerated as deities, and the knowledge of the true God to be obliterated.

MISCELLANEA CLASSICA.

No. XIII.—[Continued from No. XLVI. p. 300.]

1. CLASS. Journ. XLII. p. 279, l. 7, the sentence beginning "The glory attached" is a comment upon the quotation from Mitford, and not a continuation of it.—*Ib.* p. 287, l. 27; read, "some modern lecturer on poetry, or magazine critic." Same page, note, ad fin. "Virgil has defined *Aeneas* a perfect hero, but he wanted power to describe him as such."—p. 288. l. 6, "the equable splendor."—p. 292, after the quotation from the Anti-Jacobin, there ought in fairness to have been cited a line from Southey's *Thalaba*, book XI., containing more than a precedent for Dr. Symmons's alliteration :

"Friend and sole solace of my solitude."

No. XLIII. p. 172, l. 17, for αἴπου read αἰτία.—On No. XXXVIII. p. 330, art. 5, ("Ἀρτεμιν Θεῶν ἀνασταν, κ. τ. λ.") see the concluding note of Spanheim's *Callimachus*.—*Ib.* p. 331, art. 13, the following instance of imitation was quoted :

Ὡς δ' ὅτε τις τ' ἑλέφαντα γυνὴ φοίνικι μίχνη
Μυόνις, ἢ Κάειρα, παρήιον ἔμμεναι ἵππων, κ. τ. λ.
τοιοῖ τοι, Μενέλαε, μιάνθην αἵματι μηροῖ
εὐφρούς, κνήμαι τε, ἰδὲ σφυρὰ κάλ' ὑπένευσθε. II. iv. 141.

niveos infecit purpura vultus,
Per liquidas succensa genas : castæque pudoris
Illuxere faces : non sic decus ardet eburnum,
Lydia Sidonio quod femina tinxerit ostro,

Claud. *Prosa* l. 271.

(where Heinsius, in addition to the other passages in his note, might have quoted *Æn.* i. 592, and perhaps x. 132, sqq.) Thus a modern poet, describing the descent of Mercury :

Trampling the slant winds on high
With golden-sandalled feet, that glow
Under plumes of purple dye,
Like rose-ensanguined ivory,
A shape comes now,
Waving on high in his right hand
A serpent-finctured wand.

Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*, p. 35.

In another number the following passage from Claudian was paralleled with one from Southey :

Sic fatus (Sol), croceis rorantes ignibus hortos
 Ingreditur, vallemque suam, quam flammæus ambit
 Rivus, et irriguis largum jubar ingerit herbis,
 Quas Solis pascuntur equi. Fragrantibus inde
 Cæsariem sertis, et lutea lora jubasque
 Subligat alipedum : gelidas hinc Lucifer ornat,
 Hinc Aurora comas.

De Primo Cons. Stilich. 11. 467.

This fiction is much in the style of Darwin, between whom and Claudian there exists a considerable resemblance. It occurs in our modern Prometheus :

My coursers sought their birth-place in the sun,
 Where they henceforth will live exempt from toil,
 Pasturing flowers of vegetable fire.¹ p. 116.

The fantastic play of images occasioned by the confusion of fire and water in the passage of Claudian above quoted, occurs again in the redoubtable passage, Pros. 11. 314.

———— Dominis intrantibus ingens
 Assurgit Phlegethon; flagrantibus hispida rivis
 Barba madet, totoque fluunt incendia vultu.

2. ΣΩΚ. Ἄρτι δὲ ἤκει, ἢ πάλαι; ΚΡ. Ἐπεικῶς πάλαι. ΣΩΚ.
 Εἴτα πῶς οὐκ εὐθύς ἐπήγειράς με, ἀλλὰ σιγῇ παρακάθησαι; ΚΡ. Οὐ
 μὰ τὸν Δία, ὦ Σώκρατες· οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἤθελον ἐν τοσαύτῃ ἀγρυπνίᾳ
 καὶ λύπῃ εἶναι· ἀλλὰ καὶ σοῦ πάλαι θαυμάζω, αἰσθανόμενος ὡς ἡδεὺς
 καθύδεις· καὶ ἐπίτηδές σε οὐκ ἤγειρον, ἵνα ὡς ἡδίστα διάγῃς· καὶ πολ-
 λάκις μὲν ᾗ σε καὶ πρότερον ἐν παντὶ τῷ βίῳ εὐδαιμόνισα τοῦ τρόπου,
 πολὺ δὲ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ νῦν παρεστῶσιν ἐμφορᾷ, ὡς ῥαδίως αὐτὴν καὶ
 πρῶτος φέρεις. Plat. Crit. 1.

Glover evidently had the above passage before his eyes, when he wrote the beautiful description of the last sleep of Leonidas, with which his eleventh book commences, and to which the

¹ An interesting essay might be written on modern imitations of ancient poetry. "Prometheus" is not a revival of the lost drama of Æschylus; the catastrophe, as well as the *scopus dramatis*, is different. It involves the downfall of Jupiter, and the deliverance of the human race from his usurped dominion—in other words, the overthrow of law, custom, and religion, throughout the world; these being considered as the sources of human misery. In the boldness and crowd of his metaphors, the writer resembles Æschylus. The richness and intense beauty of his images is almost beyond example; they seem, as it were, entangled in their own magnificent luxuriance.—Of his principles (which he promulgates more openly and undisguisedly than the rest of his confederacy) we judge it best to be silent in this place.

Retrospective Reviewer alludes, No. 111. p. 108, Art. Glover's Athenaid.

The day was closing. Agis left his tent ;
 He sought his godlike brother. Him he found
 Stretch'd o'er his tranquil couch. His looks retain'd
 The cheerful tincture of his waking thoughts
 To gladden sleep. So smile soft evening skies,
 Yet streak'd with ruddy light, when summer's suns
 Have veil'd their beaming foreheads. Transport fill'd
 The eye of Agis. Friendship swell'd his heart.
 His yielding knee in veneration bent.
 The hero's hand he kiss'd, then fervent thus :
 " O excellence ineffable, receive
 This secret homage ; and may gentle sleep
 Yet longer seal thine eyelids, that unblam'd
 I may fall down before thee."

The stratagem of the traitor Ganelon, recorded in Retrospect. R. No. vi. p. 308, Art. Wars of Charlemagne in Spain, may have been borrowed from that of Zopyrus in Babylon. Such appropriations are more frequent in some of the old romances, than might at first sight be supposed.—In the description of the Temple of Penitence, quoted in another No. of the Retrospective, from Davenant's Gondibert (iv. p. 316.) we read :

————— from on high
 A winking lamp just threatens all the room,
 As if the lazy flame just now would die ;
 Such will the sun's last light appear at doom !

The same fine circumstance is employed by Statius with equal, or even greater beauty, in his House of Sleep :

————— tenuis, qui circuit aulam,
 Invalidusque nitor ; primosque hortantia somnos
 Languida succiduis expirant lumina flammis.

Theb. x. 115.

CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

PUERILIA.

I. FABULA. *Περγαῖα θερμὰ λούτρα.*

TEMPORE quo nullus peregrina per æquora Cæsar
 Appulerat nostris Italia vada,

Bladudas tacita loca pace silentia rexit;
 Insignis bello, Dardaniumque genus.
 Tunc neque turrigeris fulserunt oppida muris,
 Nec tereti portas struxerat ære faber:
 Præruptis montes riguerunt rupibus, et, quæ
 Nunc florent segetes, condidit arva palus,
 Divitias pleno princeps numerabat ovili:
 Et, mala qui coluit pascua, pauper erat.
 Quæ nunc signa mari portant victricia quercus,
 Pabula setigeræ sola fuere gregis.
 Æstus erat: calido cum tristes ab aëre tabes
 Spiravit, miseros corripuitque sues.
 Fulmineos primum celeri Mors demetit apros.
 Funere, mox in haras insidiosa ruit.
 Fœcundæ populantur haræ: convivio lardo
 Festa carent: nullo templa cruore rubent.
 Agrestes vocat ille patres, humilemque senatum;
 Nec, qui consiliis damna levaret, erat.
 Sæpe rudes vanam doluere Machaones artem:
 Ægra pati medicam porca negabat opem.
 Sæpe coronati fuderunt carmina Bardi:
 Orantum Superi destituere preces.
 Nox erat, et parva jam dormitante lucerna
 Intravit placidus regia membra sopor.
 Cum subito pennis agitato inhorruit aër,
 Et tremuit motæ parva fenestra casæ:¹
 Constitit ante oculos arcu præsignis eburno
 Delius, aurata lene sonante lyra:
 Atque ita, "Dardaniæ," dixit, "rex optime gentis,
 Qua miseram cures, ordiar, arte gregem.
 Est locus, irriguæ quem perluit amnis Abonæ:
 Illice nunc frondet: mox locus urbis erit.
 Crebra per obscuras funduntur flumina valles:
 Delectat populos murmur euntis aquæ.
 Tolle moras: sacro fontem medicamine tinxi;
 Huc age, cum gregibus, me duce, tende viam.
 Fons mihi sanctus erit, divesque salubribus undis
 Nomen ab æternâ posteritate feret.
 Huc venient fortesque duces, castæque puellæ;
 Musaque perpetuas carmine reddet aquas."

¹ Hi duo versus ab Ovidio, cum quadam mutatione, desumpti sunt.

Dixerat hæc Numen. Fugit omnis inertia somni :
 Surgit, et ad fluvium colligit ille sues.
 Inde (fide majus) stimulis agitata Deorum
 Desilit in medios grex violenta lacus.
 Pestis abit : læti resonant clamoribus agri :
 Præsentemque canunt sæcula cuncta Deum.

II.

Labitur, ex imoque poli nos respicit orbe,
 Ceu vellet cœnæ Phœbus adesse comes.
 Hanc et amant Risus horam, Ludique, Salesque,
 Exulat hæc longæ Cura, gravisque Labor.
 Solve animum rerum vinculis, jucunde senator,
 Et te, qualis eras, Postume, redde tuis.
 Tu quoque, si possis dulcem, Cate, linquere Musam,
 Quæ conjux, aut est fidæ puella tibi :
 Carminè ais nuper Troas fudisse sonoro ;
 Arma mero victor dux celebrare solet.
 Et tu stipatos tandem mitte, Attice, libros,
 Burmannosque graves, Elzevirique domum,
 Et quid Blomfeldus volvat, criticique Sicambri ;
 An nescis criticæ vina placere gregi ?
 Tu quoque (nam fugiunt Galli, et Tartessia tuta est
 Gens, et oliviferi ripa beata Tagi,
 Cingitur ipse armis princeps, ductorque Britannus
 Accepit tuto munera missa bovis)
 Omnia, quæ curas, bene provenere ; triumphes,
 Et te des plenis, Æmiliane, jocos.
 At tu majori studio es revocandus, Ophelte.
 Non te, quò sit res, tangit, et arma loco ;
 Sed curas proprias, sed non medicabile vulnus,
 Aversæ mentem sed gemis Hermiones.
 Accipe, quæ possum, solatia. Non tibi festâ
 Infestare ferus tempora debet Amor.
 Non loquor ignotum : sensi ; fateorque timere :
 Sed non me socii depulit ille meis.
 Vive igitur duræque, comes. Duravit Ulysses ;
 Ni faceret, patrios haud redisset agros.

¹ Homerum, ut videtur, Anglice tum forte convertebat. *Scribl.*

² A baron of beef, sent by a patriotic butcher of Windsor as a present to Lord Wellington. Written in 1814.

Quid si (quod bona Parca vetet) moreretur amata?

Quid si rivali se daret illa tuo?

Ipse ego (crede mihi) vidi, cum sæpe morata

Resstitut in tecto tarda columba tuo.

Hermiones vultus, quo non mansuetior ullus,

Post longam præsens annuet ipse moram.

Spe vivas; atque hoc pariter de vate canamus,

Dum focus exardet, dum micat igne merum:

“Uni dum mens pura viro, dum foemina servat

Una fidem, Divos hæc mea vota petent:

Ut foveat juvenes sol indefessus amoris,

Lunaque amicitiae lustret amica senes.”

III. *Pugnæ descriptio, ex Ossiano Græce conversa.*

Ὡς δὲ δῶν νεφέλαι κορύφωσαν ἀπὸ συμμίζωσι
 δειναί, βριθυῖαι, μελανόπτεροι, αὐτὰρ ἔνερθε
 νύξ τέταται, βροντῇ δ' ἄρ' ἐπεσμαράγγησεν Ὀλυμπος·
 ὧς τότε κυάνεοι, κεκληγότες, ἀλληλοῖν
 τεύτονες ἐγγεσίμωροι Ἰερναῖοί τ' ἀγερωχοί
 θρῶσκον ἀνακτι δ' ἀναξ πολέμῳ μίγῃ, ἀνέρι δ' ἀνὴρ.
 θέρμετο δ' αἵματι γαῖα, πόλυξέστοις δ' ἐπ' οἰστοῖς
 δέῃ κλάγξαν νεῦραι, ἀφέπτατο δ' ὄμβρος ἀκόντων
 τετριγῶς, ἀτὰρ ἐγγχε' ἐπητανὰ προτὶ γαίῃ
 κάππεσε, λαμπτήρεσσιν ἑοικότα, οἳ κατ' Ὀλύμπου
 καππίπτουσ', ἀνέμων νεφέλας καταδηριώωντων.
 οὔτε τόσος ποταμοῦ βρόμος ἔπλετο χειμαρροῖο,
 λαβροῦ, ὃς ἐξ ἀκρήφι ῥέων χέει ἄσπετον ὕδαρ·
 οὔτε τόσ' οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ἐπεστονάχῃς, ὅτε βροντῇ
 σμερδυοτάτῃ, πυμάτῃ τε, μέγα βρέμει ἐν νεφέεσσιν·
 ὅσσοις ἄρα κτύπος ἦν ἀνδρῶν ἐριδι ξυνιόντων
 εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔνθαδ' αἰοῖδοι ἀνακτος πεντήκοντα
 πάρσταςαν, οὐδὲ καὶ ὥς πολεμοῦ στυγεροῖο δύναιτο
 πάντα διεξερέεσθαι· ἀρήϊα γὰρ ψαμαθοῖσι
 στήθεα κάππεσε πολλὰ, μελαίνετο δ' αἵματι γαῖα.

IV.

Consortes animæ, socialia corda, valete,

O mihi longinquo fœdere juncta manus!

Quos modo dilecta fortuna e sede relegans

Ignotas mundi jussit obire vices:

Quos ego, si quid id est, precibusque animisque secutus

Fatalem jam nunc alloquor ante diem:

Qualis ubi ambigui pergentem ad prælia Martis
Subsequitur votis cognita turba suis.
Nam mea vobiscum, quæcunque erat, acta juventa est,
Et curæ faciles, dissidiæque breves,
Et ludi, et nunquam privata cubilia somno,
Et rari luctus, et sine nube dies.
Omnia nunc abeunt: ceu, quæ gratissima primo
Spirabat, medio conticet aura die.
Nunc seu vos placidis Tritonia distinet umbris,
Et veterum fontes, Pieridumque chori;
Seu procul æquorea pontus circumsonat unda,
Littoraque heu votis solum adeunda meis;
Sæpe inter curas vitæ tristesque labores
Vos repetam, et vestræ me rear esse gregis.
Nam mihi vos, longa quamvis tellure remotos,
Fida valet speculis mens revocare suis:
Qualia purpurei lucent vestigia Phœbi,
Cum subiit molles Tethyos ipse sinus.

DISSERTATION

*On the Countries to which Solomon and Hiram sent
their fleets for foreign merchandise.*

1st. **WE** must inquire into the apparatus of the ships sent, and then into the places to which they were consigned, as to Parvajim, Paz, Elphaz, and Ophir; and if they sailed on the South side of Africa. 2dly. The nature of the commerce for which the voyages were undertaken. 3dly. Their number, and the length of each; which will bring the question to a conclusion.

And, first, king Solomon went to see the fleet which he had built at Ezion-geber,¹ and Hiram sent sailors to be subject to Solomon's servants,² and they went to Ophir,³ and they brought from thence to Solomon four hundred and twenty talents of pure gold, or four hundred and fifty of gold in mats,⁴ with heterogeneous particles attached, about three millions sterling. Ezion-geber, whence the fleets of Solomon took their departure for Ophir, was an open port at the head of the most Eastern creek

¹ 2 Chronicles viii. 18.

² 1 Kings ix. 26.

³ Job xxii. 24.

⁴ 2 Chronicles viii. 18.

of the Elanite gulf, and this position is called Berenice by Ptolemy.

The Arabic name of Meena Zuhub, signifying the port of gold, had reference to the riches there debarked on the return from Ophir. This place is now called Calaat el Accaba, Castle of the descent, according to D'Anville, while the Elanite gulf is named Bahr el Accaba, the Sea of the descent. The point Ras Mohammed, which separates this gulf from the Heroum near Suez, was called Posidium from the Greek Ποσειδών, Neptune, a name common to many promontories.

Ezion-geber, it is clear from the Chronicles,¹ and Eloth, were in Idumæa, or the land of Edom, which David had conquered, as we learn from the second book of Samuel.² The ships of Solomon and Hiram sailed from Ezion-geber for Ophir and Tharsis, and returned together.³ The ships from Tyre came from the Mediterranean into the Red Sea piece-meal, transported in that state on the backs of camels, and at their journey's end were put together, and re-constructed for their voyage to Ophir. We learn from Agatharchides in Photius, Heliodorus's Ethiopics, book the fourth, that the Tyrians trafficked on the Red Sea; and from Herodotus book iv. c. 42, and Major Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, that the Hebrews were not the only people to whom they were of use, since the Egyptians also were indebted to them for service and assistance in navigation. The mode of transporting vessels on men's shoulders was practised by the Argonauts, as we read in the fourth book of Apollonius Rhodius, vv. 1375, 1386, for twelve days and nights successively; also by Cleopatra after the battle of Actium from the Mediterranean to the Arabian gulf; and by the Turks from the Mediterranean on the backs of camels over land into the Red Sea. But it is highly probable that the kings of Egypt before this period had made a canal from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea, or Arabian gulf, a thing of no impossibility to a people that had raised the Pyramids.

: See Strabo, p. 38. and 804. of Sesostris, and Major Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 452. If Sesostris dug the first canal, it was too late for Solomon and Hiram, as Susac or Sesostris lived, according to Josephus' Antiquities Vol. 1. Edit. Hudson, in the time of Rehoboam the son of Solomon, and laid Jerusalem and its temple waste.

¹ 2 Chron. viii. 17.

² 2 Sam. viii. 14.

³ 1 Kings x. 11, 12.

Enough has been said to refute the notion of Grotius and Vatablus,¹ who thought that Hiram brought the vessels which he sent to Solomon from the obscure islands of Tyr and Aradus² in the Red Sea, which I have looked for in vain in Niebuhr, since they were Tyrus and Aradus two small islands in the Persian Gulf.³

2dly. It should appear that Ophir was a country of Eastern Africa, particularly Sofala, and Tharsis a country of Western Africa, and of Spain particularly, some place not far from the mouth of the river Bætis.

It is not to be supposed with Ptolemy, that Africa is confined to Prasum or the Mosambic, as the ancients pushed their navigations much farther; and all the Eastern part of Africa may be called Ophir, from Gardesfan, the most easterly point of Africa, to the southern extremity of Zanguebar, between 3 North and 9 South latitude. For the same reason Ophir may be named Sofala, which is in the one-and-twentieth degree of South latitude, where much more commerce has been carried on than elsewhere.

From the quantity of gold that has been found in the Eastern part of Africa, particularly at Sofala, it may fairly be conjectured that from hence came Hiram's and Solomon's treasure in that metal.

The position of Ophir and Sofala was near the shore, such as suited well with sailors whose voyage was a coasting voyage. They could easily arrive thither from Ezion-geber almost without losing sight of land. The distance of the places was not great, the coast was even without gulfs or straits, and every year brought gold from Ophir; but three years were necessary to go and come from Tharsis. Ophir indeed has been translated in some places by Africa; but if it be closely examined, it will appear in both the Chaldee interpreter, and Origen on Job, that it is Tharsis, and not Ophir, which the Chaldee interpreter Jonathan has rendered Africa, and that the version of Origen is equally objectionable. The opinion, however, of these ancient interpreters is in favor of an interpretation that the voyage was on the coast of Africa. Josephus, Theodoret, and St. Jerome, in their Antiquities, comments, and interpretations of the Old and New Testament, have placed Ophir in India, in the golden Chersonese; but in that case the voyage would have been longer,

¹ 1 Kings ix. 27. Critici Sacri. ² Strabo, lib. 16.

³ Rennell's Geog. Herodot. p. 248.

20 On the Countries where Solomon, &c.

and more clogged with insurmountable difficulties; and it has been well observed by Ortelius, and Marsham, that the country was not called golden because it produced that metal in abundance, but because gold was brought thither for the purchase of its merchandise.

Others have placed Ophir in Peru, or St. Domingo; but in this they have shown their ignorance of ancient navigation, which, unassisted by the compass, and rather than be exposed to the variable winds of an open sea, always hugged the shore. The Ægean and the Ionian might indeed be passed, by consulting the stars; but the ancients dared not trust themselves to the Ocean, or attempt to double the Capes of the old and new world, by the aid of the Greater or Lesser Bear, that could only be of use in an unclouded sky.

From Ophir we must pass on to Tharsis. There were two voyages performed by the fleets of Hiram and Solomon, one from the Red Sea to Ophir, and to the coast of Guinea from the Mediterranean. The name of Spain was known under that of Tartessus, or Tharsis, by Eusebius in his Chronicle, by Goropius, Grotius, and Bochart.

All the merchandise brought back to Solomon was furnished by Africa and Tharsis. Tharsis is said in Ezekiel to have been abundant in metals, but there were none at Carthage but what were brought thither from other places in Africa.

The voyage then from Ezion-geber to Ophir, Uphaz, and Parvaim, which in fact were one and the same country, was the first voyage. Ophir means abundance, from the root in Hebrew *pareh*, to be fruitful, or productive. Uphaz,² from *ai phaz*, an Island auriferous, or abounding in gold. Parvaim in the dual, alike from *pareh*, the name of a country with similar products. Thus the precious stone Topaz gets its name from an Island in Arabia, of the name that produces it.³

We come now, thirdly, to the nature of the commerce for which the voyages were undertaken. It appears from the tenth of the first of Kings, verse 22, that the products of the navy of Tharsis, or that went to Tharsis, and returned in three years, brought other things than gold, and sailed from a port in the Mediterranean. Jeremiah⁴ tells us that gold was brought from Uphaz, and silver in plates from Tharsis, *argentum bracteatum*, such as was used for statues. From Tharsis also came apes, and

¹ Ezekiel xlvii. 12.

² Jer. x. 5.—Dan. x. 5.

³ Pliny, lib. 6. c. 59. et Stephanus;

⁴ Jer. x. 2.

peacocks; the Hebrew word for peacocks, *tukkim*, which originally were introduced from India into Persia, and gave, it is probable, name to the region and inhabitants of Taoca in the Persian Gulf, Taocene regio, and *Tárxoi* or *Táxoi*, in Dionysius Periegetes, v. 1069. Strabo, in his fifteenth book, speaks of the king's palace at Oca, or, as Ptolemy has it more correctly, *Taónη*. From hence in Greece the peacock was called *ταῶς*, and carried in great numbers to Samos, and sold in the Mediterranean markets, as a great rarity, to all collectors of curiosities.

The voyage then to Ophir produced gold, and was from the Red Sea; the voyage to the coast of Guinea, which brought home peacocks, was from the Mediterranean. It appears therefore that two distinct expeditions by sea were performed by the fleets of Solomon and Hiram. See 1 Kings, c. ix. v. 26.—x. 22. See also Josephus lib. viii. c. 7. Gold indeed made a part of the products of each voyage, and the apes were brought from the coast of Guinea, but the peacocks from the Mediterranean, because the country that produced the one did not afford the other.

S. WESTON.

ANSWER

To PROFESSOR LEE'S Observations inserted in the 46th Number of the Classical Journal, p. 371, on the Pyramidical Inscription brought to England by MR. BELZONI. By J. GREY JACKSON.

IN these observations the Professor ludicrously denominates me *a profound critic*! It has been justly observed, that there is no argument so potent to the cursory reader as ridicule, and the Professor has labored in this paper to substantiate this opinion. But if we divest his arguments from the dust of the schools, we shall perceive that little remains to support his assertions, but his own *ipse dixit*.

The Professor does not seem inclined to admit the truth, that living languages, such as the Arabic, cannot be sufficiently acquired but by a residence in the countries where they are vernacular, or by colloquial intercourse; but I think no impartial critic will deny this incontrovertible fact! The great Orientalist, Sir

William Jones, would not believe this till he went to India, and there found, that with all his profound knowledge of the Oriental languages, he was unintelligible to the natives! The celebrated Doctor Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, one of the most accomplished writers of his age, and perhaps the best epistolary writer in our language, was such a profound critic in the French language, that the literary men of that nation set a high value on his criticisms, yet he never could hold colloquial intercourse in French.

Mr. Lee says, *Classical Journal*, p. 372, "Supposing such errors to exist in masterly translations of Arabic works, it is not in the power of Mr. Jackson to point them out:" this, to use the Professor's own words, is a tolerably modest conclusion. But I deny the assertion, that it is not in my power to point them out; I am prepared to give better proof that I can point them out, than that of denying the fact, as Mr. Lee does. This erudite gentleman then adds, "that I have committed many blunders, of which he is ready to give proof." I hope this PROFOUND CRITIC does not mean one of these proofs to be, his learned dissertation on the word *دَلِك*, *delk* or *dellik*; which, I shall presently demonstrate, discovers his own imperfect acquaintance with Arabic, and that he is himself the *Tiro* that he would represent me to be.

The Professor accuses me of presumption, by assuming that I wished to insinuate that my translation was the true one. The Oriental professors in this country, on the continent, and elsewhere, will form their opinions on this subject; in the mean time I shall have no difficulty, if the point be disputed, to prove, if any further proof be necessary, that the Professor had no authority whatever for introducing his interpolation and innovation into this inscription.

Is it to be supposed that the king of Egypt would employ an ignorant uneducated man, incapable of writing his own language, to record an event which the King was interested in transmitting to a remote posterity? Or, is it probable that his Majesty (George IV.), or the British nation, will suffer an illiterate stone-cutter, incapable of writing the English language, to inscribe on the contemplated monument the commemoration of his august father, and the father of his people, so as to give future remote nations an opportunity of correcting the language of the inscription? If this can be admitted by the rational and unprejudiced part of mankind, then I will admit that the learned Professor was authorised in making his new arrangement of the words of this inscription!

Mr. Lee agrees with Mr. Salemé, and says, that the natives of

Barbary, (alluding, I presume, to South Barbary, where I have resided as Consul) speak the worst Arabic in the world.¹ This is confidently asserted, but this assertion is far from being correct. But the Professor has given something like a proof that he himself is unacquainted with the Arabic² of Africa, by making this assertion. The Professor attempts to impress on the public mind, that I am extremely deficient in the knowledge of this (which he calls) most corrupt and barbarous dialect of the Arabic; not knowing, nor perhaps imagining, that I have had more opportunities of making myself acquainted with the ancient and correct language of the Koran, than he can ever possibly have had in England, not to mention other dialects of Arabic, with which I am acquainted, and which the Professor cannot know even by name. Every one whose judgment is not warped by prejudice, and who is not deficient in Arabic, will agree with me, that any part of Barbary, even the desert of Barca, is a better school for the ancient Koraish or Korannic Arabic, as well as for the modern Arabic, than Cambridge can possibly be. Moreover, a person, who has never resided in an Arab country, cannot easily be supposed to be able to hold colloquial intercourse with Arabs, and consequently is not competent to determine what is the correct orthography of Arabic words, *written in the European character*; as there are, in that language, many sounds that all the grammars and dictionaries in Europe cannot teach, sounds that can be learned only by the ear, and by a long practice and diligent and accurate observation,

¹ Two dialects of the Arabic prevail in West, as well as in South Barbary, (*besides the dialects used by the Bedoween tribes of Sahara, viz. by the Woled Abbusebah, by the Woled Deleim, and by the Mugraffa Arabs*), all which resemble the pure and ancient Arabic; one is the vulgar language of common intercourse; the other is a dialect very similar to that of the Koran, which is the language of correspondence, and this language admits of several gradations of refinement, according to the learning and knowledge of the persons corresponding. This is a fact which appears to be unknown to Mr. Lee, as well as to Mr. Salemé! It is, however, not less correct on that account.

² All the intelligent men in the Empire of Marocco, who have received a tolerable education, understand the ancient pure Korannic Arabic, many of the Bedoween Kabyles in Suse and in Sahara speak the pure Arabic; vide *Class. Journal*, No. XLVI. p. 289.

"I can assure you that the language and the idiom of the Arabic in the letters from the Emperor of Marocco to you, are precisely the same with that which is spoken in the East." Vide Translation of an extract from the Bishop of Jerusalem's letter to Mr. Jackson, in Shabeeny's account of Timbuctoo, &c. p. 473. note. This is a proof that the Professor is incorrect when he asserts, that the dialect of Barbary is the most barbarous and corrupt Arabic: at least, it is here admitted that it is not more corrupt than the language of Palestine.

among nations who speak the language : so that I repeat my assertion, and think it not presumptuous to declare, that *Mr. Lee* is incompetent to give an opinion of my orthography of Arabic words in *European characters* ; although I am far from being so vain as to think myself an infallible orthographist, notwithstanding the flattering approbation that has been publicly expressed of my labors in this respect.

We have the Professor's *ipse dixit*, which, by the way, is but a poor argument for a classical scholar, that I know little or nothing of the Arabic language, that I have committed numerous errors, &c. That no man is infallible in any of the sciences will be readily admitted ; but if the Professor attempts to prove that I am so ignorant of the Arabic language, every one who knows me, and has heard me converse with the Arabs, will hold those suggestions in derision, and certainly will not believe that any one who can make the assertion is able to speak the language intelligibly himself.

Mr. Lee says, p. 373, that he positively denies that my copy, inserted in No. XLIV. p. 449 of the *Classical Journal*, is a correct copy of the inscription, but on the contrary, that it is the incorrect copy of an incorrect copy ; but, will Mr. Lee presume to say that it is not a correct copy of that inscription which is given by Mr. Belzoni, (as well as by Mr. Walpole) as the original, or rather as a fac-simile or faithful copy of the original, *excepting the errors of the Arabic press*, which were corrected by an Errata on the back of the title-page of the 45th number of the *Classical Journal* ?

I apply the same question to what Mr. Lee calls an incorrect copy of his proposed arrangement, but which his extraordinary candor excuses, because accuracy, *he says*, is foreign to my habits ; and I repeat that the inaccuracy alluded to, is of the press only, and is corrected in the same Errata.

The Professor, in his endeavours to undervalue my knowledge of the Arabic, appears altogether to have lost sight of the question to be discussed, which is, not whether I understand the language of the ancient Arabs ; not, whether the pyramidical inscription be pure or barbarous language ; not, whether it be ancient, pure, Oriental or African Arabic ; not, whether a king named Aly Muhamed ever reigned in Egypt, which if it could be proved would be nothing to the purpose, and would only show the nonchalance of Mr. Lee's mode of reasoning—but, *whether Mr. Belzoni's drawing or fac-simile of the inscription*

¹ For which vide Belzoni's Researches and Operations in Egypt, p. 413.

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(which Mr. Lee says I have been so *incorrect* as to call the original inscription) *be properly rendered into English by Mr. Lee, or not.*

I have no hesitation in declaring that it is not; and I can assert, without fear of contradiction, that every Arab, that every one conversant with the structure, with the idiom of the Arabic language, will, without hesitation, deprecate the innovation which Mr. Lee has introduced into this inscription. Let the opinion of L'hage Sabat ben Ebrahim, now called Nathaniel Sabat, be taken on this subject. I understand he was a servant of the British government in India in 1814, and most probably is so now. I will abide by his decision in this case, believing him to be *Abdelhâck ben Ebrahim* as well as Sabat ben Ebrahim. It matters little, whether the inscription be called the original or a fac-simile of the original—no one ever imagined that Mr. Belzoni brought the pyramid home with him; therefore, perhaps, it was incorrect to call it *the original*. But if that intelligent traveller, who has reflected so much honor on his country, does not say it is a fac-simile, he at least assures us that he had it accurately examined with the original before he quitted Egypt, by Arabs competent to give a correct opinion.

Mr. Lee says, page 374, "I need not now dwell on Mr. Jackson's proposed emendation الفلق, which he thinks the most probable, as every one must see that he has been unfortunate in this conjecture." In answer to this misconstruction of my words in *Classical Journal*, No. XLIV. p. 451, I maintain that every one, or at least every unprejudiced reader, will perceive that I did not propose الفلق as an emendation, but as a supposition—(if any thing,) *rather less absurd* than Mr. Lee's الفلق or Mr. Salem's الفلق.

Mr. Lee says, p. 373, "We are informed in the same contest, that Malam El Hajar (which HE, MR. LEE, supposes معلم الجار) signifies one skilled in masonry," but I suppose that the Professor when he wrote this, (considering his extraordinary knowledge of Arabic,) must have perceived these Arabic characters to be what they are, viz. ¹ an error of the press, and in not discovering them to be such, that he has concealed what he ought to have made known.

¹ For which vide Errata in the *Classical Journal*, No. XLV. back of the title-page.

There is such a remarkable incongruity between the English and the Arabic languages, that many difficulties necessarily occur to the translator : if he adheres rigidly to the grammatical interpretation of words, he must sacrifice common sense ; if he adheres to the latter, or to the spirit and meaning of the author translated, he must deviate sometimes from the grammatical interpretation or signification of words as given in various dictionaries, and grammars, at least so far as to convert a pronoun into an adverb ; such is the case in translating the word **ذلك** by the word *also* instead of the word *that*, which latter word is its meaning according to Richardson's Arabic Grammar.

I agree, however, with the Professor, that it is a pronoun, but how can **وذلك العلم عثمان** be otherwise translated than as I have translated it, viz. by the adverb *also*, for then it conveys evidently the sense of the original. But, if translated according to its literal and grammatical signification, viz. by the remote demonstrative pronoun, *that*, the meaning is lost and the translation becomes obscure and unintelligible!

It appears that Mr. Lee is a strong advocate for *literal* translations, although they be made from an ancient and Oriental

¹ This will appear evident from the following idioms, which are used in all the various dialects of the Arabic language with which I am acquainted.

1st. Sultan wa **[ذلك]** *delk el Bashaw had'r.*

2nd. Imshaw Sultan wa **[ذلك]** *delk Alkaid.*

These two are complete sentences, which if translated *literally*, according to Mr. Lee's suggestion, would be incomplete and unintelligible; they would in that case be thus rendered.

1st. The Sultan was present and that the Bashaw.

2nd. The Sultan departed and that the Alkaid, (governor or captain).

But if these sentences are translated as I have translated the pyramidal inscription, translating the word *delk* by *also*, they will convey the true meaning of these sentences—

1st. The Sultan was present and also the Bashaw.

2nd. The Sultan departed and also the Bashaw.

Note.—The remote pronoun *kaddelk* is also used in similar sentences as well as *delk*, and cannot be translated into English, preserving the sense of the original, without using the adverb *also*, or the words *as well as*. I have preferred giving these examples in the European character, because my interpretation, which Mr. Lee disputes, will be corroborated by many intelligent gentlemen in London, on the continent, and elsewhere, who are acquainted with the Arabic language orally, and are competent to decide this question, from having resided among nations who speak the Arabic language.

language, into a modern occidental one, whose idioms are remarkably heterogeneous and dissimilar!

Mr. Lee further says, "Mr. Jackson, instead of proving that the inscription is not imperfect, has plainly asserted that it is;" insinuating by these words that I had endeavoured to prove, *what I could not substantiate*. There is much of sophistry in this kind of argument, which, if allowable in scholastic disputations, is unworthy of the diligent enquirer after truth; for by a reference to my paper (*Classical Journal*, No. XLIV. p. 448.) it will be evident to every one who may give himself the trouble to investigate my words, that I say, this pyramidical inscription is *perfect* in its construction, but *imperfect* in having neither beginning nor end; which latter character entitles it to the denomination which I have given it, "*an Egyptian fragment*."

Note.—If I were of a disposition to regulate my individual felicity by the opinions of men, how dreadfully would that felicity now be lacerated by Mr. Lee's anathema! One celebrated author tells the public, that my thorough knowledge of the Arabic language gives me a singular advantage over every other traveller, and enables me to enter the *arena of African geography* with peculiar advantages; some of the most celebrated critics of the age have done me the honor to say, that I am perfect master of, and never fail to do justice to, my subject—that I rigidly adhere to it, that I write under the direction of candor and good sense, and that the practical skill that I possess in the Arabic language, has given me extraordinary advantages; another says, that I possess such extensive and minute knowledge of all that is connected with Africa, (in which the knowledge of the language is *necessarily* included,) that I never fail to communicate instruction as well as amusement. And now all this intelligence, so gratifying to human vanity, is to be wiped off by Professor Lee's anathema, who declares, on his own *ipse dixit*,

1st. That I have almost every thing to learn respecting the Arabic language.

2ndly. That the Arabic of the country where I have resided is the most barbarous and corrupt in the world, and that I know no other—as if I had not had more advantageous opportunities of studying the ancient and pure Arabic, than the Professor has had.

3rdly. That I have given a false translation of an erroneous inscription, affording unanswerable evidence that I am a mere *Tiro* in Arabic.

If my individual felicity depended on Mr. Lee, how my feelings would have been harrowed up by his anathema! But

if the erudite Professor does not mingle more wisdom with his knowledge, he will probably entangle himself in verbose controversy, as the lion in the fable entangled himself in a net, and he will require the assistance of a mouse to set him free; or something *min grere DELK* [من غير دلک] to prove his imperfect knowledge of this Oriental language.

GREEK RITUAL.

IN No. XLIV. p. 367. we inserted a MS. fragment of a Greek Ritual, (such being the form in which it was transmitted to us,) which we had at that time every reason to consider as *ἀνέκδοτον*. We have since then received a communication respecting it from Dr. SCHINAS, who informs us that such is not the case, but that it may be found in books containing the service of the Greek Church, as well as in a Harleian MS. in the British Museum. The learned gentleman has favored us with a supplement to the parts, which were deficient in the commencement and close of our MS., which we now lay before our readers:

Ἄγγελος πρωτοστάτης, οὐρανὸν ἐπέμψθη, εἰπεῖν τῇ θεοτόκῃ τὸ,
Χαῖρε. Καὶ σὺν τῇ ἀσωμάτων φωνῇ, σωματούμενόν σε θεωρῶν Κύριε,
ἐξίστατο καὶ ἵστατο κραυγάζων, πρὸς αὐτὴν τριαῦτα·

Χαῖρε δι' ἧς, ἡ χαρὰ ἐκλάμψει·

Χαῖρε δι' ἧς ἡ ἀρὰ ἐκλείψει·

Χαῖρε τοῦ πεπόντος Ἀδάμ ἡ ἀνάκλησις·

Χαῖρε τῶν δακρύων τῆς Εὐδᾶς ἡ λύτρωσις·

Χαῖρε ὕψος * δυσανάβατον ἀνθρωπίνους λογισμοῖς,

Χαῖρε βάθος δυσθεώρητον, καὶ Ἀγγέλων ὀφθαλμοῖς.

Χαῖρε, ὅτι ὑπάρχεις βασιλέως καθέδρα.

Χαῖρε, ὅτι βαστάζεις τὸν βαστάζοντα πάντα.

Χαῖρε ἀστήρ, ἐμφαίνων τὸν Ἥλιον·

Χαῖρε γαστήρ, ἐνθέου σαρκώσεως·

Χαῖρε δι' ἧς, *νεουργεῖται ἡ κτίσις.

Χαῖρε δι' ἧς, προσκυνεῖται ὁ πλάστης,

Χαῖρε Νύμφη ἀκόμφευν.

Βλέπουσα ἡ ἀγία ἑαυτὴν ἐν ἀγγελία, φησὶ τῷ Γαβριὲλ βασιλεύσας
τὸ παράδοξόν σου τῆς φωνῆς, δυσπαράδεκτόν μου τῇ ψυχῇ φαίνεται.
ἀπόρου γὰρ συλλήψεως τὴν κύησιν πῶς λέγεις, κρᾶζον·

Ἄλληλούϊα.

Ἰγώπων ἀγκυραστον γῆναι, ἡ Παρθένος ζητοῦσα, ἐβόησε πρὸς τὸν λειτουργοῦντα· ἐκ λαγόνων ἀγκυῶν, υἱὸν πῶς ἔστι τεγεῖναι δυνατόν, λέξον μοι· πρὸς ἣν ἐκεῖνος ἐφάπεν ἐν φόβῳ, πλὴν κρυμνάζων οὕτως·

Χαῖρε βουλῆς, π. τ. λ. as in page 367.

··· Ω * πανόμνητε Μήτηρ, ἡ τεκοῦσα τὸν πάντων Ἁγίων αἰγιώτατον Λόγον, δεξαμένη τὴν νῦν προσφοράν, ἀπὸ πάσης ῥύσαι συμφορᾶς ἅπαντας, καὶ τῆς μελλούσης λυτῶσαι κολάσεως τοὺς σοὶ βοῶντας· Ἀλληλούια.

Vide p. 372.

The words, to which an * is prefixed, are not in the Greek Thesaurus of Henry Stephens.

CLASSICAL CRITICISM.

*Defence of the present reading of Livy, l. iii, 5. And
Remarks on Luke, v, 6.*

“INTERIM in castris Furius Consul, cum primo quietius obsidionem passus esset, in incautum hostem decumana porta erupit; et cum persequi posset, metu substitit, ne qua ex parte altera in castra vis fieret. Furium Legatum (frater idem Consulis erat) longius extulit cursus, nec suos ille redeuntes, persequendi studio, neque hostium ab tergo incursum vidit; ita, exclusus, multis sæpe et frustra conatibus captis ut viam sibi ad castra faceret; acriter dimicans cecidit. Et Consul, nuncio circumventi fratris, conversus ad pugnam, dum se temere magis quam satis caute in mediam dimicationem infert, vulnere accepto ægre ab circumstantibus ereptus, et suorum animos turbavit, et ferociores hostes fecit: qui, cæde Legati et Consulis vulnere accensi, nulla deinde vi sustineri potuere; cum compulsi in castra Romani, rursus obsiderentur, nec spe nec viribus pares: venissetque in periculum summa rerum ni T. Quinctius peregrinis copiis cum Latino Hernicoque exercitu subvenisset.”

The proposed substitution of *tum* for *cum* before *compulsi*, by your learned Correspondent of Thetford, (page 278 of your last Number) may be allowable without Manuscript authority; but were I happy in the most intimate acquaintance with Palæographia, I should not, according to a culpable custom of the day, think of taking the unwarrantable liberty of expelling from manuscripts

words which have withstood the critical ordeal of ages, to intrude others utterly destitute of authority. I cannot imagine any transcriber would mistake SUI for CUM, or vice versa, even supposing both words in their ancient costume.

As much, however, as the passage may have tortured the Critics, there are numbers, I am certain, to whom the present reading is perfectly perspicuous. To render it unexceptionable, I would merely, after "*viribus pares*," substitute a colon for a comma, and translate as follows:

"In the mean time the Consul Furius, after having at first unmolested (by assault) suffered siege in his camp, sallied from the Decūman gate upon the incautious enemy, and, when he might have pursued him, halted, under the apprehension that an attack from some other quarter might be made in his camp. This sally carried out too far the Lieutenant Furius, (brother of the Consul) and, in the eagerness of pursuit, noticed neither his own men retreating, nor an assault of the foe in his rear. Thus intercepted, after repeated efforts to make his way to the camp, he fell while vigorously encountering the enemy. And the Consul, on the information of his brother being surrounded, resolved upon battle, and hurrying with more temerity than caution, into the midst of the engagement, he received a wound, and was with difficulty rescued by his soldiers around him. This both depressed their spirits, and rendered the enemy more ferocious: who, elated at the death of the Lieutenant, and the Consul's wound, could by no effort any longer be kept in check: when the Romans driven back into their camp were again suffering siege, with prospects and forces unequal to their opponents: and their very existence would have been at stake, unless T. Quinctius with the foreign troops, and the army of Latium and of the Hernici, had reinforced them."

The adverb *tum*, which your correspondent D. B. H. would substitute, does not govern the subjunctive mood after it; and *cum* being dismissed from the text, leaves *obsiderentur quasi disiectum clausulæ membrum*, without its governing particle. *Suis*, which he would attach to *copiis*, is redundant, nugatory, and unworthy the historian. *Nam si subvenit T. Quinctius cum peregrinis copiis, subvenit proculdubio cum iis quibus præerat: nempe suis*:—vox quæ jure otia-
tur. We have yet much to learn as to the true use of the Latin moods and tenses, as well as the particles. If Livy had intended to inform us that the Romans would have been

besieged again in camp, unless the arrival of *Quinctius* had taken place, then *tum* might have been used; but the verb *obsideri* must indispensably have been in the perfect tense "*obsessi essent*," as a correlative with "*subvenisset*." Now the writer plainly narrates, that *Furius* and his forces were really besieged at the arrival of *Quinctius*; and brings in view before his readers the falling fortune and sad dilemma of the Roman army, contrasted with their situation at the former period, when they were indeed besieged; but, as pointedly remarked, *quieti*, unmolested: the enemy durst not attack them.

On the subject of tenses permit me to notice the 6th verse of the 5th of Luke. *Καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντες συνέκλεισαν ἰχθύων πλῆθος πολὺ· διεβήγγυτο δὲ τὸ δίκτυον αὐτῶν.*

The latter part of this verse in our version is translated, "their net brake." Here I humbly conjecture there is room for emendation. The entire breaking of the net is inconsistent with the sequel, which informs us that a miraculous quantity of fishes was safely taken. But the original is qualified, and the verb is in the incipient, progressive, or what is commonly termed the imperfect tense. The exact meaning accordingly is, "*Their net was breaking*"—or "*Their net was beginning to rend*." That is, it was partially broken, we may suppose, by some of the meshes giving way; and to prevent its total rupture, fishermen were instantly called from the other ship to render immediate assistance.

Liverpool, August 1821.

J. W.

VIRO

AMPLISSIMO, DOCTISSIMO

M. FRANCISCO SPITZNERO,

*Collegæ desideratissimo, abeunti, S. P. D. Lycei Wittenbergensis
Præceptores M. F. T. Friedemann, Conr. C. G. Wunder,
Subr. M. C. A. Breyther, Collab.*

— φίλος, ὅστις ἐταίρου—ἀχνοῦται οὐκέτ' ἐόντος.

QUINT. SMYRN. II, 394.

Quod cunctata diu lingua perhorruit,
Janjam triste Vale dicere poscimus.

Quæ nostris socium amplexibus eripit,
Non vitanda dies adest.

Sic visum Superis. Quis remorabitur
Fatorum rapide fræna volantium ?
Vix lenire satis mollibus aspera
Mortali generi datur.

Ibis, quo obvia *Te* brachia flagitant :
Incorrupta Fides nudaque Veritas
Et canis radians Fama jugalibus
Te cum conjuge præeunt.

Nos desiderium grande *Tui* manet,
Seu nos Pieriis cum juvenum choro
Ardenti studiis invigilabimus,
Seu laxabimur otio.

Tu deeris, quoties orbita mobilis
Anni blanda refert signa faventia,
Queis persolvere solennia suevimus
Nostro cum prece Apollini.

Tu deeris, quoties hora volubilis
Suadet magnanimi visere limpidos
Lutheri latices, et gelidum nemus,
Dignum carmine Læbio.

Nam flumen prius *Albia* rapiet retro,
Nostro quam *Tua* imago ex animo cadat ;
Et si quid pietas promeruit, memor
Nostrum *Tu* quoque respice.

Quo virtus *Tua Te* cunque vocaverit,
Semper candida Spes lataque Faustitas
Jungant se Laribus, nec comitem *Tibi*
Custos Mercurius neget.

Jul. 20, 1820.

AN INQUIRY

*into the Symbolical Language of Ancient Art and
Mythology.*

By R. P. KNIGHT.

PART III.—[Continued from No. XLVI. p. 240.]

54. As men improved in the practice of the imitative arts, they gradually changed the animal for the human form; preserving still the characteristic features, which marked its symbolical meaning. Of this, the most ancient specimens now extant are the heads of Venus or Isis, (for they were in many respects the same personification,)¹ upon the capitals of one of the temples of Philæ, an island in the Nile between Ægypt and Æthiopia: and in these we find the horns and ears of the cow joined to the beautiful features of a woman in the prime of life.² In the same manner the Greek sculptors of the finest ages of the art represented Io;³ who was the same goddess confounded with an historical or poetical personage by the licentious imaginations of the Greek mythologists; as we shall further show in the sequel. Her name seems to have come from the north; there being no obvious etymology for it in the Greek tongue; but, in the ancient Gothic and Scandinavian, Io and Gio signified the earth; as Isi and Isa signified ice, or water in its primordial state; and both were equally titles of the goddess, that represented the productive and nutritive power of the earth; and, therefore, may afford a more probable etymology for the name Isis, than any that has hitherto been given.⁴ The

¹ Ἡ γὰρ Ἰσις ἐστὶ μὲν τῆς φύσεως θῆλυ, καὶ δεκτικὸν ἀπάσας γενεσεως, καθὼς τιθῆναι καὶ πανδεχῆς ὑπο Πλάτωνος, ὑπο δὲ τῶν πολλῶν μυθιστομῶν ἐκκλητῆται, διὰ τὸ πᾶσας ὑπο τοῦ λόγου τροποποιημένη μορφᾷ δεχέσθαι καὶ ἰδεᾶς. Plutarch. de Is. & Osir. p. 372.

Isis juncta religione celebratur, quæ est vel terra, vel æthere ærum Soli subjacens. Macrobi. Sat. 1. c. xx.

² Norden's Ægypt.

³ Τὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἰσιος ἀγάλμα, εὐν γυναικίῳν βοῦκερῶν ἐστὶ, καθάπερ Ἕλληνες τῆς ἰοῦν γραφούσι. Herodot. lib. ii.

⁴ Ol. Rudbeck. Atlant. p. 1. c. xviii. & xx. p. 854. p. 11. c. v. p. 208—214, 240, & 451. Edda Snorron. Myth. iv.

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god or goddess of Nature is however called *Isa* in the Sanscrit;¹ and many of the *Ægyptian* symbols appear to be Indian; but, on the contrary, it seems equally probable that much of the Hindoo mythology, and, as we suspect, all their knowledge of alphabetic writing, as well as the use of money, came from the Greeks through the Bactrian and Parthian empires; the sovereigns of both which appear to have employed the Grecian letters and language in all their public acts.²

55. The *Ægyptians*, in their hymns to *Osiris*, invoked that god, as the being, who dwelt concealed in the embraces of the Sun;³ and several of the ancient Greek writers speak of the great luminary itself as the generator and nourisher of all things, the ruler of the world, the first of the deities, and the supreme Lord of all mutable or perishable being.⁴ Not that they, any more than the *Ægyptians*, deified the Sun considered merely as a mass of luminous or fervid matter; but as the centre or body, from which the pervading Spirit, the original producer of order, fertility, and organisation, amidst the inert confusion of space and matter, still continued to emanate through the system, to preserve the mighty structure which it had formed.⁵ This primitive pervading Spirit is said to have made the Sun to guard and govern all things;⁶ it being thought the instrumental cause, through which the powers of reproduction, implanted in matter, continued to exist: for, without a continued emanation from the active principle of generation, the passive, which was derived from it, would of itself become exhausted.

¹ *Sacontala*. There were two goddesses of the name of *Isis* worshipped in Greece, the one Pelasgian and the other *Ægyptian*, before the Pantheic *Isis* of the latter ages.

Εστὶν Ἰσιδος τεμενὴ ὡν τὴν μὲν Πελασγίαν, τὴν δὲ Αἰγυπτίαν αὐτῶν ἐκονομάζουσιν; καὶ δύο ἑραπίδους, ἐν Κανὼβι καλουμένους τὸ ἕτερον. Pausan. in Cor. c. iv. s. 7.

² Οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐσπλεοντες φορτίων φασὶν Ἑλληνικὸν τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἀγωγίμα ἀλλὰ ἀνταλλάσσεσθαι, νόμισμα δὲ οὐκ ἐπιστάσθαι; καὶ τὰντα χρύσου τε ἀφρονὸν καὶ χαλκὸν παρόντος σφίσι. Pausan. in Lacon. c. xii. s. 3.

³ Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὕμνοις τοῦ Ὀσιρίδος ἀνακαλούνται τὸν ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις κρυπτόμενον τὸν ἥλιον. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir.

⁴ Ἡλιος παγγενετωρ. Orph.

—τὴν γοῦν πάντα βόσκεισαν φλόγα.

αἰδεῖσθ' ἀνακτος ἥλιου. Sophocl. Œd. Tyr. v. 1424.

—ὃν, τὸν πάντων θεῶν

θεὸν προμὸν ἡλίου. Sophocl. Œd. Tyr. v. 660.

—τὸν κυρίον καὶ ἡγεμόνα τῆς γενετῆς οὐσίας ἀπάσης. Plutarch. Quæst. Rom.

⁵ See Plutarch. Qu. Rom. p. 138. & Fragm. Orphic.

⁶ Καὶ φύλακ' αὐτὸν ἐταβε, κέλευσε δὲ πᾶσιν ἀναστέν. Fragm. Orphic. No. xxv. ed. Gesn.

56. This continued emanation the Greeks personified into two distinct personages; the one representing celestial love, or attraction; and the other, animal love, or desire: to which the Egyptians added a third, by personifying separately the great fountain of attraction, from which both were derived. All the three were, however, but one; the distinctions arising merely out of the metaphysical subtilty of the theologists, and the licentious allegories of the poets; which have a nearer resemblance to each other, than is generally imagined.

57. This productive ethereal spirit being expanded through the whole universe, every part was in some degree impregnated with it; and therefore every part was, in some measure, the seat of the Deity; whence local gods and goddesses were every where worshipped, and consequently multiplied without end. "Thousands of the immortal progeny of Jupiter," says Hesiod, "inhabit the fertile earth, as guardians to mortal men."¹ An adequate knowledge, either of the number or attributes of these, the Greeks never presumed to think attainable; but modestly contented themselves with revering and invoking them whenever they felt or wanted their assistance.² If a shipwrecked mariner were cast upon an unknown shore, he immediately offered up his prayers to the gods of the country, whoever they were;³ and joined the inhabitants in whatever modes of worship they employed to propitiate them;⁴ concluding that all expressions of gratitude and submission must be pleasing to the Deity; and as for other expressions, he was not acquainted with them; cursing, or invoking the ~~divine wrath~~ to avenge the quarrels of men, being unknown to the public worship of the ancients. The Athenians, indeed, in the fury of their resentment for the insult offered to the mysteries, commanded the priestess to curse Alcibiades: but she had the spirit to refuse; saying, that she was the priestess of prayers, and not of curses.⁵

¹ Τρις γὰρ μυριοί εἰσιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ
Ἀθάνατοι Ζηνοί, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.
Ἔργα κ. ἡμ. v. 252. See also Max. Tyr. Diss. xiv. s. 8.

² Θεὸν νομίζε καὶ σέβου, ζῆται δὲ μὴ,
πλεῖον γὰρ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ζῆτειν εἶναι
εἰ τ' ἐστίν, εἰ τ' οὐκ ἐστὶν μὴ βούλου μαθεῖν,
ὡς οὔτα τούτων καὶ παρόντ' αἰε σέβου. Philemon. Fragm. incert. No. 5.

³ Τις ἐστὶν ὁ θεός, οὐ βέλεις σὺ μάθαναι
ἀσεβείς τον οὐ βελόντα μάθαναι βελών. Menandr. Fragm. incerta. No. 246.
⁵ Odys. E. 445. ⁴ Ib. r.

⁵ Οὐδ' ἄλλοις ἐπαρᾶσθαι νομίζεται τοὺς ἱερεῖς (τῶν Ῥωμαίων) ἐπηνέθη γοῦν Ἀθηναῖς
ἡ ἱερεῖα μὴ θελήσασα κατάρσασθαι τῇ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, τοῦ δημόν κελευντός· εἶπε γὰρ
ἐνχαῖς, οὐ καθάρης, ἱερεῖα γεγονεναι. Plutarch. Qu. Rom.

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58. The same liberal and humane spirit still prevails among those nations whose religion is founded in the same principles. "The Siamese," says a traveller of the seventeenth century, "shun disputes, and believe that almost all religions are good."¹ When the ambassador of Lewis XIV. asked their king, in his master's name, to embrace Christianity, he replied, "that it was strange that the king of France should interest himself so much in an affair which concerned only God; whilst He, whom it did concern, seemed to leave it wholly to our discretion. Had it been agreeable to the Creator that all nations should have had the same form of worship, would it not have been as easy to his Omnipotence to have created all men with the same sentiments and dispositions; and to have inspired them with the same notions of the true Religion, as to endow them with such different tempers and inclinations? Ought they not rather to believe that the true God has as much pleasure in being honored by a variety of forms and ceremonies, as in being praised and glorified by a number of different creatures? Or why should that beauty and variety, so admirable in the natural order of things, be less admirable, or less worthy of the wisdom of God, in the supernatural?"²

59. The Hindoos profess exactly the same opinion. "They would readily admit the truth of the Gospel," says a very learned writer, long resident among them, "but they contend that it is perfectly consistent with their Sastras. The Deity, they say, has appeared innumerable times in many parts of this world, and of all worlds, for the salvation of his creatures: and though we adore him in one appearance, and they in others; yet we adore, they say, the same God; to whom our several worships, though different in form, are equally acceptable, if they be sincere in substance."³

60. The Chinese sacrifice to the spirits of the air, the mountains, and the rivers; while the emperor himself sacrifices to the sovereign Lord of Heaven; to whom these spirits are subordinate, and from whom they are derived.⁴ The sectaries of Foe have, indeed, surcharged this primitive elementary worship with some of the allegorical fables of their neighbours; but still as their creed, like that of the Greeks and Romans, remains undefined, it admits of no dogmatical theology, and, of course,

¹ Journal du Voyage du Siam.

² Voyage de Siam, lib. v.

³ Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 274.

⁴ Du Halde, vol. i. p. 32.

of no persecution for opinion. Obscene and sanguinary rites have, indeed, been wisely proscribed on many occasions; but still as actions, and not as opinions.¹ Atheism is said to have been punished with death at Athens: but, nevertheless, it may be reasonably doubted, whether the atheism, against which the citizens of that republic expressed such fury, consisted in a denial of the existence of the gods: for Diagoras, who was obliged to fly for this crime, was accused of revealing and calumniating the doctrines taught in the mysteries;² and, from the opinions ascribed to Socrates, there is reason to believe that his offence was of the same kind, though he had not been initiated.

61. These two were the only martyrs to religion among the ancient Greeks, except such as were punished for actively violating or insulting the mysteries; the only part of their worship which seems to have possessed any energy: for, as to the popular deities, they were publicly ridiculed and censured with impunity, by those who dared not utter a word against the very populace that worshipped them;³ and, as to forms and ceremonies of devotion, they were held to be no otherwise important, than as they constituted a part of the civil government of the state; the Pythian priestess having pronounced from the tripod, that whoever performed the rites of his religion according to the laws of his country, performed them in a manner pleasing to the Deity.⁴ Hence the Romans made no alterations in the religious institutions of any of the conquered countries; but allowed the inhabitants to be as absurd and extravagant as they pleased; and even to enforce their absurdities and extravagancies, wherever they had any pre-existing laws in their favor. An Egyptian magistrate would put one of his fellow-subjects to death for killing a cat or a monkey;⁵ and though the religious fanaticism of the Jews was too sanguinary and violent to be left entirely free from restraint, a chief of the synagogue could order any one of his congregation to be whipped for neglecting or violating any part of the Mosaic Ritual.⁶

¹ See the proceedings against the Bacchanals at Rome. Liv. Hist. xxxix. 9.

² Διαγορας Αθηναιος ην, αλλα τουτον εξοχισμενον τα παρ' Αθηναιοις μυστηρια, τετιμωρηκατε. Tatian. ad. Græc.

³ See the Prometheus of Æschylus, and the Plutus and Frogs of Aristophanes, which are full of blasphemies; the former serious, and the latter comic, or rather farcical.

⁴ Xenoph. Memorab. lib. i. c. iii. s. 1.

⁵ Tertullian. Apol. c. xxiv.

⁶ See Acta Apost.

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62. The principle of the system of emanations was, that all things were of one substance; from which they were fashioned, and into which they were again dissolved, by the operation of one plastic spirit universally diffused and expanded.¹ The liberal and candid polytheist of ancient Greece and Rome thought, like the modern Hindoo, that all rites of worship and forms of devotion were directed to the same end; though in different modes, and through different channels. "Even they who worship other gods," says the incarnate Deity in an ancient Indian poem, "worship me although they know it not."²

63. By this universal expansion of the creative Spirit, every production of earth, water, and air, participated in its essence; which was continually emanating from, and reverting back to its source in various modes and degrees of progression and regression, like water to and from the ocean. Hence not only men, but all animals, and even vegetables, were supposed to be impregnated with some particles of the Divine nature; from which their various qualities and dispositions, as well as their powers of propagation, were thought to be derived. These appeared to be so many different emanations of the Divine power operating in different modes and degrees, according to the nature of the substances with which they were combined: whence the characteristic properties of particular animals and plants were regarded, not only as symbolical representations, but as actual emanations of the supreme Being, consubstantial with

¹ Των δὴ πρώτων φιλοσοφησάντων, οἱ πλείστοι τὰς ἐν ὕλης εἶδει μόνον ἐκδήσαν ἀρχὰς εἶναι πάντων· ἐξ οὗ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἅπαντα τὰ ὄντα, καὶ ἐξ οὗ γίγνεται πρῶτον, καὶ εἰς ὃ φθίρεται τελευταίον, τῆς μὲν οὐσίας ὑπομενουσῆς, τοῖς δὲ παθεσὶ μεταβαλλούσης, τοῦτο στοιχεῖον καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι τῶν ὄντων καὶ διὰ τούτα, οὔτε γίνεσθαι οὐδὲν οἰστανται, οὔτε ἀπολλύσθαι, ὥς τῆς τοιαύτης φύσεως καὶ σφαιρώμενης. *Aristot. Metaphys. A. μετ'. c. iii.*

νοῦν δὲ τίς εἶπεν εἶναι, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ζώοις καὶ ἐν τῇ φύσει, τὸν αἰτίον καὶ τοῦ κοσμοῦ καὶ τῆς τάξεως πάσης. *Ibid.*

ἀρχαίος μὲν οὖν τις λόγος καὶ πατριός ἐστι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ὥς ἐκ θεοῦ τὰ πάντα καὶ διὰ θεοῦ ἡμῖν συνέστηκεν· οὐδέμια δὲ φύσις αὐτῇ καθ' ἑαυτὴν αὐταρκής, ἐρημαθεῖσα τῆς ἐκ τούτου αὐτηρίας· θεὸς καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν εἶπεν τύπος προσηχθῆσαν, ὅτι τὰντα ἐστὶ πάντα ὅσων πλεον, κ. τ. λ. *Pseud. Aristot. de Mundo. c. vi.*

*Principio coelum ac terras, camposque liquentes,
Lucentemque globum Lunæ, Titaniaque astra,
Spiritus intus alit; totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.
Inde hominum pecudumque genus, vitæque volantum,
Et quæ marmoreo fert monstra sub æquore pontus.*

Virgil. Æneid. vi. 724.

See also Plutarch, in *Rom.* p. 76. et *Cicer. de Divinit. lib. ii. c. 49.*

² *Bagvatgeeta.*

his essence, and participating in his attributes.¹ For this reason, the symbols were treated with greater respect and veneration, than if they had been merely signs and characters of convention; and, in some countries, were even substituted as objects of adoration, instead of the deity, whose attributes they were meant to signify.

64. Such seems to have been the case in Ægypt; where various kinds of animals, and even plants, received divine honors; concerning which much has been written, both in ancient and modern times, but very little discovered. The Ægyptians themselves would never reveal any thing concerning them, as long as they had any thing to reveal, unless under the usual ties of secrecy; wherefore Herodotus, who was initiated, and consequently understood them, declines entering into the subject, and apologises for the little which the general plan of his work has obliged him to say.² In the time of Diodorus Siculus the priests pretended to have some secret concerning them;³ but they probably pretended to more science than they really possessed, in this, as well as in other instances: for Strabo, who was contemporary with Diodorus, and much superior to him in learning, judgment, and sagacity, says that they were mere sacrificers without any knowledge of their ancient philosophy and religion.⁴ The symbolical characters, called Hieroglyphics, continued to be esteemed more holy and venerable than the conventional signs for sounds: but, though they pretended to read, and even to write them,⁵ the different explanations which they gave to different travellers, induce us to suspect that it was all imposture; and that the knowledge of the ancient hieroglyphics, and consequently of the symbolical meaning of the sacred animals, perished with their Hierarchy under the Persian and Macedonian kings. We may indeed safely conclude, that all which they told of the extensive conquests and immense empire of Sesostris, &c., was entirely fiction; since Palestine must from its situation have been among the first of those acquisitions; and yet it is evident from the sacred writings, that at no time, from their emigration to

¹ Proclus in Theol. lib. i. p. 56 et 7.

² Τὼν δὲ εἰνεκεν ἀνείηται τὰ ἱερά (θρία) εἰ λεγοίμην, καταβαίνειν τῷ λόγῳ, ἐς τὰ θεῖα πρῆγματα, τὰ ἐγὼ φεύγω μάλιστα ἀπῆγεσθαι· τὰ δὲ καὶ εἰρηκα αὐτῶν ἐπίφαντας, πωσικαίη καταλαμβάνομενος εἰπὼν. Herodot. l. ii. s. 65.

³ Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἱερεῖς αὐτῶν (τῶν Ἀγυπτίων) ἀπορρητὸν τι δόγμα περὶ τούτων ἔχοντες, lib. i. p. 96, ed. Wess.

⁴ Strabo lib. xvii. p. 806.

⁵ See the curious inscription in honor of Ptolemy V. published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1803.

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their captivity; were the ancient Hebrews subject to the kings of Ægypt; whose vast resources were not derived from foreign conquests, but from a river, soil, and climate, which enabled the labor of few to find food for many, and which consequently left an immense surplus of productive labor at the disposal of the state or of its master.¹

65. As early as the second century of Christianity, we find that an entirely new system had been adopted by the Ægyptian priesthood, partly drawn from the writings of Plato and other Greek and Oriental sophists, and partly invented among themselves. This they contrived to impose, in many instances, upon Plutarch, Apuleius, and Macrobius, as their ancient creed; and to this Iamblichus attempted to adapt their ancient allegories, and Hermapion and Horapollo, their symbolical sculptures; all which they very readily explain, though their explanations are wholly inconsistent with those given to Herodotus, Diodorus, and Germanicus; which are also equally inconsistent with each other. That the ancient system should have been lost, is not to be wondered at, when we consider the many revolutions and calamities, which the country suffered during the long period that elapsed from the conquest of it by Cambyse, to that by Augustus. Two mighty monarchs of Persia employed the power of that vast empire to destroy their temples and extinguish their religion; and though the mild and steady government of the first Ptolemies afforded them some relief, yet, by introducing a new language, with new principles of science and new modes of worship, it tended perhaps to obliterate the ancient learning of Ægypt, as much as either the bigotry of their predecessors, or the tyranny of their successors.

66. It is probable, that in Ægypt, as in other countries, zeal and knowledge subsisted in inverse proportions to each other: hence those animals and plants, which the learned respected as symbols of Divine Providence acting in particular directions, because they appeared to be impregnated with particular emanations, or endowed with particular properties, might be worshipped with blind adoration by the vulgar, as the real images of the gods. The cruel persecutions of Cambyse and Ochus must necessarily have swept off a large proportion of the former class: whence this blind adoration probably became general; different cities and districts adopting different animals for their tutelar deities, in the same manner as those of modern Europe put themselves under the protection of different saints; or

¹ See Herodot. lib. ii. c. 15.

those of China under that of particular subordinate spirits, supposed to act as mediators and advocates with the supreme God.¹

67. From the system of emanations, came the opinion, so prevalent among the ancients, that future events might be predicted by observing the instinctive motions of animals, and more especially those of birds; which, being often inexplicable from any known principles of mental operation, were supposed to proceed from the immediate impulse of the Deity. The skill, foresight, and contrivance, which many of them display in placing and constructing their nests is wholly unaccountable; and others seem to possess a really prophetic spirit, owing to the extreme sensibility of their organs, which enables them to perceive variations in the state of the atmosphere, preceding a change of weather, long before they are perceptible to us.² The art of interpreting their various flights and actions, seems to have been in repute during the Homeric times; but to have given way, by degrees, to the oracular temples; which naturally acquired pre-eminence by affording a permanent establishment, and a more lucrative trade, to the interpreters and deliverers of predictions.

68. The same ancient system, that produced augury, produced oracles: for the human soul, as an emanation of the Divine Mind, was thought by many to be in its nature prophetic; but to be blunted and obscured by the opaque incumbrance of the body; through which it, however, pierced in fits of ecstasy and enthusiasm; such as were felt by the Pythian priestesses, and inspired votaries of Bacchus.³ Hence proceeded the affected madness and assumed extravagance of those votaries; and also the sanctity attributed to wine; which, being the means of their inspiration, was supposed to be the medium of their communion with the deity; to whom it was accordingly poured out upon all solemn occasions, as the pledge of union and bond of faith; whence treaties of alliance and other public covenants were anciently called libations.⁴ Even drinking it to

¹ Dr. Haldé, vol. ii. p. 49.

² Virgil. Georgic. i. 415. Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxi. c. 1.

³ Plutarch. de Orac. Defect. p. 481.

Τὸ γὰρ βακχευσμον,
καὶ τὸ μαντικόν, μαντικῶν πολλὰν εἶχεν.
Ὅταν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸ σῶμ' ἔλθῃ παλιν,
λέγει το μῆλλον τοὺς μεμνημένους ποιεῖ.

⁴ ΠΙΘΟΝΑΙ. H. 8. &c.

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intoxication, was in some cases an act of devotion;¹ and the vine was a favorite symbol of the deity, which seems to have been generally employed to signify the generative or preserving attribute;² intoxicating liquors being stimulative, and therefore held to be aphrodisiac. The vase is often employed in its stead, to express the same idea, and is usually accompanied by the same accessory symbols.³

69. It was for the same reason, probably, that the poppy was consecrated to Ceres, and her statues crowned with it;⁴ and that Venus was represented holding the cone of it in one hand, while the other held an apple, and the *πολος* or modius decorated her head;⁵ for the juice of the poppy is stimulative and intoxicating to a certain degree, though narcotic when taken to excess.

70. By yielding themselves to the guidance of wild imagination, and wholly renouncing common sense, which evidently acted by means of corporeal organs, men hoped to give the celestial faculties of the soul entire liberty, and thus to penetrate the darkness of futurity; in which they often believed themselves successful, by mistaking the disorderly wanderings of a distempered mind for the ecstatic effusions of supernatural perception. This sort of prophetic enthusiasm was sometimes produced, or at least supposed to be produced, by certain intoxicating exhalations from the earth; as was the case at Delphi; where the design of setting up an oracle was first suggested by the goats being observed to skip about and perform various extravagant gesticulations, as often as they approached a certain fissure in the

¹ ——— *διο και θειας και θαλιας και μεδας απομαζον· τας μεν οτι δια θεους οινουσαι δειν υπελαμβανον· τας δ' οτι θεων χαριν ηυλιζοντο και συνησαν· τούτο γαρ εστι δαίτα θαλειαν· το δε μεθυσιν, φησιν Αριστοτελης, το μετα το θυειν αυτη χρησθαι.* Seleuc. apud Athenæ. Deipnos. lib. ii. c. 3.

Πίνειν δ' εις μεθην ουδαμου προκου ελεγε (δ Πλάτων), πλην εν ταις εορταις, του και τον οινον διδοντος θεου. Diog. Laert. lib. iii. s. 39.

² See coins of Maronea, Soli, Naxos, &c.

³ See coins of Thebes, Haliartus, Hipponium, &c.

⁴ Cereale papaver. Virg. See coins of Seleucus IV.

⁵ Το μεν δη αγαλμα (Αφροδιτης) καθημενον Καναχος Σικωνιας εποησεν. ——— πεποιηται δ' εκ χρυσου τε και ελεφαντος φερουσα επι τη κεφαλη πολον, των χειρων δε εχει τη μεν μηκωια, τη δε ετερα μηλον. Pausan. in Cor. c. x. s. 4.

Figures holding the poppy in one hand and the patera in the other, are upon the medals of Tarentum and Locri in Italy.

The laurel was also supposed to have a stimulative and intoxicating quality, and therefore the proper symbol for the god of poetry and prophecy.

ή δαφνη ενεργει προς τους ενθουσιασμούς. Σοφοκλής·

Δαφνη φαγών εδοντι πριε το στομα.

και Λυκοφρων

Δαφνηφαγον φοιβαζεν εκ λαμμων ασα.

Schol. in Hesiod. Theogon. v. 80.

rock.¹ It is said to have been founded by some Hyperboreans; and principally by the bard Olen, a priest and prophet of Apollo:² but women had officiated there as far back as any certain traditions could be traced;³ they having, probably, been preferred on account of the natural weakness of the sex, which rendered them more susceptible of enthusiastic delirium; to promote which, all the rites practised before the responses were given, particularly tended.

71. The inspiring exhalation was at first attributed to the Earth only; then to the Earth in conjunction with Neptune or the Sea; and lastly to Apollo or the Sun.⁴ These were, however, only different modifications of one cause, always held to be unalterably the same, though supposed to act, at different times, in different ways and by different means. This cause was Jupiter, the all-pervading spirit of the universe, who had the title of All-prophetic,⁵ because the other deities presiding over oracular temples were merely personifications of his particular modes of action.⁶ The Pelagian, or rather Druidical oracle of Dodona, the most ancient known, immediately belonged to him; the responses having been originally delivered by certain priests, who pretended that they received them from the oaks of the sacred grove;⁷ which, being the largest and strongest vegetable productions of the North, were employed by the Celtic nations as symbols of the supreme God;⁸ whose primary emanation, or operative spirit, seems to have been signified, by the mistletoe

¹ Plutarch. de Orat. Defect. p. 434.

² Pausan. lib. x. c. 5.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Pausan. lib. x.

⁵ Παντοφάιος.

⁶ See Pindar. Olymp. viii. 58. Lucan has expressed this ancient mystic dogma in the language of the Stoics; and modified it to their system, according to the usual practice of the Syncretic sects.

Forsan terris inserta regendis
Aëre libratum vacuo quæ sustinet orbem,
Totius pars magna Jovis Cirrhæa per antra
Exit, et ætherio trahitur connexa Tonanti.
Hoc ubi virgineo conceptum est pectore numen,
Humanam feriens animam sonat, oraque vatis
Solvit.

Pharsal. lib. v. ver. 93.

See also Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxi. c. 1.

⁷ Ζευ ανα, Δαδωναϊε, Πελασγικε, τηλοθε ναιων,
Δαδωνης μεδων δυσχειμερον' αμφι δε Ζελλοι
Ζοι ναιουσ' υποφρηται; ανιπτοποδες, χαμαιαιωναι.

Iliad. II. v. 233.

Æschylus has only commented upon Homer.

Ἄ ταν ἀρειων και χαμαι κοιτων εγω
Ζελλον εσελθων αλσος εισεγραψαμην
Προς της πατρωας και πολυγλωσσου δρυος.

⁸ Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. viii. s. 8.

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which grew from its bark; and, as it were, emanated from its substance; whence probably came the sanctity attributed to that plant.

72. Such symbols seem once to have been in general use; for among the vulgar, the great preservers of ancient customs, they continued to be so down to the latest periods of Heathenism. "The shepherd," says Maximus Tyrius, "honors Pan by consecrating to him the high fir, and deep cavern, as the husbandman does Bacchus by sticking up the rude trunk of a tree." Art and refinement gradually humanised these primitive emblems, as well as others; but their original meaning was still preserved in the crowns of oak and fir, which distinguished the statues of Jupiter and Pan, in the same manner as those of other symbolical plants did those of other personifications.*

73. The sanctity, so generally attributed to groves by the barbarians of the North, seems to have been imperfectly transmitted from them to the Greeks: for the poets, as Strabo observes, call any sacred place a grove, though entirely destitute of trees;† so that they must have alluded to these obsolete symbols and modes of worship. The *Ἰεῖαι*, the priests of Dodona, mentioned in the *Iliad*, had disappeared, and been replaced by women long before the time of Herodotus, who relates some absurd tales, which he heard in *Ægypt*, concerning their having come from that country.‡ The more prompt sensibility of the female sex was more susceptible of enthusiastic emotions, and consequently better adapted to the prophetic office, which was to express inspiration rather than convey meaning.

74. Considering the general state of reserve and restraint in which the Grecian women lived, it is astonishing to what an excess of extravagance their religious enthusiasm was carried on certain occasions; particularly in celebrating the orgies of Bacchus. The gravest matrons and proudest princesses suddenly laid aside their decency and their dignity, and ran screaming among the woods and mountains, fantastically dressed or half-naked, with their hair dishevelled and interwoven with ivy

* See *ibid.* p. 79.; also *Plin. lib. ii. c. 1.*, and *Tacit. de M. Germ.* Even as late as the eighth century of Christianity, it was enacted by Luitprand, king of the Lombards, that whoever paid any adoration or performed any incantation to a tree should be punished by fine. *Paul. Diacon. de Leg. Longobard.*

† See heads of Jupiter of Dodona on the coins of Pyrrhus.

‡ *Οἱ δὲ ποιεῖται κοσμεῖν, ἀλσὴ καλοῦντες τὰ ἱερὰ πάντα κρη φῖλα.* *Strab. l. ix. p. 599. ed. Oxon.*

§ *Lib. ii. 54. &c.* His story of the pigeons probably arose from the mystic dove on the head of Dione, the goddess of Dodona.

or vine, and sometimes with living serpents.¹ In this manner they frequently worked themselves up to such a pitch of savage ferocity, as not only to feed upon raw flesh,² but even to tear living animals to pieces with their teeth, and eat them warm and palpitating.³

75. The enthusiasm of the Greeks was, however, generally of the gay and festive kind; which almost all their religious rites tended to promote.⁴ Music and wine always accompanied devotion, as tending to exhilarate men's minds; and assimilate them with the Deity; to imitate whom, was to feast and rejoice; to cultivate the elegant and useful arts; and thereby to give and receive happiness.⁵ Such were most of the religions of antiquity, which were not, like the Egyptian and Druidical, darkened by the gloom of a jealous hierarchy, which was to be supported by inspiring terror rather than by conciliating affection. Hence it was of old observed, that the Egyptian temples were filled with lamentations, and those of the Greeks with dances;⁶ the sacrifices of the former being chiefly expiatory, as appears from the imprecations on the head of the victim;⁷ and those of the latter almost always propitiatory or gratulatory.⁸ Wine, which was so much employed in the sacred rites of the Greeks, was held in abomination by the Egyptians; who gave way to none of those ecstatic raptures of devotion; which produced Bacchanalian phrensy and oracular prophecy;⁹ but which also produced Greek poetry, the parent of all that is sublime and elegant in the works of man. The poetry of Delphi and Dodona does not seem; indeed, to have merited this character; but the sacerdotal bards of the first ages appear to have been the polishers and methodisers of that language, whose copiousness, harmony, and flexi-

¹ Plutarch. in Alexandr.

² Apollon. Rhod. lib. i. 636, and Schol.

³ Jul. Firmic. c. 14. Clement. Alex. Cohort. p. 11. Arnob. lib. v.

⁴ Δοκούς τοῦ σολοῦ δακρυοῦ,
Μὴ τιμῶναι θεοὺς, κρατῶν
Εὐχῶν; οὗτοι στοναχῆς,
Ἀλλ' εὐχῆς, θεοὺς σεβέσθου',
Ἐξέειπεν ὁ ποιητής.

Æsop. Electra. 193.

⁵ Strabo, lib. x. p. 476.

⁶ Ægyptiaca æminum fana plena plangoribus, Græca plerumque choris. Apul. de Genio. Socrat.

⁷ Herodot. lib. ii. 30.

⁸ Expiatory sacrifices were occasionally performed by individuals, but seem not to have formed any part of the established worship among the Greeks; hence we usually find them mentioned with contempt. See Plat. de Repub. lib. ii. p. 595. E. ed. Fic. 1620.

⁹ Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 353.

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bility, afforded an adequate vehicle for the unparalleled effusions of taste and genius, which followed.

76. Oracles had great influence over the public counsels of the different states of Greece and Asia during a long time; and as they were rarely consulted without a present, the most celebrated of them acquired immense wealth. That of Delphi was so rich, when plundered by the Phocians, that it enabled them to support an army of twenty thousand mercenaries upon double pay during nine years, besides supplying the great sums employed in bribing the principal states of Greece to support or permit their sacrilege.¹ Too great eagerness to amass wealth was, however, the cause of their falling into discredit; it having been discovered that, on many occasions, those were most favored, who paid best;² and, in the time of Philip, the Pythian priestess being observed to be as much under the influence of Macedonian gold, as any of his pensioned orators.³

77. The Romans, whose religion, as well as language, was a corruption of the Greek, though immediately derived from the Etruscans, revived the ancient mode of divination by the flights of birds, and the motions and appearances of animals offered in sacrifice; but though supported by a college of augurs, chosen from the most eminent and experienced men in the republic, it fell into disregard, as the steady light of human science arose to show its fallacy. Another mode, however, of exploring future events arose at the same time; and, as it was founded upon extreme refinement of false philosophy, it for a long time triumphed over the common sense of mankind, even during the most enlightened ages. This was judicial astrology; a most abject species of practical superstition, arising out of something extremely like theoretical atheism.

78. The great active principle of the universe, though personified by the poets, and dressed out with all the variable attributes of human nature, was supposed by the mystic theologists to act by the permanent laws of pre-established rule; and not by the fluctuating impulses of any thing analogous to the human will; the very exertion of which appeared to them to imply a sort of mutability of intention, that could only arise from new ideas or new sentiments, both equally incompatible with a mind infinite in its powers of action and perception: for, to such a mind; those events which happened yesterday, and those which

¹ Diodor. Sic. lib. xvi. s. 37. et seq.

² Το μαντικόν γὰρ πάντων φιλαργυρίον γένος.—Sophocl. Antigon. v. 1069. See also Herodot. lib. vi.

³ See Demosth. Philip. &c.

are to happen during the immeasurable flux of time, are equally present, and its will is necessarily that which is, because, all that is arose from its will. The act that gave existence, gave all the consequences and effects of existence, which are therefore equally dependent upon the first cause; and, how remote soever from it, still connected with it by a regular and indissoluble chain of gradation: so that the movements of the great luminaries of heaven, and those of the smallest reptiles that elude the sight, have some mutual relation to each other, as being alike integral parts of one great whole.

79. As the general movement of this great whole was supposed to be derived from the first divine impulse, which it received when constructed; so the particular movements of each subordinate part were supposed to be derived from the first impulse, which that particular part received, when put into motion by some more principal one. Of course the actions and fortunes of individual men were thought to depend upon the first impulse, which each received upon entering the world: for, as every subsequent event was produced by some preceding one, all were really produced by the first. The moment therefore of every man's birth being supposed to determine every circumstance of his life, it was only necessary to find out in what mode the celestial bodies, supposed to be the primary wheels of the universal machine, operated at that moment, in order to discover all that would happen to him afterwards.

80. The regularity of the risings and settings of the fixed stars, though it announced the changes of the seasons, and the orderly variations of nature, could not be adapted to the capricious mutability of human actions, fortunes, and adventures: wherefore the astrologers had recourse to the planets; whose more complicated revolutions offered more varied and more extended combinations. Their different returns to certain points of the zodiac; their relative positions, and conjunctions with each other; and the particular character and aspect of each, were supposed to influence the affairs of men; whence daring impostors presumed to foretel, not only the destinies of individuals; but also the rise and fall of empires, and the fate of the world itself.¹

81. This mode of prediction seems to have been originally Chaldean; and to have been brought from Babylon by the Greeks together with the little astronomy that they knew:² but

¹ See Baillet Discours sur l'Astrologie.

² Herodot. l. ii. c. 109. Πολον μὲν γὰρ, καὶ γνῶμονα, καὶ τὰ δωδεκά μερεα τῆς ἡμέρης παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων εἰμαθον Ἕλληνες.

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the Chaldeans continued to be the great practitioners of it; and by exciting the hopes of aspiring individuals, or the fears of jealous tyrants, contrived to make themselves of mischievous importance in the Roman empire; ¹ the principles of their pretended science being sufficiently specious to obtain credit, when every other of the kind had been exploded. The Greeks do not seem ever to have paid much attention to it; nor, indeed, to any mode of prediction after the decline of their oracles: ² neither is it ever mentioned among the superstitions of the ancient Egyptians, though their creed certainly admitted the principle upon which it is founded. ³ It is said to have been believed by only a certain sect among the Chaldeans; ⁴ the general system of whose religion seems to have been the same as that of most other nations of the northern hemisphere; and to have taught the existence of an universal pervading Spirit, whose subordinate emanations diffused themselves through the world, ⁵ and presented themselves in different places, ranks, and offices, to the adoration of men; who, by their mediation, were enabled to approach the otherwise inaccessible light of the supreme and ineffable First Cause. ⁶

82. Like the Greeks, they honored these subordinate emanations, and gave them names expressing their different offices and attributes; such as Michael, Raphael, Uriel, Gabriel, &c.; which the Jews having adopted during the captivity, and afterwards engrafted upon the Mosaic system, they have still retained their primitive sanctity. The generative or creative attribute seems to have held the highest rank; but it was not adopted with the others by the Jews: for as the true Creator had condescended to become their national and peculiar God, they naturally abhorred all pretenders to his high office.

83. At Babylon, as in other countries, the attribute was divided into two distinct personifications, the one male, and the

¹ Genus hominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax: See Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. c. 32. lib. xii. c. 52. and Hist. lib. i. c. 22.; also Plin. lib. xxi. c. 1.

² Pindar. Olymp. xii. 10.

³ Herodot. lib. ii. 82.

⁴ Προσποιούνται δε τινες (των Χαλδαίων) γενεθλιαλογειν, ους οι πατριάρχαι οι ἑτεροι. Strabo. lib. xvi.

⁵ Fons omnium spirituum, cujus essentiam per universum mundum tanquam animam diffusam esse, &c. &c.—non Chaldaea tantum et Aegyptus, sed universus fere gentilismus vetustissimus credidit. Brucker. Hist. Crit. Philos. lib. i. c. 2. See also Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. iv. c. 5.

⁶ Summum universi regem in luce inaccessibili habitare, nec adiri posse nisi mediantibus spiritibus mediatoribus, universi fere Orientis dogma fuit Brucker. ibid.

other female, called Beel and Mylitta by the Assyrians, and Ζευς and Ἀφροδίτη by the Greeks: ¹ but, as the latter people subdivided their personified attributes and emanations much more than any other, the titles of their deities cannot be supposed to express the precise meaning of those of Assyria. Beel, or as the Greeks write it Βηλος, was certainly the same title differently pronounced, as the Baal of the Phœnicians, which signified lord or master; and Mylitta seems to have been in all respects the same as the Venus of the Greeks; she having been honored with rites equally characteristic and appropriate. The Babylonian women of every rank and condition held it to be an indispensable duty of religion to prostitute themselves, once in their lives, in her temple, to any stranger who came and offered money; which, whether little or much, was accepted, and applied to sacred purposes. Numbers of these devout ladies were always in waiting, and the stranger had the liberty of choosing whichever he liked, as they stood in rows in the temple; no refusal being allowed. ²

84. A similar custom prevailed in Cyprus, ³ and probably in many other countries; it being, as Herodotus observes, the practice of all mankind, except the Greeks and Egyptians, to take such liberties with their temples, which, they concluded, must be pleasing to the Deity, as birds and animals, acting under the guidance of instinct, or by the immediate impulse of Heaven, did the same. ⁴ The exceptions he might safely have omitted, at least as far as relates to the Greeks; for there were a thousand sacred prostitutes kept in each of the celebrated temples of Venus, at Eryx and Corinth; who, according to all accounts, were extremely expert and assiduous in attending to the duties of their profession; ⁵ and it is not likely that the temple, which they served, should be the only place exempted from being the scene of them: Dionysius of Halicarnassus claims the same exception in favor of the Romans; but, as we suspect, equally without reason: for Juvenal, who lived only a century later, when the same religion, and nearly the same manners prevailed, seems to consider every temple in Rome as a kind of licensed brothel. ⁶

¹ Herodot. lib. i. ² Herodot. lib. i. ³ Ibid. c. 199. ⁴ Lib. ii. 64.

⁵ Strabo, lib. viii. Diodor. Sic. lib. iv. Philodemi Epigr. in Brunck. Anaclet. vol. ii. p. 85.

⁶ Nuper enim, ut repeto, fanum Isidis et Ganymeden,
Pacis, et advectæ secreta palatia matris,
Et Cererem (nam quo non prostat femina templo?)
Notior audio mœchus celebrare solebat.

Sat. ix. 22.

NOTÆ ET CURÆ SEQUENTES IN ARATI DIOSEMEA.

a TH. FORSTER, F. L. S.

No. VI. [Continued from No. XLVI. p. 262.]

- Ὅψι δὲ μισγομέναν αἰγῶν, μηλῶν τε συῶν τε, 340
Χαίρει ἀνολβος ἀνὴρ, ὃ οἱ οὐ μάλα θαλπιδῶντι
Εὐδίων φαίνουσι βιβαιομέναι ἐνιαυτόν.
Χαίρει καὶ γεράνων ἀγέλαις ὥραϊος ἀγοτρὺς
Ἦριον ἐρχομέναις, ὃ δ' ἄωριος αὐτίκα μᾶλλον.
Αὐτως γὰρ χειμῶνες ἐπέρχονται γεράνοισι 345
Πρώϊα μὲν καὶ μᾶλλον ὁμιλαδὸν ἐρχομένησι
Πρώϊον αὐτὰρ ὅτ' ὄψι καὶ οὐκ ἀγεληδὰ φανεῖσθαι,
Πλειότερον φορέωνται ἐπὶ χρόνον οὐδ' ἅμα πολλὰ,
Ἀμβολίῃ χειμῶνος δφέλλται ὕστερα ἔργα.
Εἰ δὲ βόες καὶ μῆλα μετὰ βρίθουσιν ὁπώρῃν 350
Γαῖαν ὀρύσσουσιν, κεφαλὰς δ' ἀνέμοιο βορῆος
Ἀντία τείνωσιν, μάλα κεν τότε χεῖμαρον αἵται
Πληιάδες χειμῶνα κατερχόμεναι φορέοισιν
Μηδὲ λήν ὀρύχοισιν ἐπὶ μέγας οὐ κατὰ κόσμον
Γίνεται, οὔτε φυτοῖς χειμῶν φίλος οὔτ' ἀρότοισιν. 355
Ἀλλὰ χιῶν εἴη πολλὴ μεγάλης ἐπ' ἀρούραις,
Μήπω κεκριμένη μηδὲ βλωθρῇ ἐπὶ ποίῃ,
Ὅφρα τις εὐετύϊ χαίρῃ ποτιδέγμενος ἀνῆς·

340—342. Indicium sereni e capris, ovibus, et suibus tarde coeuntibus—Tarde autem coeuntibus capris gaudet pauper vir, quia ei parum calenti monstrat serenum annum.

343—349. Signa tempestatum anni e migratione gruum—Gaudet etiam gruum catervis tempestivus arator tempestive venientibus. Pari modo enim hyemes consequuntur grues, cito quidem magis, et constipatim venientes cito; sed quando sero et non gregatim visæ, majus volant ad tempus neque simul multa; dilatio hyemis promovet serotina opera.—De quibus ita Theophrasto: Γίγαντι ἰὼν πρῶτ' αἰτῶνται καὶ ἀθροῖς, πρῶτ' χεῖμασι, ἰὼν δὲ ὄψι καὶ πολλῇ

χρόνον, ὄψι χεῖμασι.

[Theoph. Sign. Pluv.]

350—353. Prognosticum tempestuosæ hyemis ex ovibus et bobus—Sin autem boves et oves post plenum autumnum terram cornu petant, capita vero contra Boream tendunt, tum tempestuosam hyemem ipsæ Pleiades occidentes afferre solent—E Theophrasto: Μετεώρῃ ἰὼν πρόβατα ἢ βόας ὀρύττωσι καὶ κοιμῶνται ἀθροῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχοντες τὰς κεφαλὰς, τὴν χεῖμᾶνα χειμῶνος σημαίνει.

[Theoph. Sign. Pluv.]

354—358. Pergit dicere de bubus, &c.—Ne vero nimium fodiant, quoniam magna et immoderata fit, neque plantis hyems grata, neque

Μηδ' εἰεν καθύπερθεν εἰσικότες ἀστέρες αἰεῖ,
 Μηθ' εἰς μήτα δάω, μηδὲ πλίονες κοιμώοντες·
 Πολλοὶ γὰρ κοιμώσιν ἐν' αὐχμηρῷ ἐνιαυτῷ.
 Οὐδὲ μὲν ὀρνίθων ἀγέλαις ἡπειροῦσιν ἀνὴρ,
 Ἐκ νῆσαν ὅτε πολλὰ ἐπιπλήσασσιν ἐρούχας
 Ἐρχομένου θέρος χαίρει· περιδείδιε δ' αἰνῶς
 Ἀμήτω, μὴ οἱ κενὸς καὶ ἀχρηστὸς ἔλθῃ
 Αὐχμῷ ἀνιηθείς· χαίρει δέ που αἰπόλος ἀνὴρ
 Αὐταῖς ὀρνίθεσιν ἐπὴν κατὰ μέτρον ἴωσιν,
 Ἐλπόμενος μετέπειτα πολυγλαγῶς ἐνιαυτοῦ.
 Οὕτω γὰρ μογεροὶ καὶ ἀλήμονες ἀλλαθεὶ ἄλλοι
 Ζώομεν ἄνθρωποι· τὰ δὲ πὰρ ποσὶ πάντας ἔτημοι
 Σήματ' ἐπιγυῶναι καὶ ἐς αὐτίκα ποιήσασθαι.
 Ἄρνας μὲν χειμῶνας ἐτεκμήραντο νομήες,
 Ἐς νομὸν ὁππότε μᾶλλον ἐπειγόμενοι τρεχάσων·
 Ἄλλοι δ' ἐξ ἀγέλης κριοὶ, ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ ἄμκοι

360

365

370

arationibus; sed nix fit multa spatiosis in arvis, necdum discreta, neque in grandi segete, quo quilibet anni feracitate gaudere possit fruens vir. Theophrastus notat: Μετοπάρν ἰαὶ πρόβατα ἢ βόεις ὀρύττωσι καὶ κοιμῶνται ἄθροοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχοντες τὰς κεφαλὰς, τὸν χειμῶνα χειμῶριον σημαίνει. [Theoph. Sign. Temp.] Et Democr. πρόβατα γῆν ὀρύττωσι χειμῶνα σημαίνει. [Dem. apud Fabr. B. G. iv. 338. cit. Buhle, p. 477.] Porci etiam, veniente pluvia, segetes destruunt. Anglis proverbialiter dictum est, when swine destroy the stacks of corn, be sure that rain is coming down. Virgilius pluviam præmonebat, quum

Immundi meminere sues jactare manipulos.

[Virg. Geor. i. 400.]

Et Plinio idem indicant, Turpesque porci alienos sibi manipulos fæni lacerantes.

[Plin. Hist. Nat. xviii. 35.]

359—361. Prognosticum e stellis comatis—Nec item fuerint desuper visæ stellæ semper vel una, duo, aut plures comatæ; multæ enim comantur in anno arido. Cf. Proclus in Paraph. Tetr. Ptol. Ἐτι δὲ τὰ κατὰ χειρὸς ἐν τῷ αἵρι ἐπιγινώσκοντα, εἰαν αἱ πνεύματα τῶν κομητῶν, καὶ αὐταὶ ὡς ἐπίκου

ἀνέμους προσημαίνουσι καὶ ξηρότητας· καὶ τοσούτον πλίον ὅσον ἂν καὶ πρὸς πλείονα μίση σύστασιν, καὶ ἐπίκου διαμείνη τούτῳ ἢ σύστασις.

[Proclus Paraph. Tetr. Ptol. ii. 14. cit. Buhle, p. 477.]

363—368. Prognosticum vacuæ messis ex avibus ab insulis in continentem volantibus, malum quidem aratori, bonum vero interdum pastori, quia annus lacte abundans sequitur—Neque quidem volucrum agminibus in continente degens vir ex insulis cum multæ irruant arva veniente tempestate gaudet; sed timet anxie messi ne ei vacua et sine granis veniat squalore læsa; gaudet vero opilio ipsis volucris, quum non omnino pauca veniant, spem cupiens sequentis anni lacte abundantis.

369—371. Sic enim ærumnosi et instabiles alibi alii vivimus homines; atque ea quæ ante pedes sunt omnes parati signa cognoscere et in posterum capere.

372—377. Prognosticum tempestatis ex ludentibus agnis—Agnis quidem tempestates observare soliti sunt pastores, ad pabulum quum magis festinantes currant. Alii etiam e grege arietes, alii item

- Εἰνόδιοι παίζουσιν ἐρειδόμενοι κεράεσσιν. 375
 * Ἡ ὅποι' ἄλλοθεν ἄλλοι ἀναπλήσσωσι πόδεσσι
 Τέτρασιν οἱ κοῦφοι, κεραοὶ γέ μιν ἀμφοτέροισιν.
 * Ἡ καὶ ὅτ' ἐξ ἀγέλης ἀκούσῃα κινήσῃα,
 Δείλον εἰσελάοντες ὁμῶς τὰ θε' πάντοθι ποίης
 Δάκνωσιν πυκνῇσι κελυόμενα λιθάεσσιν. 380
 * Ἐκ δὲ βοῶν ἐπύθοντ' ἀρόται καὶ βουκόλοι ἄνδρες
 Κινυμένου χειμῶνος ἐπεὶ βόες ὅπποτε χηλῆς
 Γλώσση ὑπωμαίοιο ποδὸς περιλιχμήσονται
 * Ἡ κοίτῃ πλευρᾷ ἐπὶ δεξιτέρας ταύουσινται,
 Ἀμβολίην ἀρότοις γέρον ἐπιέλπεται ἀροτρεύς. 385
 * Ἡ δ' ὅτε μυκηθμῷο περίπλεοι ἀγέρονται,
 Ἐρχόμεναι σταθμόνδε βόες βουλύσιον ἄρην,
 Σκυθαὶ λειμῶνος πόριες καὶ βουβοσίοιο,
 Αὐτίκα τεκμαίρονται ἀχειμέροι ἐμπλήσεσθαι.
 Οὐδ' αἰγες, πρίνιοι περισπείδουσαι ἀκάνθαις, 390
 Εὐδίοι, οὐδὲ σύες φορυτῶ ἐπιμαγαίνουσαι.
 Καὶ λύκος ὅπποτε μακρὰ μονόλυκος αὔρηται·
 * Ἡ ὅτ' ἀροτρήων ὄλιγον πεφυλαγμένος ἀνδρῶν
 Ἔργα, κατέρχεται σκέπαος χιτῶντος ἑοικῶς
 Ἐγγύθεν ἀνθρώπων, ἵνα οἱ λῆχος αὐτόθεν εἴη, 395

agnelli in itinere ludunt, innixi cornibus, aut quando sibi alii referant pedibus quatuor fèves, cornati vero duobus.

378—380. Prognosticum tempestatis, —vel quando aliqui e grege inviti moveantur vespere ad stabulum redeuntēs, simul et undique herbam arrodunt crebris impetiti lapillis.

380—385. Signa tempestatis e bubus—Sed et a bobus signa capere solent agricolæ et armentarii surgentis tempestatis; siquidem boves quando ungulas anterioris pedis lingua circumlingant; aut stabulo latere super dextero jaceant extenti. Sumpta e Theophrasto: Βοὺς τὴν προσθίαν ἐπὶ τὴν λήξας χιμῶνα ἢ ὕδωρ σημαίνει. [Theoph. Sign. Pluv.] Et inter serenitatis signa: Καὶ βοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ ἀριστερόν ἱσχιον κατακλιπόμενος ὕδατος σημαίνει, καὶ κύων ὡσαύτως ἐπὶ δεξιόν, ὅτε χιμῶνα. [Theoph. Sign. Seren.] Scriptum est in Fragm. de Sympath. et Antipath. apud Fabr. Ἐγκαλιμαίνοι δὲ βόες ἀνέρα ἐν χειμῶτι προσμαίνουσιν τοῖς

διξιοῖσι πλείουσι ἐκκλιπόμενοι. [Frag. de Sympath. et Antipath. apud Fabr. B. Gr. iv. 29. cit. Buhle, p. 479.] *Ælianus* hoc e bubus præsignium notavit in Hist. Anim. Ὅτι δὲ βούς ἰὼν μέλλη ὕσιν ὁ Ζεὺς ἐπὶ τὸ ἱσχιον τὸ δεξιὸν κατακλιπεται ἰὼν δὲ ὕδατος, ἐπὶ τὸ λαῖον θαυμάζει τις ἡ οὐδέ τις.

[Ælian. Hist. Anim. viii. 8.]

386—389. Alterum e bobus prognosticum—Etiam quando mugientes plus solito congregantur venientes ad stabulum boves vespertino tempore; tristes et e pratis vitulæ et pastu; tunc indicant ante tempestatem se cupere saturari.

390—391. Tempestatis indicium e capris et suibus—Neque capræ illicis studiosæ circum ramos serena sunt, neque sues in luto furentes.—Clemens Alex. ὅτις ἡδονται βορβορῇ μᾶλλον, ἢ καθαρῷ ὕδατι, καὶ ἐπὶ φορυτῶ μαργαίνουσι κατὰ δημόκριτον.

[Cit. Bochart. Hieroz. i. ii. 57.]

392—396. Prognosticum e lupis—Item lupus quando alte solus ab aliis ejulet; vel quando agriculturalum

Τρεῖς περιτελλομένης ἡοῦς, χειμῶνα δοκεῖν.
 Οὕτω καὶ προτέροις ἐπὶ σημασί τειμήφαιο
 Ἐσσομένων ἀνέμων, ἢ χειματος, ἢ ὑετῆος,
 Αὐτὴν, ἢ μετ' αὐτὴν, ἢ τριτάτην ἔτ' ἐς ἡβῶ.
 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδὲ μύες τετραγύγες εἴποτε μᾶλλον
 Εὐδοιοὶ ἐσκήρτησαν, εἰκότες ἀρχημοῖσιν,
 Ἀσχεπτοὶ ἐγένοντο παλαιότεροι ἀνθρώποις·
 Οὐδὲ κύνες· καὶ γὰρ τε κύων ἀεὶ ἔφατο ποσσὶν
 Ἀμφοτέροις, χειμῶνος ἐπαρχομένοις δεκεῦαν.
 Καὶ μὴν ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ καρνίνες ὄχετο χάρψα,
 Χειμῶνος μέλλοντος ἐπαΐσσεσθαι ὁδοῖον·
 Καὶ μύες ἡμέριοι ποσσὶ στιβαρά στραφῶντες.
 Κοίτης ἱμεῖρονται, ὅτ' ὄμβρου σήματα φαίνοι,
 Κάκεινοι χειμῶνα μύες τότε μαντεύονται.
 Τῶν μηδὲν κατόκνησο· καλὸν δ' ἐπὶ σήματι σῆμα

400

405

410

parum cautus virorum opera accedat, ad tertiam auroram tempestatem observa. Homer in Odys.

Ἐπὶ δ' ἱμεῖον, ὥστε λίαν ἀσκήττορος, ἀλλὰ πεποιθὸς.

Ὅσοι εἰς ὄμιον καὶ ἄμινον· &c.

[Homer. Odys. ζ. 130.]

Cf. Eustath. ad h. l.

Theophrastus Sign. Temp. Λύκος αἰσθάνεται χειμῶνα σημαίνει. Addit; Λύκος τριῶν ἡμέρων ὅταν πρὸς τὰ ἔργα ὀρμῇ ἢ εἰσω, χειμῶνος ὄρμῃ, χειμῶνα σημαίνει αὐτός. [Theoph. Sign. Temp. Heins. edit. p. 439.]

Ælian. in Hist. Anim. Λύκος δὲ εὐγόντος ἰσημίαν καὶ εὐθὺ τῶν αἰκονομένων τοῖσι χειμῶνος ἰμβολὴν μέλλοντος εἶπε περὶ κασι μαρτυροῦσι· δι' αὐτὴν δρῶσι. Addit prognosticum de Leonibus: Λέοντες δὲ ἐν τοῖς καρπύμοις χωρίοις ἐπιδημία αὐχμὸν δηλοῖ. [Ælian. Hist. Anim. vii. 8.]

Buhle refert ad Oppian. Cyn.

Ναὶ δ' αὖρεα μακρά· τὰ δ' ὅποτε χεῖματος ὥρη

Ἐκ νεφίων προχρυσῆσα χιλὸν κρύσιον καλὸν

Δὴ τότε καὶ πόλιος πύλας ἔκτετο θύρ' ὁλοφύρων,

Ἦσαν ἀναιδέην ἱππεύμοις εἴνεκ' ἰδωδῆς—

[Oppian. Cyneg. iii. 308.]

Cf. Geop. ad h. l. Davis. ad Cic. de Div. 8. et Bochart. Hieroz.

397—399. Sic etiam prioribus in signis conjecturam facito futuro-

rum ventorum, aut tempestatibus aut

pluviae, ad præsentem, vel post præsentem, vel ad tertiam denique auroram.

400—402. Prognosticum e muribus—At vero neque mures vociferantes, si quando frequentius sereni saliant, similes tripudiantibus, sine significatione habiti sunt veteribus hominibus. Aliud prognosticum e muribus notavit Theophrastus: Καὶ τὸ πανταχοῦ δι' λεγόμενοι σημεῖον δημόσιον χειμῶνος ὅταν μύες περὶ σφουρτοῦ μαχωνται, καὶ φέρονται.

[Theoph. Sign. Temp.]

403—404. Præsagium tempestatibus e canibus terram effodientibus—Neque canes; etenim fodere solet pedibus ambobus tempestatem instantem sentiens. T. Forster olim canem habebat qui certis temporibus effodiebat cava tam profunda et spatiosa ut non tantum unum sed plures canes contineret. Hoc præcipue faciebat ante pluviam.

405—406. Quin ex aqua cancer aggredi solet terra e tempestate futura accingendo se itineri.

407—410. Prognosticum e muribus—Etiam mures domestici lectulum sternerentes cubitum desiderant, quum pluviae signum appareat, et illi tempestatem mures tunc vaticinantur.

Σκέπτεσθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ δυοῖν εἰς ταῦτόν ἰστέον
 Ἑλκωρὴ τελέθει· τριτάτῃ δὲ κε θαρσύνῃσας.

Λίλ' δ' ἂν περιόντος ἀριθμολῆς ἐνιαυτοῦ

Σήματα, συμβάλλον εἶπου καὶ ἐπ' ἀστέρι τοῖν

Ἡῶς ἀντέλλοντι κατέρχεται, ἢ κατιόντι,

415

Ὅπποῖον καὶ σῆμα λέγοι, μάλα δ' ἄρκιον εἴη

Φράζεσθαι φθίνοντος ἐρισταμένιό τε μῆδος

Τετράδας ἀμφοτέρως· αἱ γὰρ τ' ἄμυδις συνίσταται

Μηνῶν πείρατ, ἔχουσιν, ὅτε σφαλερώτατος αἰθήρ

Ὅκτω νυξὶ πέλει, χήτει χαροκοῖο σελήνης.

420

Τῶν ἄμυδις πάντων ἰσχυμένους εἰς ἐνιαυτόν,

Οὐδέ ποτε σχεδὸν καὶ ἐπ' αἰθέρι τεκμήριον.

ON THE MYTHOLOGY OF THE GREEKS.

PART II.—[Continued from No. XLV. p. 41.]

HAVING premised thus much concerning the fables of the Greeks, and the design of Homer in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, I shall now proceed to the developement of some of his principal fables, epitomizing and endeavouring to elucidate, for this purpose, what is said by Proclus, in his admirable *Apology* for the fables of the greatest of poets.¹ In the first place therefore, let us direct our attention to the occult meaning of the battles of the Gods, as these may be justly ranked among the most paradoxical of the Homeric figments. Of the battles then, which are celebrated by theological poets, we may perceive two concep-

410—422. Quorum nullum fastidito; bonum vero est cum signo signum observare, magis vero duobus in unum tendentibus (convenientia signa) spes esto; tertio confidas licet: semper item prætereuntis numerare poteris anni signa, confrens sicubi etiam sub stella talis Aurora exoriente transeat vel occidente quale etiam signum nunciat. Impense vero idoneum fuerit contemplari dependentis instantisque mensis quartas utrasque; hæ enim simul cœlentium mensium terminos habent, quum maxime dubius æther

octo noctibus est defectus pulchræ adspectu lunæ. Quæ simul omnia contemplatus ad annum, haud umquam leviter super æthera significabis.

V. 411. Ex Arato Geop. Ὅταν δὲ ἅμα πλείω σημεία ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συντρέχῃ, βεβαιώτερα τὰ ἐπιζόμενα.

[Geop. i. 3. cit. Buhle.]

V. 417. Geop. Μάλιστα δὲ παραφυλάττειν χρὴ, αὐξήσεως καὶ φθίνουσης τῆς σελήνης τὰς τετράδας, τὴν τοῦ αἵρος κίνησιν τριπλῶς. Cf. Theophr. Sign. Pluv. Ptolem. Indic. Astrolog. ii.

[Ibid.]

¹ This *Apology* forms a part of the fragments of his *Commentary* on the *Republic* of Plato, at the end of his *Commentary* on the *Timæus*.

tions, one of which considers the well-ordered division of the divine genera about those two principles, the immediate progeny of *the one*, the exempt cause of all things, and which according to the opposition of these principles, represents the Gods as acting contrary to each other. For whether it be proper to call those first natures *bound and infinity*,¹ or *monad and indefinite duad*, they will entirely appear to be oppositely divided with respect to each other, conformably to which the orders of the Gods are also separated from each other. But the other conception arises from considering the contrariety and variety about the last of things, and referring a discord of this kind to the powers that proximately preside over them, and thus feigning that the Gods, proceeding into a material nature and distributed about it, war with each other. For since the inferior orders are suspended from the government of the more excellent genera of Gods, and preserve the characteristics of their leaders, though in a partial and multiplied manner, they are called by their names; and as they subsist analogously to the first Gods, they appear in their progressions to be the same with their more total causes. And this not only the fables of the Greeks have occultly devised—I mean that leading Gods and their attendants should be called by the same names—but this is also delivered in the initiatory rites of the barbarians. For they say, that attendants suspended from the Gods, particularly rejoice when invoked, to be called by the appellations, and to be invested with the vehicles, of the leaders of their series, and exhibit themselves to theurgists in the place of these leading deities. If, therefore, we refer Minerva, Juno, and Vulcan, when engaged in war below in the sublunary region, and likewise Latona, Diana, and the river Xanthus, to other secondary orders, and which are proximate to divisible and material natures, we ought not to wonder on account of the communion of names. For each series bears the appellation of its monad or principle, and partial spirits love to receive the same denomination with wholes. Hence there are many and all-various Apollos, Neptunes, and Vulcans; and some of them are separate from the universe, others have an allotment about the heavens, others preside over the whole elements, and to others the government of individuals belongs. It is not there-

¹ These principles were symbolically called by Orpheus, *ether and chaos*, enigmatically by Pythagoras, *monad and duad*, and scientifically by Plato, *bound and infinity*. See the notes to my translation of the *Philebus* and *Parmenides* of Plato.

fore wonderful, if a more partial Vulcan, and who is allotted a dæmoniacal order [or an order pertaining to dæmons], possesses a providential dominion over material fire, and which subsists about the earth, or that he should be the inspective guardian of a certain art which operates in brass. For if the providence of the Gods has a diminution according to an ultimate division, being allotted a well-ordered progression supernally from total and united causes, this Vulcanian dæmon also will rejoice in the safety of that which he is allotted, and will be hostile to those causes which are corruptive of its constitution. War therefore in such like genera, a division of all-various powers, mutual familiarity and discord, a divisible sympathy with the objects of their government, verbal contentions, revenge through mockery, and other things of this kind, are very properly conceived to take place about the terminations of the divine orders. Hence fables in representing such powers as these discordant with and opposing each other, on account of the subjects over which they providentially preside, do not appear to be very remote from the truth. For the passions of the things governed are proximately referred to these.

This being premised, Homer, to those who consider his poems with attention, will appear to speak about the former mode of divine contention when he says,

“When Saturn was by Jove all-seeing thrust
Beneath the earth.”¹

and in another place* respecting Typhon,

“Earth groan’d beneath them; as when angry Jove
Hurls down the forky lightning from above,
On Arime when he the thunder throws,
And fires Typhæus with redoubled blows,
Where Typhon, prest beneath the burning load,
Still feels the fury of th’ avenging God.”

For in these verses he obscurely signifies a Titanic war against Jupiter, and what the Orphic writers call precipitations into Tartarus, (*καταπρυγῶναι*). But he particularly introduces the Gods warring with each other, and dissenting about human affairs, according to the second conception of divine battles, in which the divine and intellectual disposition of the figments, adopted by the poet, is worthy of the greatest admiration. For

¹ In the original, *οὐκ ἔστι Κρονὸν ἐκπύοντα ἵερὸν γένος ὑπὸ τοῦ καλῆς*. But this at present is not to be found in Homer.

² *Iliad*. lib. ii. ver. 288, &c.

in describing their battles (who though they are allotted a subsistence at the extremities of the divine progressions, yet are suspended from the Gods, and are proximate to the subjects of their government, and are allied to their leaders), he indicates their sympathy with inferior natures, referring a divided life, battle, and opposition from things in subjection, to the powers by which they are governed; just as Orpheus conjoins with Bacchic images, compositions, divisions, and lamentations, referring all these to them from presiding causes. But Homer represents the alliance of these divisible spirits with the series from which they proceed, by the same names through which he celebrates the powers that are exempt from material natures, and employs numbers and figures adapted to their whole orders. For those who engage in battle are eleven¹ in number, imitating the army of Gods and daemons following Jupiter, and distributed into eleven parts. Of these, those that preside over the better co-ordination are contained in the pentad; for the odd number, the spheric,² and the power of leading all secondary natures according to justice, and of extending from the middle to every number, are adapted to those who desire to govern more intellectual and perfect natures, and such as are more allied to the one. But those of an inferior destiny, and who are the guardians of material natures, proceed according to the hexad, possessing indeed a perfective power over the subjects of their providential care through a proper³ number; but in consequence of this number being even, and co-ordinate with a worse nature, they are subordinatè to the other powers. Nor is it wonderful if some one should call these genera Gods, through their alliance to their leaders, and should represent them as warring through their proximate care of material natures. The opposition therefore of Neptune and Apollo, signifies that these powers preside over the apparent contrariety of all sublunary wholes; and hence these Gods do not fight with each other. For parts are preserved by their containing wholes as long as they subsist. But the

¹ Vid. *Iliad*. xx. v. 31, &c., and my translation of the *Phædrus* of Plato.

² Five is not only an odd, but also a spheric number: for all its multiplications into itself, terminate in five; and therefore end where they began.

³ For six is a perfect number, being equal to the sum of all its parts, which are 3, 2, and 1, the first of these being the half, the second the third, and the last the sixth part of 6. And besides these, it has no other parts.

opposition of Juno and Diana, represents the opposite division of souls in the universe, whether rational or irrational, separate or inseparable, supernatural or natural; the former of these powers presiding over the more excellent order of souls, but the latter bringing forth and producing into light those of an inferior condition. Again, the discord of Minerva and Mars, represents the division of the whole of the war in the sublunary region; into providence subsisting according to intellect, and that which is perfected through necessity; the former power intellectually presiding over contraries, and the latter corroborating their natural powers, and exciting their mutual opposition. But the battle between Hermes and Latona insinuates the all-various differences of souls according to their gnostic and vital motions; Hermes giving perfection to their knowledge, and Latona to their lives; which two often differ from and are contrary to each other. Lastly, the battle between Vulcan and the river Xanthus adorns in a becoming manner the contrary principles of the whole corporeal system; the former assisting the powers of heat and dryness, and the latter of cold and moisture, from which the whole of generation receives its completion. Since however, it is requisite that all contraries should end in mutual concord, Venus is present, producing friendship¹ in the adverse parties; but at the same time assisting those powers that belong to the worse co-ordination; because these are especially adorned, when they possess symmetry and familiarity with the better order of contrary natures. And thus much concerning the divine battles of Homer.

The next particular to which I shall solicit the attention of the reader, is the different ways in which the poetry of Homer delivers multiform mutations of innumerable natures. The first mode therefore of this mutation indicates the various participations of a divine nature. For that which is simple in the Gods appears various to those by whom it is seen, divinity neither being changed, nor wishing to deceive; but nature herself giving a determination to the characteristics of the Gods, according to the measures of the participants. For that which is participated, being one, is variously participated by intellect, the rational soul, the phantasy, and sense. For the first of these participates

¹ That is to say, though Venus is not represented by Homer as actually producing friendship in the adverse Gods, yet this is occultly signified, by her being present; for she is the source of all the harmony, friendship, and analogy in the universe, and of the union of form with matter.

it impartibly, the second in an expanded manner, the third accompanied with figure, and the fourth with passivity. Hence that which is participated, is uniform according to the summit of its subsistence, but multifarious according to participation. It is also essentially immutable, and firmly established, but at different times appears various to its participants through the imbecility of their nature. That also which is without weight appears heavy to those that are filled with it. "The miserable heart by which I am received cannot bear me," says some one of the Gods. Whence Homer likewise, perceiving the truth of these things, says of Minerva:

" Loud crash'd the beechen axle with the weight,
For strong and dreadful was the power it bore."²

Though it may be said, how can that which is without weight be the cause of weight? But such as is the participant, such necessarily must that which is participated appear.³ Whether therefore, some of the Gods have appeared similar to guests, or have been seen in some other form, it is not proper to attribute the apparent mutation to them, but we should say that the spectrum is varied in the different recipients. And this is one of the ways in which Homer delivers the mutations of immutable natures.

But there is another way, when a divine nature itself, which is all-powerful, and full of all-various forms, extends various spectacles to those that behold it. For then according to the variety of powers which it possesses, it is said to be changed into many forms, at different times extending different powers; always indeed energising according to all its powers, but perpetually appearing various to the transitive intellections of souls, through the multitude which it comprehends. According to this mode, Proteus also is said to change his proper form to those that behold it, perpetually exhibiting a different appearance. Partial souls therefore, such as ours, beholding Proteus, who is a certain dæmoniackal intellect belonging to the series of Neptune, and who

¹ Hence also Homer, *Iliad*. xx. v. 131. says, Χαλεποι δὲ θεοὶ φαίνεσθαι ἐναργεῖς, i. e.

"O'erpow'ring are the Gods when clearly seen."

² *Iliad*. V. v. 838.

³ A divine nature must necessarily produce the sensation of weight in the body by which it is received, from its overpowering energy: for body lies like nonentity before such a nature, and fails, and dies away, as it were, under its influence.

possesses many powers, and is full of forms, fancy, whilst at different times they convert themselves to the different forms which he contains, that the transition of their own intellctions, is a mutation of the intelligible objects. Hence, to those that retain him, he appears to become all things—

“Water, and fire divine, and all that creeps
On earth.”

For such forms as he possesses and comprehends, or rather such as he perpetually is, such does he appear to become, when these forms are considered separately, through the divisible conception of those that behold them.

In the third place therefore, it may be said that the Gods appear to be changed, when the same divinity proceeds according to different orders, and subsides as far as to the last of things, multiplying himself according to number, and descending into subordinate distinctions; for then again fables say, that the divinity which proceeds from on high into this form, is changed to that into which it makes its progression. Thus they say that Minerva was assimilated to Mentor, Mercury to the bird called the sea-gull, and Apollo to a hawk; indicating by this their more daemoniacal orders, into which they proceed from those of a superior rank. Hence, when fables describe the manifestations of the Gods, they endeavour to preserve them formless and unfigured. Thus when Minerva appears to Achilles,¹ and becomes visible to him alone, the whole camp being present, there Homer does not even fabulously ascribe any form and figure to the Goddess, but only says that she was present, without expressing the manner in which she was present. But when fables intend to signify daemoniacal appearances, they introduce the Gods under various forms, but these such as are total; as for instance, a human form, or one common to man or woman indefinitely. For thus, again, Neptune and Minerva were present with Achilles:

“Neptune and Pallas haste to his relief,
And, thus in human form address the chief.”²

Lastly, when fables relate *daemoniacal* manifestations, then they do not think it improper to describe their mutations into individuals and partial natures; whether into particular men, or other animals. For the last of those genera that are the perpetual at-

¹ Iliad. lib. i. v. 194.

² Iliad. xxi. v. 285.

tendants of the Gods, are manifested by these figures. And here you may see how particulars of this kind are devised conformably to the order of things. For that which is simple is adapted to a divine nature, that which is universal to an attendant, and the rational nature to both these; and that which is partial and irrational accords with a dæmoniacal nature. For a life of this kind is connected with the order of dæmons. And, thus much for the modes according to which the Homeric fables devise mutations of things immutable, and introduce various forms to uniform natures.

In the next place, let us consider what the lamentations and laughter of the Gods occultly signify in the poetry of Homer. What then is the meaning of Thetis weeping and exclaiming:

“ Ah wretched me! unfortunately brave
A son I bore.”¹

For a divine nature is perfectly exempt from pleasure and pain. But though some one should dare to introduce the mundane Gods affected in this manner, yet it is not fit that the Demiurgus of the universe should lament and mourn, both for Hector when pursued by Achilles, and for his son Sarpedon, and exclaim respecting both, Ah me! For such an imitation does not appear to be in any respect adapted to its paradigms, since it ascribes tears to things that are without tears, pain to things void of pain, and in short passion to things free from passion. In answer to these objections, it may be replied, that when the Gods are said to weep for or lament those that are most dear to them, that mode of interpretation must be adopted, which was formerly admitted by the authors of fables, who indicated by tears the providence of the Gods about mortal, generated, and perishable natures. For this object of providential energy, naturally calling for tears, afforded a pretext to the inventors of fables; and through these they obscurely signified providence itself. Hence some one, in a hymn to the Sun, says,

“ Phæbus, the much-enduring race of men
Thy tears excite.”²

And on this account, in the mysteries also, (Proclus adds) we mystically assume sacred lamentations, as symbols of the provi-

¹ *Iliad*. xviii. v. 54.

² In the original, Δακρυα μὲν σθεθεν, ἐστὶ πολυτλημων (lege πολυτλημων) γένος ἀνδρῶν.

dence pertaining to us from more excellent natures. The greatest likewise, and most perfect¹ of the mysteries, deliver in the arcana, certain sacred lamentations of Proserpine and Ceres, and of the greatest Goddess [Rhea] herself.

But it is by no means wonderful, if the last of the genera which are the perpetual attendants of the Gods, and which proximately inspect the affairs of mortals should, in consequence of employing appetites and passions, and having their life in these, rejoice in the safety of the objects of their providence, but be afflicted and indignant when they are corrupted, and should suffer a mutation according to the passions:

“The Nymphs lament when trees are leafless found;
But when the trees through fertilizing rain,
In leaves abound, the Nymphs rejoice again.”²

says a certain poet. For all things subsist *divinely* in the Gods, but divisibly and dæmoniacally in the divided guardians of our nature. And thus much may suffice concerning the lamentations of the Gods.

But with respect to the laughter of the Gods, what shall we say it is, and why do they laugh in consequence of Vulcan moving and energising?

“Vulcan ministrant when the Gods beheld,
Amidst them laughter unextinguished rose.”³

Theologists, then, say that Vulcan is the Demiurgus and maker of every thing visible (Jupiter being the Demiurgus both of invisible and visible natures). Hence he is said to have constructed habitations for the Gods:

“Then to their proper domes the Gods depart,
Form’d by lame Vulcan with transcendent art.”⁴

And this, in consequence of preparing for them mundane receptacles. He is also said to be lame in both his feet, because he is the fabricator of things that are last in the progressions of being (for such are bodies), and which are not able to proceed into another order. But since every providential energy about a *sensible nature*, in which the Gods assist the fabrication of Vulcan, is said to be the *sport* of divinity, hence Timæus also

¹ Viz. The Eleusinian mysteries.

² In the original, Νυμφαὶ μὲν κλειοῦσιν, ὅτε δρυεὶν οὐκ ἐνὶ φύλλῳ,
Νυμφαὶ δ’ αὖ χαίρουσιν, ὅτε δρυὰς οὐμβροσ ἀεθεῖ.

Procl. in Polit. Plat. p. 384.

³ Iliad. i. v. 599.

⁴ Iliad. i. v. 605, &c.

appears to me to call the mundane Gods *junior*, as presiding over things which are perpetually *in generation*, or *becoming to be*, and which may be considered as ludicrous;—this being the case, the authors of fables are accustomed to call this peculiarity of the providence of the Gods *energising* about the world, *laughter*. And when the poet says, that the Gods being delighted with the motion of Vulcan, laughed with *inextinguishable* laughter, nothing else is indicated than that they are co-operating artificers; that they jointly give perfection to the art of Vulcan, and supernally impart joy to the universe. In short, *we must define the laughter of the Gods to be their exuberant energy in the universe, and the cause of the gladness of all mundane natures*. But as such a providence is incomprehensible, and the communication of all good from the Gods is never-failing, we must allow that the poet very properly calls their laughter *unextinguished*. And here you may again see how what we have said is conformable to the nature of things. For fables do not assert that the Gods always weep, but say that they laugh without ceasing. For tears are symbols of their providence in mortal and frail concerns, and which now rise into existence and then perish; but laughter is a sign of their energy in wholes, and those perfect natures in the universe which are perpetually moved with undeviating sameness. On which account I think, when we divide demiurgic productions into Gods and men, we attribute laughter to the generation of the Gods, but tears to the formation of men and animals; whence the poet whom we have before mentioned, in his hymn to the Sun, says,

“Mankind’s laborious race thy tears excite,
But the Gods, laughing, blossom’d into light.”

But when we make a division into things celestial and sublunary, again, after the same manner, we must assign laughter to the former and tears to the latter; and when we reason concerning the generations and corruptions of sublunary natures themselves, we must refer the former to the laughter, and the latter to the tears of the Gods. Hence in the mysteries also, those who preside over sacred institutions order both these to be celebrated at stated times. Proclus just adds, that the stupid are neither able to understand things employed by theurgists in secrecy, nor fictions of this kind. For the hearing of both these, when un-

¹ In the original, *ἡ δακρυὰ μὲν σθένος ἐστὶ πολυτλήμων γένος ἀνδρῶν, ἡ δὲ θάμνη δὲ θεῶν κερὰ γένος ἐβλάστησεν.*

unaccompanied with science, produces dire and absurd confusion in the lives of the multitude, with respect to the reverence pertaining to divinity.

Let us in the next place consider what is obscurely signified by the connexion of Jupiter with Juno. In order to a development therefore of the fable, it must be observed, that sleep and wakefulness are with great propriety usurped separately in the symbols of fables; wakefulness manifesting the providence of the Gods about the world, but sleep, a life separate from all subordinate natures; though the Gods at one and the same time providentially energize about the universe, and are established in themselves. The father of all mundane natures therefore, may be said to be awake, according to his energy about the world; for wakefulness with us is an energy of sense; but according to a firm establishment in himself, to be asleep, as being separated from sensibles, and exhibiting a life defined according to a perfect intellect. It may also be said, that he consults about human affairs when awake; for according to this life he provides for all mundane concerns; but that when asleep, and led together with Juno to a separate union, he is not forgetful of the other energy, but possessing and energising conformably to it, at the same time contains both. For he does not like nature, produce secondary beings without intelligence, nor through intelligence is his providence in subordinate natures diminished, but at the same time he both governs the objects of his providence according to justice, and ascends to his intelligible place of survey. The fable therefore indicates this exempt transcendency, when it says that the connexion of Jupiter with Juno was on mount Ida; for there Juno arriving gave herself to the embraces of the mighty Jupiter. What else then shall we say mount *Ida* obscurely signifies, but the region of *ideas*, and an intelligible nature, to which Jupiter ascends and elevates Juno through love;—not converting himself to the participant, but through excess of goodness imparting this second union with himself, and with that which is intelligible? For such are the loves of superior beings,—they are converse of things subordinate to things primary, give completion to the good which they contain, and are perfective of subject natures. The fable, therefore, does not diminish the dignity of the mighty Jupiter, by representing him as having connexion on the ground with Juno, and refusing to enter into her bed-chamber; for by this it insinuates that the connexion was supermundane, and not mundane. The chamber, therefore, constructed by Vulcan, indicates the orderly composition of the universe, and the sensible region: for

Vulcan, as we have said before, is the artificer of every thing visible.

After this, let us concisely show what the poetry of Homer obscurely signifies by the connexion between Mars and Venus, and the bonds of Vulcan.¹ Both these divinities then, I mean Vulcan and Mars, energeise about the whole world, the latter separating the contrarieties of the universe, which he also perpetually excites, and immutably preserves, that the world may be perfect, and filled with forms of every kind; but the former artificially fabricating the whole sensible order, and filling it with physical forms and powers. He also fashions twenty tripods² about the heavens; that he may adorn them with the most perfect of many-sided figures,³ and fabricates various and multiform sublunary species,

Clasps, winding bracelets, necklaces, and chains.⁴

Both these divinities require the assistance of Venus in their energies; the one, that he may insert order and harmony in contraries; and the other, that he may introduce beauty and splendor as much as possible, into sensible fabrications, and render this world the most beautiful of visible natures. But, as Venus is every where, Vulcan always enjoys her according to the superior, but Mars according to the inferior, orders of things. Thus, for instance, if Vulcan is supermundane, Mars is mundane; and if the former is celestial, the latter is sublunary. Hence, the one is said to have married Venus according to the will of Jupiter, but the other is fabled to have committed adultery with her. For a communion with the cause of beauty and conciliation, is *natural* to the Demiurgus of sensibles; but is in a certain respect *foreign* to the power which presides over division, and imparts the contrariety of mundane natures; for the *separating* are opposed to the *collective* genera of Gods. *Fables therefore denominate this conspiring union of dissimilar causes, adultery.* But a communion of this kind is necessary to the universe, in order that contraries may be co-harmonised, and the mundane war terminate in peace. Since, however, on high among celestial natures, beauty shines forth, together with forms, elegance,

¹ Odyss viii. v. 266, &c.

² Vid. Iliad, xviii. v. 370, &c.

³ Viz. The dodecahedron, which is bounded by twelve equal and equilateral pentagons, and consists of twenty solid angles, of which the tripods of Vulcan are images: for every angle of the dodecahedron is formed from the junction of *three* lines.

⁴ Iliad, xviii. v. 402.

and the fabrication of Vulcan, but beneath, in the realms of generation, the opposition and war of the elements, contrariety of powers, and in short the gifts of Mars are conspicuous,—on this account, the Sun from on high beholds the connexion of Mars and Venus, and discloses it to Vulcan, in consequence of co-operating with all the productions of this divinity. But Vulcan is said to throw over them all various bonds, invisible to the other Gods, as adorning the mundane genera with artificial forms, and producing one system from the contrarieties of Mars, and the co-harmonising benefits of Venus. This however being effected, Apollo, Hermes, and each of the Gods laugh. But their laughter gives substance to mundane natures, and inserts efficacious power in the bonds. Since, too, of bonds some are celestial, but others sublunary; on this account Vulcan again dissolves the bonds with which he had bound Mars and Venus, and this he particularly accomplishes in compliance with the request of Neptune; who being willing that the perpetuity of generation should be preserved, and the circle of mutation revolve into itself, thinks it proper that generated natures should be corrupted, and things corrupted be sent back again to generation.

And thus much for an explanation of some of the principal fables of Homer by Proclus. Those who are desirous of a more copious developement of the Homeric and other ancient fables, I refer to the Introduction to the second and third books of the Republic in Vol. i. of my translation of Plato, and to my notes on the Cratylus of Plato, and on Pausanias. I shall only add farther at present, for the sake of the few who are capable of such sublime speculations, that the precipitation of Vulcan indicates the progression of a divine nature from on high, as far as to the last fabrication in sensibles, and this so as to be moved, and perfected, and directed by the Demiurgus and father of all things: That the Saturnian bonds manifest the union of the whole fabrication of the universe,¹ with the intellectual and paternal supremacy of Saturn: And that the castrations of Heaven obscurely signify, the separation of the Titanic² series from the connective³ order. For whatever among us appears

¹ Hence, according to the fable, Saturn was bound by Jupiter, who is the Demiurgus or artificer of the universe.

² The Titans are the ultimate artificers of things.

³ Heaven, according to his first subsistence, belongs to the order of Gods, who are denominated intelligible, and at the same time intellectual, and is the source of connexion to all things.

to be of a worse condition, and to belong to the inferior co-ordination of things, fables assume according to a better nature and power. Thus, for instance, a bond with us impedes and restrains energy, but there it is a contact and ineffable union with causes. A precipitation here is a violent motion from that which is the cause of it; but with the Gods it indicates prolific progression, and an unrestrained and free presence with all things, without departing from its proper principle, but proceeding from it through every thing with immutable order. And castrations in things partial and material, cause a diminution of power; but in primary causes, they obscurely signify the progression of secondary natures into a subject order, from their proper principles; primary natures at the same time remaining established in themselves undiminished, neither being moved through the progression of these, nor mutilated by their separation, nor divided by their distribution in things subordinate.

What must the reader, who is an adept in the theology and mythology of which the above is an adumbration, think of that system which asserts, that the Gods of the ancients are the patriarchs and prophets of the Jews? Certainly, that it is nothing more than *Ιουδαϊκή τολμα, και δεινή ασεβεια, και μανικον οναρ.*

Walworth.

THOMAS TAYLOR.

ORIENTAL CUSTOMS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURES.

BY THE REV. S. BURDER.

No. III.—[Continued from No. XLVI. p. 196.]

REV. iv. 8. *They rest not day and night, saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty.* That the holiness of God was thrice proclaimed, is very emphatical. Instances of repeating a call three times occur both in the sacred and profane writings. See Jer. xxii. 29, Ezek. xxi. 27, 2 Cor. xii. 8, Psalm lv. 17, Matt. xxvi. 44, Dan. vi. 10. The heathens, to show their sorrow for the death of their friends, called upon them thrice. (*Homer, Odys. ix. 65. Aristophan. in Ran. Virgil, Æn. vi.*) The Delphian Oracle saluted a man thrice king.

(*Pindar, Pyth. Od. 4.*) The acclamations in the Roman theatres seem to have been commonly repeated thrice. For *Horace, (lib. ii. Od. 17.)* speaking of *Mæcenas*, says,

Latum Theatris ter crepuit sonum.

Even in the Senate-house we have an instance and form in *Vulc. Gallicanus, (in Avidio Cassio)*

Antonine Pie, Dii te servant ;

Antonine Clemens, Dii te servant ;

Antonine Clemens, Dii te servant.

And *Ælius Lampridius*, speaking of the first reception of *Alexander Severus*, which was in the senate, as a kind of inauguration, relates the acclamations in like manner. In cases of excessive joy, the acclamations were much more frequently repeated. *Daubuz.*

John xxi. 25. I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written. This is a very strong Eastern expression, to represent the great number of miracles which *Jesus* wrought. We find, however, sacred and other authors using hyperboles of the same signification. In *Numb. xiii. 33*, the spies who returned from the search of the land of *Canaan* say, that they saw giants there, of such a prodigious size, that they were in their own sight as grasshoppers. In *Deut. i. 28*, cities with high walls round about them are said to be walled up to heaven. In *Dan. iv. 11*, mention is made of a tree, whereof the height reached unto the heaven, and the sight thereof unto the end of all the earth. And the author of *Ecclesiasticus* in *ch. xlvii. 15*, speaking of *Solomon's* wisdom, says, 'thy soul covered the whole earth, and thou filledst it with parables.' In *Josephus (Antiq. xix. 22)* God is mentioned as promising to *Jacob* that he would give the land of *Canaan* to him and his seed, and then it is added, they shall fill the whole sea and land, which the sun shines upon. *Philo*, in his tract *De Ebriet. tom. i. p. 362, 10*, is observed to speak after the same manner. And likewise in his *Tract de Poster. Coini, tom. i. p. 253. Ed. Mangey. Wetstein in N. Test.* on the place, and *Basnage* in his *Histoire des Juifs, lib. iii. 1, 9, and 5, 7*, have quoted the following passages from the ancient Jewish writers: 'If all the seas were ink, and every reed was a pen, and the whole heaven and earth were parchment, and all the sons of men writers, they would not be sufficient to write all the lessons which *Jochanan* composed.' And concerning one *Eliezer* it is said, that 'if the heavens were parchment and all the sons of men writers, and all the trees of the forest were pens, it would not be sufficient for writing all the wis-

dom which he was possessed of.' *Homer*, II. B. xx. 246, makes *Aeneas* say to *Achilles*, 'Come, let us have done with reproaching one another, for we may throw out so many reproachful words upon one another, that a ship of an hundred oars cannot be able to carry the load.' Though few instances of any thing like these are to be found in the writers of the Western world, yet it has been observed, that *Cicero*, in *Philip*. 244, says, *Præsertim cum illi eam gloriam consecuti sunt, quæ vix cælo capi posse videatur*; and that *Livy*, in vii. 25, says, *Hæ vires populi Romani, quas vix terrarum capit orbis*. —*Pearce*.

Neh. i. 11. *I was the king's cup-bearer*. Houbigant supposes that *Nehemiah* repeated this prayer, which he had often before used, now again in silence, while he administered the cup to the king in his office. The office of cup-bearer was a place of great honor and advantage in the Persian court, on account of the privilege which it gave him who bare it, of being daily in the king's presence, and the opportunity which he had of gaining his favor, for procuring any petition he should make to him. That it was a place of great advantage seems evident by *Nehemiah's* gaining those immense riches which enabled him for so many years, (ch. v. 14, 19) out of his own purse only, to live in his government with great splendor and expense without burthening the people. *Prideaux Conventions*, Ann. 445. According to *Xenophon*, (*Cyropædia*, l. i. c. 11,) the cup-bearers with the Persians and Medes used to take the wine out of the vessels into the cup, and pour some of it into their left hand, and sup it up, that if there was any poison in it the king might not be hurt, and then he delivered it to him upon three fingers. (*Heliodor. Ethiopic*. l. vii. c. 27.)

Rev. v. 2. *I saw a strong angel proclaiming with a loud voice*. This angel performs the office of a crier or herald. The rabbies suppose such a crier in heaven among the angels, and give him the name of *Acraziel*. (*Lib. de Mort. Mos.*) The Romans having elected their magistrates, caused a crier to proclaim their names. (*Vocem præconis expectant. Seneca, Epist.* 118.)

Rev. iv. 8. *Which was, and is, and is to come*. This expression signifies that God is eternal, by an induction of all the parts of time, past, present, and future. Thus the Egyptians expressed the eternity of their *Minerva* or *Isis*. (*Plutarch. De Isid. et Osir.* p. 393.) Thus also the Greeks described the eternity of *Jupiter*. (*Pausanias, Phœbic.* p. 328.)

1 Sam. xxvi. 12. *The cruse of water*. It has been supposed

that the *cruse of water* here mentioned, was a clepsydra, or one of those water watch-measures used by the ancients in their camps. The use of clepsydræ is of great antiquity. They were invented in Egypt under the Ptolemies, as were also sundials. The Romans generally adopted them. There were several sorts of them; but this was common to all, that water ran by gentle degrees from one vessel to another; and, rising by little and little, lifted upon its surface a piece of cork, which, according to its different altitudes, showed the different hours. They had two great defects. The one, that the water ran out with a greater or less facility as the air was more or less dense. The other, that the water ran more readily at the beginning than towards the conclusion. They were principally used in the winter. The orators in their pleadings were limited to a certain measure of time, and had one of these clepsydræ standing by to prevent them from running beyond the prescribed length. See *Encyclop. Britan. Art. Clepsydra and Hydrostatics*, Plate 243, fig. 7, where a representation is given of one. (Wilson's *A. D.*) Dr. Hager considers the clepsydra to be of Chinese invention. *Classical Journal*, Vol. I. p. 51.

'The time, which these judicial speeches were not suffered to exceed, was previously fixed by the Archon, according to the nature of the cause, and the number of pertinent observations which it required; and this time was regulated by the dropping of water through a glass, called clepsydra, which was carefully stopped when any verbal or written evidence was produced; or any law, will, or other instrument was read in court.'—Sir W. Jones's *Works*, ix. 57.

Rev. iv. 5. *There were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne.* Fire or torches are the symbols of the royal presence. It was a very ancient custom for kings to have fire carried before them, as a mark of honor and empire. The Persian monarchs had fire carried before them in procession. (Xenophon, *Cyr. lib. viii.*) The kings of Lacedæmon also had fire, taken from the altar of Jupiter, borne before them. (*Nicolaus apud Stobæ. Eclog. 42.*) So also Servius (*Virgil, Æn. lib. v.*) says, "In honorem enim regum cum faculis procedebatur a populis, ut ait de Pallante: 'Lucet via longo Ordine flammaram, et late discriminat agros.'" Thus did the Romans before one of their emperors. (*Livii Epitom. lib. xvii.* Herodian, lib. i. § 20, 50. ii. § 9, 30.) Daubus.

Rev. iv. 3. *Like a jasper.* Gems, or precious stones, are the symbols of divine oracles, of his will and commandments, and that his will, whether for good or bad, is to be known by

the colors of the gems. The Egyptians and others represented the qualities of their gods in a manner analogical to this. Thus *Plutarch (De Defect. Orac. Edit. Ald. p. 278)* says, 'There are among the demons, as well as among men, different virtues and passions, and unreasonable desires: in some of them some weak and obscure remnants, like exuberances: but in others they are found in great abundance, and very stubborn, of which the sacrifices, mysteries, and mythologies, preserve and retain up and down, footsteps and symbols spread about.' Hence it appears that he considered the religion and ceremonies of the pagans as symbolical representations, and effects of the good nature or evil dispositions of the demons worshipped therein. The symbolical figures of their deities represent to the view of the worshippers what good or evil they may expect from them. See *Philo de Legat. ad Caium, p. 691. Pausanias Messenic. p. 141. Sallust. Philos. de Diis et Mund. cap. 6. Servius in Virg. Æn. i. 524.*

Daubuz.

Matt. vi. 19. Lay not up for yourselves treasures. We find the illustrious and opulent among the ancients were employed not merely in accumulating silver and gold, but in amassing a prodigious number of sumptuous and magnificent habits, which were regarded as a necessary and indispensable part of their treasures. Hence in the detail of a great man's wealth, the numerous and superb suits of apparel he possessed never fail to be recorded. *Dion Halicar. lib. vi. p. 350. Hudson. Polyæni Strateg. p. 180. Edit. Casaubon. 1589. Ibid. p. 512. Dion Cassius, lib. lxi. p. 998. Reimar. Philo in Flac. tom. ii. p. 539. Edit. Mangey.* Thus also we read that *Titus*, after the destruction of Jerusalem, distributed to those who had distinguished themselves by their valor, gold, silver, and garments. *Josephus, Bell. Jud. lib. vii. cap. 1. § 3. p. 404. Havercamp.* See also *Clemens Alexand. p. 59, 234. Edit. Paris, 1629. Horat. Epist. lib. i. Epist. 6. v. 40. Job xxvii. 16, Gen. xlv. 22, Acts xx. 33, James v. 23.—Harwood's Introd. ii. p. 245.*

Job xxxi. 36. And bind it as a crown to me. A crown or turban, composed of linen, on which were hieroglyphic characters written. Linen was one of the oldest materials that ever was written upon. This appears by the bandages of the Egyptian mummies still preserved. (*Harmer, vol. ii. p. 172*) *Livy (lib. iv. cap. 7, 13, 20, and lib. x. 38)* mentions *libri lintei*, linen books or records, as being in use among the Romans. And long after those times *Vopiscus in Aurelian. § 1. Pliny, Nat. Hist. xiii. 11.* An accusation might be as easily depicted in hiero-

glyphical writing on linen, as a direction for destroying a person be engraved in the same kind of writing on a wooden tablet. An instance of the latter we meet with in Homer. Mr. Wood, (*Essay on the Genius and Writings of Homer*, p. 250.) after observing that neither in the Iliad nor Odyssey is there any thing that conveys the idea of letters or reading, nor any allusion to literal writing, adds, 'as to symbolical, hieroglyphical, or picture-like description, something of that kind was no doubt known to Homer, of which the letter, as it is called, which Bellerophon carried to the king of Lycia, is a proof.' This letter was sent from Proetus, II. vi. 168.

To Lycia the devoted youth he sent,
With marks expressive of his dire intent,
Grav'd on a tablet, that the Prince should die.

POPE.

'The Mexicans, though a civilised people,' adds Mr. Wood, 'had no alphabet; and the account they sent to Montezuma of the landing of the Spaniards was in this picture-writing.'

Ezekiel xlvii. 9. *Every thing shall live whither the river cometh.* Even in the Asphaltite lake, which is so unfavorable to animal life. Josephus represents this lake as salt, and incapable of feeding fishes. Tacitus says, that it does not suffer fishes or water-fowl to live in it. Yet Maundrell observed two or three shells of fishes on the shore. Bp. Pococke found its waters very salt; and on tasting it, his mouth was constricted, as if it had been a strong alum water. He observes, 'it has been said by all authors, and is the common opinion, that there is no fish in this lake. The fresh-water fish of the river Jordan probably would not live in it. After I left the Holy Land it was positively affirmed to me, that a monk had seen fish caught in this water; and probably there may be fish peculiar to the lake, for which this water may not be too salt: but this is a fact that deserves well to be enquired into. The air about this lake has always been thought to be very bad.' Michaelis says, that the Dead Sea is more brackish than any known sea or salt well in the world: it contains as much salt as water can dissolve, viz. the fourth part of the weight of the water. And this is the reason why neither men nor animals sink in the Red Sea. If you throw fishes into so heavy a water, they

¹ Comp. Goguet's *Origin of Laws*, &c. vol. i. p. 174, edit. Edinburgh. Robertson's *Hist. of America*, vol. ii. p. 14, 270, 1, 286. 4to.

cannot swim in it, but fall immediately on their side. Newcome. See also Bp. Newton, v. 2.

Rev. iv. 10. *And cast their crowns before the throne.* This circumstance may be illustrated by several cases which occur in history. *Josephus*, (*Antiq. lib. xv. cap. 10*) relating how Herod the Great, going to meet Augustus Cæsar after his victory over M. Antony, whose party Herod had embraced, says, that before he entered into the city, and came into the Emperor's presence, he took off his diadem or crown; and having made his apology, Cæsar bid him put it on again. Tigranes, king of Armenia, did the same to Pompey. (*Cic. Orat. p. Sextio, Plutarch. v. Pomp. fol. 209. Ald. Edit. Horat. lib. i. Ep. 12.*) Tiridates in this manner did homage to Nero, laying the ensigns of his royalty at the statue of Cæsar, to receive them again from his hand. (*Tacitus, Ann. lib. xv. p. 258. Ed. Paris, 1608. Procopius de Bell. Parthico, lib. ii. cap. 17.*) In the inauguration of the Byzantine Cæsars, when the Emperor comes to receive the sacrament, he puts off his crown. (*Cantacuzene, lib. i. c. 41.*)

Daubuz.

Rev. v. 9. *Thou art worthy to take the book.* Such acclamations as this were common amongst the ancients. (*Euripides, 1574 and 1618. Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 20.*) They were usual at the inauguration of the Roman Emperors. The following instance is from *Ælius Lampridius*, (*in Anton. Diadumeno.*) *Macrine Imperator, Dii te servant: Antonine Diadumene, Dii te servant:* and in the conclusion, *Antoninus dignus imperio.* It occurs also in the case of *Gordianus*, (*Julius Capitolinus in Gordianis.*) *Æquum est, justum est, Gordiane Auguste, Dii te servant.* When Probus was declared Emperor, the acclamations were concluded with these words, (*Flav. Vopiscus in Probo.*) *Et prius fuisti semper dignus imperio, dignus triumphis, felix agas, feliciter imperes.* See *Theophyl. Simocatta de Mauritio, lib. i. cap. 1.* And *Ammian. Marcellin. lib. 27. De Gratiani Inaugurat.* The Byzantine Emperors, at their inauguration, were proclaimed to be worthy of it, by the public and repeated acclamations of the word *ΑΙΙΟΣ*, as appears from the full account given of it by the Emperor *Cantacuzene, lib. i. cap. 41.* It was first sung by the patriarch, repeated by the choir, and lastly, by the voice of the multitude. See the *Pontif. Romanum*, or *Selden's Titles of Honor.* This acclamation was always made in a singing tone. Thus *Horace* says, (*Epod. 9.*) *Galli canentes Cæsarem;* and *Virgil* also, (*Æn. vii.*) *Regemque canebant.*

Daubuz.

Job xviii. 19. *He shall have neither son nor nephew among*

his people, nor any remaining in his dwellings. The original word for dwellings, *Schultens* says, signifies a territory of refuge for strangers. The great men among the Arabs called their respective districts by this name; because they took under their protection all defenceless and necessitous persons who fled thither. They prided themselves in having a great number of these clients or dependants. This was an ancient custom in Arabia, and continues to the present day. The Arabian poets frequently refer to it. *Arabian Anthologia*, p. 424. n.

Judges xxi. 19. *On the north side of Bethel.* It was usual anciently for people to celebrate their festivals out of their cities. Tents were most probably pitched for their accommodation. On this occasion it is likely that virgins from other towns attended, though those of *Stiloh* might be most numerous. When Dr. *Perry* arrived at *Siut*, a large town near the Nile, about seventy leagues above *Cairo*, it was the first day of *Biram*, and, going to the town, we found a great many tents pitched, and an innumerable concourse of people, without the town, to the south-west of it. These people were partly of *Siut*, and partly from the circumjacent villages, who came thither to celebrate the happy day. *Harmer*, i. 151.

Rev. iii. 8. *I have set before thee an open door.* St. Paul uses this symbol to signify the free exercise or propagation of the gospel. Acts xiv. 27, 1 Cor. xvi. 9, 2 Cor. ii. 2, Col. iv. 3. Thus also *Pindar* (*Olymp. Od. vi.*) has the expression, *to open the gates of songs*, that is, to begin to sing freely; and *Euripides* (*Hippol. vs. 56.*) has the phrase, *the gates of hell opened*, to signify, that death is ready to seize upon a man. *Daubuz.*

Ezek. iv. 3. *This shall be a sign to the house of Israel.* Teaching by symbolical actions was very common. *Herodotus* tells us that *Cyrus*, upon receiving the instructions that *Harpagus* had sent him, deliberated what method he could put in practice, as the most proper and effectual to induce the Persians to revolt. After anxiously revolving the subject, he fixed upon these measures as the most opportune. He gave orders for all the Persians to convene, and every man to bring with him a hatchet. Being assembled, he commanded them to clear a piece of ground of considerable extent, within the limits of that day. This drudgery being finished, he ordered them to re-assemble the day following, on which he had provided a magnificent feast, and entertained them in the most sumptuous and splendid manner. The entertainment concluded, he asked them which they preferred, the festivity of the present, or the drudgery of the past day. Upon all declaring, that there was

no comparison between pleasure and pain, he addressed himself to them, and said, that so long as they were in subjection to the Medes they would experience the servile labor and toil of yesterday. But if they would throw off the yoke, and follow him, he would for ever vindicate them into the liberty, plenty, and felicity, in which they were now regaling. *Herodotus, Clio*, p. 282, *völ. i. Glasgwa; et Polyani Strategem. lib. vii. p. 480. Casaubon.* Tarquin cut off the heads of the tallest poppies in his garden, thus indicating to his son his intention to cut off the most powerful and distinguished of the citizens. *Livii Hist. Rom. ib. i. p. 73. Elzevir.; et Polyani Strategem. p. 552. Lugduni, 1589.* Epaminondas, most effectually to stimulate the Thebans to attack the Lacedæmonians with vigor and resolution, took a large snake, publicly showed it to the army, crushed its head before them all; then, addressing himself to them, 'See how useless, said he, the rest of the body is, when the head is but once completely bruised. Just so, if we can but crush the Spartans, who are at the head of our adversaries; the rest of the body of their allies will become totally insignificant.' Fired with this representation, the Thebans rushed forward with impetuosity, made a vigorous impression upon the Lacedæmonian phalanx, routed it, and the whole multitude of their auxiliaries fled. *Polyani Strategem. p. 122.* Sertorius, in order to deter his men from their destructive resolution of attacking the main body of the Romans, and to induce them to concur with him in his design of engaging only small detached parties, till the whole power should be gradually reduced and annihilated, practised this expedient. He ordered one day all his troops under arms. When they stood all marshalled and arranged before him, waiting his commands, he brought out two horses, one extremely lean and old, the other strong and stately, and distinguished by a brushy and beautiful tail. By the lean one stood a very tall and robust man: by the stately one, a very diminutive figure, of a mean and contemptible aspect. Upon a signal given to them, the strong man seized the tail of the emaciated beast, to pull it off by dint of violence, laboring and striving to effect his purpose in vain, to the no small diversion of the spectators. The little mean-looking person picked out one single hair after another, till the whole was at last exhausted. Sertorius then addressing himself to the army, assured them, that in like manner, all their most vigorous efforts to conquer the combined force of Rome would be equally vain and fruitless, while, by

attacking them in single detached bodies they might, in the end, insensibly and gradually diminish and exhaust the whole collective system of their power. *Plutarch's Life of Sertorius*, vol. ii. p. 1051. Ed. H. Stephan. Ga.

"A short Introduction to Hebrew Criticism;" abstracted from DE MISSY'S "Critica Sacra."

Sanctos ausus recludere fontes.—VIRGIL.

I. THE method of discovering and rectifying the errors of the Hebrew text, which De Missy principally recommends, is—'to compare the several correspondent passages of Scripture,' and to 'adopt those particular readings which best agree with the context and the rules of grammar.' These 'parallel passages,' he observes, 'will be found far more ample and various, than most persons could, at first, conceive. They may be looked upon as different copies of the same original—copies of undoubted authority and of venerable antiquity; and, if they were carefully compared together, they would, no doubt, contribute much to our present store of Hebrew criticism. They are of different sorts, and are often found at a considerable distance from one another. De Missy makes the following classification of them:

1. Genealogical registers, muster-rolls, &c. doubly inserted.
2. Historical narrations repeated.
3. Sentiments, messages, &c. twice recited.
4. Quotations made by one prophet from another.
5. Quotations or repetitions borrowed by the same prophet from himself.

II. Genealogical registers are almost coeval with mankind. For many peculiar reasons the Jews were very exact in drawing them up, and they preserved them with a kind of religious reverence. (See 1 Chron. ix. 1.) That they retained them during the time of the Babylonish captivity, plainly appears from a passage in Nehemiah, (vii. 5.) But as we have them now, many important differences may be found between the same genealogies mentioned in different parts of Scripture. This is a circumstance which deserves the serious attention of

all who believe in the divine origin of the Jewish religion. Under this head may be compared—

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|------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Gen. v. 3—32. | 1 Chron. i. 1—4. |
| 2. Gen. x. 2—4. | 1 Chron. i. 5—7. |
| 3. Gen. x. 6—8, 13—18. | 1 Chron. i. 8—16. |
| 4. Gen. x. 22—29. | 1 Chron. i. 17—23. |
| 5. Gen. xi. 10—26. | 1 Chron. i. 24—27. |
| 6. Gen. xxv. 2—4. | 1 Chron. i. 32, 33. |
| 7. Gen. xxv. 13—16. | 1 Chron. i. 29—31. |
| 8. Gen. xxxvi. 10—14. | 1 Chron. i. 35—37. |
| 9. Gen. xxxvi. 20—28. | 1 Chron. i. 38—42. |
| 10. Gen. xxxvi. 31—39. | 1 Chron. i. 43—50. |
| 11. Gen. xxxvi. 40—43. | 1 Chron. i. 51—54. |

This list may be extended at pleasure, by the help of those references which are placed in the margin of our English Bibles. See, however,

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|-------------------------|---------------------|
| 12. 2 Sam. xxiii. 8—39. | 1 Chron. ii. 10—47. |
| 13. Ezra ii. 1—70. | Nebem. vii. 6—73. |

In proper names mistakes are very frequent. The misapprehension of similar letters was certainly the cause of many errors; other circumstances will account for more. See a very striking difference in the names and number of David's sons, as recorded in

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------|
| 1 Chron. iii. 1—4. and | 2 Sam. iii. 2—5. |
| 1 Chron. iii. 5—8. | } 2 Sam. v. 14—16. |
| 1 Chron. xiv. 4—7. | |

Compare also

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|----------------------|---------------------|
| Josh. xxi. 1—39. and | 1 Chron. vi. 54—81. |
|----------------------|---------------------|

Other instances may easily be collected, especially from the journeyings of the Israelites into the wilderness. Mistakes of this kind may have arisen from the transcriber casting his eye, when the same word was found twice within a short compass, on the wrong place. From this cause have arisen both omissions and repetitions. An instance of the former sort may be seen in No. 4. of the preceding series. In the genealogy of the line of Shem we read, Gen. x. 22, 23. וַיְהִי אֶרְמָא וְבְנֵי אֶרְמָא i. e. 'And ARAM: and the sons of ARAM, Uz,' &c., which was doubtless the reading of the original copy in Chronicles. The intermediate words seem to have been left out by some careless transcriber. This is evident both from the exact conformity between these passages elsewhere, and from the Arabic version of this place

in Chronicles. A variation in Numbers must be accounted for on different principles; but what those principles are, which will fairly and completely unfold the causes of this variation, have not yet been discovered. Dr. Kennicot has, however, made great advances towards it in his 1st Diss. p. 96, &c.

Historical narratives repeated.

III. Under this head may be compared—

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|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. 1 Sam. xxxi. 1—13. and | 1 Chron. x. 1—12. |
| 2. 2 Sam. v. 1—3. | 1 Chron. xi. 1—3. |
| 3. 2 Sam. v. 17—25. | 1 Chron. xiv. 8—16. |
| 4. 2 Sam. vi. 1—11. | 1 Chron. xiii. 5—14. |
| 5. 2 Sam. vi. 12—16. | 1 Chron. xv. 25—29. |
| 6. 2 Sam. vi. 17—19. | 1 Chron. xvi. 1—3. |
| 7. 2 Sam. vii. 1—29. | 1 Chron. xvii. 1—27. |
| 8. 2 Sam. viii. 1—18. | 1 Chron. xviii. 1—17. |
| 9. 2 Sam. x. 1—19. | 1 Chron. xix. 1—19. |
| 10. 2 Sam. xi. 1. & xii. 30, 31. | 1 Chron. xx. 1—3. |
| 11. 2 Sam. xxi. 18—22. | 1 Chron. xx. 4—8. |
| 12. 2 Sam. xxiv. 1—25. | 1 Chron. xxi. 1—27. |
| 13. 1 Kings iii. 5—13. | 2 Chron. i. 7—12. |
| 14. 1 Kings vi. 1—3. | 2 Chron. iii. 1—4. |
| 15. 1 Kings vi. 19—28. | 2 Chron. iii. 8—13. |
| 16. 1 Kings vii. 15—22. | 2 Chron. iii. 15—17. |
| 17. 1 Kings vii. 23—26. | 2 Chron. iv. 2—5. |
| 18. 1 Kings vii. 38—51. | 2 Chron. iv. 6. & v. 1. |
| 19. 1 Kings viii. 1—11. | 2 Chron. v. 2—14. |
| 20. 1 Kings viii. 12—50. | 2 Chron. vi. 1—39. |
| 21. 1 Kings viii. 62—66. | 2 Chron. vii. 4—10. |
| 22. 1 Kings ix. 1—9. | 2 Chron. vii. 11—22. |
| 23. 1 Kings ix. 10—23. | 2 Chron. viii. 1—10. |
| 24. 1 Kings ix. 26—28. | 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18. |
| 25. 1 Kings x. 1—29. | 2 Chron. ix. 1—28. |
| 26. 1 Kings xii. 1—19. | 2 Chron. x. 1—19. |
| 27. 1 Kings xii. 21—24. | 2 Chron. xi. 1—4. |
| 28. 1 Kings xiv. 21, 29—31. | 2 Chron. xii. 13—16. |
| 29. 1 Kings xv. 1, 2, 7, 8. | 2 Chron. xiii. 1, 2, 21, 23. |
| 30. 1 Kings xv. 9—15. | 2 Chron. xiv. 1—3. 16—18. |
| 31. 1 Kings xv. 16—24. | 2 Chron. xvi. 1—6, 11—14,
&c. |
| 32. 1 Kings xxii. 2—35. | 2 Chron. xviii. 1—34. |
| 33. 1 Kings xxii. 41—50. | 2 Chron. xx. 31—37. & xxi. 1. |
| 34. 2 Kings viii. 16—24. | 2 Chron. xxi. 5—10, 19, 20,
&c. |

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|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 35. 2 Kings viii. 25—29. | 2 Chron. xii. 1—6. |
| 36. 2 Kings xi. 1—3. | 2 Chron. xii. 10—12. |
| 37. 2 Kings xi. 4—20. | 2 Chron. xiii. 1—24. |
| 38. 2 Kings xi. 21. & xii. 21. | 2 Chron. xiv. 1—27. |
| 39. 2 Kings xiv. 1—6. | 2 Chron. xv. 1—4. |
| 40. 2 Kings xiv. 8—14. | 2 Chron. xv. 17—28. |
| 17—20. | |
| 41. 2 Kings xiv. 21, 22. xv. | 2 Chron. xvi. 1—4, 21—23. |
| 2—7. | |
| 42. 2 Kings xv. 32—38. | 2 Chron. xvii. 1—9. |
| 43. 2 Kings xvi. 1—20. | 2 Chron. xviii. 1—27. |
| 44. 2 Kings xviii. 1—3. | 2 Chron. xix. 1, 2. |
| 45. 2 Kings xviii. 13, 17—37. | Isai. xxxvi. 1—22. |
| 46. 2 Kings xix. 1—37. | Isai. xxxvii. 1—38. See 2 |
| | Chron. xxxii. 1 21. |
| 47. 2 Kings xx. 1—11. | Isai. xxxviii. 1—8. |
| 48. 2 Kings xx. 12—21. | Isai. xxxix. 1—8. 2 Chron. |
| | xxxix. 24—33. |
| 49. 2 Kings xxi. 1—9. | 2 Chron. xxxiii. 1—9. |
| 50. 2 Kings xxi. 17—26. | 2 Chron. xxxiii. 18—25. |
| 51. 2 Kings xxii. 1—20. | 2 Chron. xxxiv. 1—28. |
| 52. 2 Kings xxiii. 1—3. | 2 Chron. xxxiv. 29—32. |
| 53. 2 Kings xxiii. 21—23. | 2 Chron. xxxv. 1, 17—19. |
| 54. 2 Kings xxiii. 29, 30. | 2 Chron. xxxv. 20—24, & |
| | xxxvi. 1. |
| 55. 2 Kings xxiii. 30—37. | 2 Chron. xxxvi. 2—8. |
| & xxiv. 1—6. | |
| 56. 2 Kings xxiv. 8—17. | 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, 10. |
| 57. 2 Kings xxiv. 18—20. | { Jerem. lii. 1—34. |
| xxv. 1—30. } | { 2 Chron. xxxvi. 11—21. |
| 58. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23. | Ezra i. 1—3. |

Many of these variations are only different expressions of the same things, and are probably copied from different accounts. For several authors

(compare 1 Chron. xxix. 29. with 2 Chron. ix. 29. & xii. 15.

2 Chron. xiii. 22.

1 Kings xv. 7.

2 Chron. xx. 34.

1 Kings xxii. 45.

2 Chron. xxvi. 22.

2 Kings xv. 6.)

were often employed in writing the history of the same reign; and the compilers of the books of Kings and Chronicles, which are evidently compendiums of larger accounts, have no doubt followed the diction, sometimes of one, and sometimes of another copy. Hence it is easy to account for the different phraseology which occurs in passages otherwise correspondent; though

something, perhaps, should be attributed to the genius of the compilers themselves. But though there were extant several histories of the same reign; yet one of them seems to have been always held in higher estimation than the rest. From these most approved accounts of every reign were the histories which we now have chiefly extracted. That the authors of Kings and Chronicles copied from the same originals, is evident from the thread and texture of their narratives, and from the glaring uniformity of their diction. There is one difference indeed, which savours not a little of superstition, and it is this: in many places where Kings has יהוה, it is changed in the correspondent passages of Chronicles into יהוה. At what time this superstition of substituting יהוה, &c. for יהוה began to take place among the Jews, it would be difficult to say: perhaps some time before the captivity; but this is uncertain. 'It is the general opinion,' says De Missy, p. 18. § 3, 'of the Jewish Church, and adopted by the Christian, that the Books of Kings and Chronicles were composed by Ezra. But are not the fore-mentioned differences, respecting the name of God (supposing them to have subsisted in the first copies) plain, internal proofs of the falsity of this opinion? supposing them to have subsisted so early. But, to speak freely my mind, I strongly suspect that they are of a much later date, and took their rise from the foolish superstition of comparatively modern Jews. A superstition that seems to have had some effect not only on these later *historical* books, but also on the *Psalms*, and even on the *Pentateuch*: for the *Hebrew* has now the word יהוה in several places through the Books of Moses, where the *Samaritan* text reads יהוה.'

IV. Certain Psalms, Precepts, Sentiments, Messages, &c. are often repeated in Scripture: v. g.

- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| 1. Exod. xx. 2—17. | Deut. v. 6—21. |
| 2. Levit. xi. 2—19. | Deut. xiv. 4—18. |
| 3. Numb. xxiv. 3, 4. | Numb. xxiv. 15, 16. |
| 4. Numb. xxiv. 9. | Gen. xlix. 9, & xxvii. 29. |
| 5. 2 Sam. xxii. 1—51. | Psalms xviii. 2—50. |
| 6. 1 Chron. xvi. 8—22. | } Psalms cv. 1—15.
} Psalm xcvi. 1—13.
} Psalm cvi. 47, 48.
} Psalm liii. 1—6. |
| 7. 1 Chron. xvi. 23—33. | |
| 8. 1 Chron. xvi. 35, 36. | |
| 9. Psalm xiv. 1—7. | |
| 10. Psalm xl. 13—17. | Psalm lxx. 1—5. |
| 11. Psalm lviii. 7—11. | Psalm cviii. 1—5. |
| 12. Psalm lx. 5—12. | Psalm cviii. 6—13. |
| 13. Psalm lxxx. 3, 7, 19. | Psalm cvii. 8, 15, 21, 31. |
| 14. Psalm cxv. 4—8. | Psalm cxxv. 15—18. |

The parallels contained in Nos. 6, 7, 8, clearly show how improperly the Psalms have been disjointed. This catalogue might easily have been extended. In that case the Proverbs would have supplied a good stock of smaller, and the Psalms of larger sentences. Numberless passages from the books of Moses are repeated in Deuteronomy.

V. In writing on similar subjects, the same ideas have been frequently expressed by different prophets. This arises, as De Missy thinks, from the same representation being spiritually impressed on their minds; and hence he accounts for that similar train of thoughts, and those similar turns of expression, which occur so often in the prophetic writings. But the prophets not only make use of similar expressions; but also, in some remarkable predictions, copy one another's words—as will evidently appear from an accurate collation of the following passages:

1. Isaiah ii. 2—4.	Micah iv. 1—3.
2. Isai. xv. 5.	Jerem. xlviii. 5.
3. Isai. xvi. 6, 7, &c.	Jer. xlviii. 29—31, &c.
4. Isai. xxiv. 17, 18.	Jer. xlviii. 43, 44.
5. Isai. lii. 7, &c.	Nahum i. 15.
6. Jeremiah x. 25.	Psalms lxxix. 6, 7.
7. Jerem. xxvi. 18.	Micah iii. 12.
8. Jer. xlix. 14—16.	Obadiah v. 1—4.
9. Jer. xlix. 27.	Amos i. 4.
10. Habakkuk, iii. 18, 19.	Psalms xviii. 33.
11. Zephaniah ii. 15.	Isaiah xlvii. 8.

Some of these passages, as they are often applied to different subjects, critics may perhaps look upon rather in the light of *adaptations*, than in that of real and formal quotations. But in whatever light they may be considered, they should be carefully collated, for it will be found by experience, that they are of the utmost importance in confirming and correcting the parallel texts.

VI. "If the prophets," says De Missy, "*quoted from one another, it can be no wonder, surely, that they often borrowed from themselves; or, to speak more accurately, that they were impressed with the same ideas, and consequently made use of the same language, on different occasions;*" and within a few lines he adds, "*whether all these repetitions were purposely made by the respective authors themselves; or, whether some of them might not be unwarily inserted in two different places by*

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the collectors of the prophetic writings, is a question that deserves to be seriously considered. The fact, however, is certain; as will readily appear from the collation of the following texts :—

ISAIAH.

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------|
| 1. Ch. v. 25. & ix. 12, | Ch. x. 4. |
| 17, 21. | |
| 2. Ch. xi. 6, 7. | Ch. lxxv. 25. |
| 3. Ch. xviii. 2. | Ch. xviii. 7. |
| 4. Ch. xxxv. 10. | Ch. li. 11. |

JEREMIAH.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. 5. Ch. ii. 28. | Ch. xi. 13. |
| 2. 6. Ch. vii. 30, 31. | Ch. xxxii. 34, 35. |
| 3. 7. Ch. vii. 33. | Ch. xvi. 4. & xix. 7. & xxxiv. 20. |
| 4. 8. Ch. vii. 34. | Ch. xvi. 9. & xxv. 10. |
| 5. 9. Ch. xv. 2. | Ch. xliii. 11. |
| 6. 10. Ch. xv. 13, 14. | Ch. xvii. 3, 4. |
| 7. 11. Ch. xxi. 9, &c. | Ch. xxxviii. 2, &c. |
| 8. 12. Ch. xxiii. 5, 6. | Ch. xxxiii. 15, 16. |
| 9. 13. Ch. xxiii. 7, 8. | Ch. xvi. 14, 15. |
| 10. 14. Ch. xxix. 5. | Ch. xxix. 28. |
| 11. 15. Ch. xxx. 10, 11. | Ch. xli. 27, 28. |
| 12. 16. Ch. xlviii. 40, 41. | Ch. xlix. 22. |
| 13. 17. Ch. xlix. 19—21. | Ch. i. 44—46. |

EZEKIEL.

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|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. 18. Ch. i. 15—21. | Ch. x. 8—17. |
| 2. 19. Ch. iii. 17—19. | Ch. xxxiii. 7—9. |
| 3. 20. Ch. xi. 18—20. | Ch. xxxvi. 25—28. |
| 4. 21. Ch. xviii. 25. | Ch. xviii. 29. & xxxiii. 17, 20. |

HABAKKUK.

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------|
| 1. 22. Ch. ii. 8. | Ch. ii. 17. |
|-------------------|-------------|

ZECHARIAH.

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------|
| 1. 23. Ch. iv. 5. | Ch. iv. 13. |
|-------------------|-------------|

There are many other *short repetitions* dispersed through the several prophetic writings, which need not be particularly specified; but though *short*, they are often of great importance in correcting and settling the text. Of this a curious instance may be seen in Ezek. xviii. 25, compared with v. 29. And also in Zechar. iv. 5, compared with v. 13.

VII. When we fix upon any of these parallels for the purpose

of considering them critically, we should first compare them, and note down with exactness *every* variation: we should then consult the ancient versions with care, and see what assistance *they* may afford: if these methods fail, we may now use our own judgment, applying the rules of grammar, and trying the sense by similar modes of expression: if the text still remains embarrassed, we ought to consider lastly,—that the words may have been transposed, or improperly divided,—that letters may have been added, omitted, misplaced, altered, &c. and accordingly endeavour to rectify the whole upon that consideration. And that we may be the better prepared for this difficult branch of criticism, it would be advisable to note down in a separate book, all the additions, mutations, transpositions, &c. of words and letters, which we may observe in collating the several passages, according to the following scheme,—by glancing upon which we may perhaps be enabled to rectify an error, that might otherwise occasion no small degree of difficulty.

2 Kings xxiv. 18, &c. and Jeremiah lii, 1, &c.

Compared according to Simon's Heb. Bible,

2 Kings xxiv. 18, &c.	v.	Jeremiah lii. 1, &c.	v.
וביהודה	20.	יהודה	3.
השליכו אותם		השליכו אותם	
בשנת התשיעית	1.	בשנה התשעית	4.
נבכדנאצר		נבוכדנאצר	
יחזן		יחזנו	
• • •	3.	בחדש הרביעי	6.
הלילה	4.	יברחו ויצאו מחצר לילה	7.
ילך		ילכו	
אחר • וישנו	5.	אחרי • וישנו	8.
אתו • בערבות		את צדקתו בערבת	
• • •	6.	בארץ חמת	9.
משפט		משפטים	
וידברו		וידבר	
ואת בני שחשו	7.	וישחט מלך בבל את בני	10.
• • •		וגם את כל שרי יהודה שחט	
• • •		ברבלתה	
יביאיו • • • בבל		ויבאו מלך בבל בבליה	11.
• • •		ויתגו בבית הפקדת עד יום	
בשבעה	8.	מותו	
נבכדנאצר		בעשור	12.
עבר		נבוכדנאצר	
ירושלם		עמד לפני	
גדל	9.	בירושלם	
		הגדל	13.

10. ואת * חומת	14. ואת כל חומת
11. רב	את רב
12. על המלך	ומדלות העם
13. והמון	אל מלך
14. ומדלת	האמון
15. ולגבים	ומדלות
16. בית	נבחראדן
17. את * נחשתם	ולגבים
18. הסירות	לבית
19. במ	את כל נחשתם
20. * * *	הסרות
21. * * *	ואת המזרקת
22. * * *	בהם
23. * * *	ואת הספים
24. * * *	ואת הסירות ואת המנרות
25. * * *	ואת הכפות ואת המנקיות
26. * * *	והבקר שנים עשר נחשת
27. * * *	אשר תחת המכנות
28. * * *	המלך
29. * * *	לנחשתם
30. * * *	והעמודים
31. * * *	קומה
32. * * *	העמוד
33. * * *	חוט שתיים עשרה אמה
34. * * *	יסבנו ועביו
35. * * *	ארבע אצבעות גבוב
36. * * *	וכתרת עליו נחשת וקומת
37. * * *	הכתרת
38. * * *	האחת חמש אמות ושבעה
39. * * *	ורמונים
40. * * *	ורמונים
41. * * *	והיו הרמונים תשעים וששה
42. * * *	רחיה
43. * * *	כל הרמונים מאה על
44. * * *	השבכה סביב
45. * * *	צפניה
46. * * *	המשנה
47. * * *	אשר היה
48. * * *	ושבעה
49. * * *	ספר
50. * * *	בתוכ העיר
51. * * *	אותם
52. * * *	אל מלך
53. * * *	יכה אותם
54. * * *	ימתם

From 2 Kings xxv. 22—26, is not found in the 52nd chapter of Jeremiah, and therefore is not collated; though it easily might be with Jer. xl. 5, 7—9, and xli. 1, 2.

יְהוֹיָכִן 27.	יְהוֹיָכִן 31.
וּשְׁבַע	חֲמִשָּׁה
מֶלֶךְ	מֶלֶכְתּוֹ
מִבֵּית כְּלָא	וַיֵּצֵא אֹתוֹ מִבֵּית הַכְּלִיא
מֵעַל כִּסֵּא הַמְּלָכִים 28.	מִמֶּעַל לְכִסֵּא מְלָכִים 32.
וַשָּׁנָה 29.	וַשָּׁנָה 33.
תִּמְדַּל לִפְנֵי	לִפְנֵי תִמְדַּל
הַיּוֹן	הַיּוֹן
הַמֶּלֶךְ 30.	מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל 34.
	עַד יוֹם מוֹתוֹ

APPENDIX.

A scheme of	{	Words	{	added, Gen. &c.
				omitted, Exod. &c.
	{	Letters	{	transposed, Deut. &c.
				improperly divided, Isai. &c.
	{	א	{	added, in the word *
				omitted, in the word *
	{	ב	{	transposed, in the word *
				changed into *
	{		{	added
				omitted
	{		{	transposed
				changed into

And so on through the Alphabet.

Chesterfield, April 20th, 1819.

W.

OBSERVATIONS ON MR. BELLAMY'S REPLY TO KIMCHI.

I HAVE just read, in the number of the Classical Journal for March, Mr. Bellamy's reply to some remarks of mine on his New Translation of the Bible; and especially on his new and extraordinary version of Gen. vi. 14. As I do not wish to enter at great length on the discussion of a subject which has already occupied much abler pens than mine, and which, I

trust, has been nearly set at rest, I shall chiefly confine myself to Mr. B.'s new version of Gen. vi. 14, and his charge of infidelity levelled at those critics who differ from him as to the present state of the Hebrew text.

After the able, detailed, and satisfactory manner in which Mr. Whittaker has confuted Mr. Bellamy's assertion, that *all Modern Versions of the Bible derive their origin from the Vulgate*, I did not expect that he would again venture to assert "that those contradictions in the authorised version, which have enabled objectors to shake the very foundation of society, have no authority in the sacred language, but have been made *by the ignorance of the first translators in Hebrew, continued in the translation of Jerom, and copied from the Latin Vulgate into all the European translations.*"¹ Mr. Bellamy perseveres in maintaining that those who disapprove of his new translation are hostile to *any* improvement of the authorised version. This is by no means the case. I should rejoice as much as Mr. B. to see the learning and talents of our first Hebrew scholars directed to bring the authorised version to a higher degree of perfection; and, I believe, not a few of Mr. B.'s opponents concur with me in this sentiment. The point at issue between us, is simply whether Mr. Bellamy is, or is not, competent to so important and so difficult a task. I wish, as I have said before, to impute no ill design to Mr. B. On the contrary, I believe he means well, and thinks he shall promote the cause of religion by his projected alterations of the English Bible. But I believe him to be too little skilled in Hebrew Criticism, too careless and inelegant as an English writer, too fanciful in his theories, and too deficient in judgment, to execute with ability and success the task he has undertaken: these are not merely my own opinions. Many Hebrew scholars, whose sentiments are intitled to far greater respect than mine, have expressed their opinion as to his incompetence; nor am I aware that any Hebrew critic of note has expressed a favorable opinion of those parts of Mr. B.'s translation which have hitherto appeared. Mr. B. says, that many excellent Hebrew scholars have approved his work. Why does he not produce their names? If they are *really* excellent Hebrew scholars, their testimony in his favor will doubtless have weight with the public. It is with reluctance that I bring charges of incompetence against Mr. B.: but my respect

¹ Bellamy's Reply to Kimchi, *Classical Journal* for March, 1821. p. 123.

for that which has been generally considered as one of the best versions of the Holy Scriptures in existence, will not permit me to suffer such groundless accusations of inaccuracy and contradictions to be brought against it, without some attempt to repel the charge.

Without further preface I will proceed to the consideration of Gen. vi. 14. With regard to the meaning of the word כָּפַר. I have little to add to the unconfuted arguments in my former letter. I have never asserted that כָּפַר signifies "to cover" in any passage of Scripture. Yet that *to cover* is its primary sense is the opinion of some eminent Lexicographers.¹ I confess I do not understand what Mr. Bellamy means by the following passage: "It is needless to attempt to show the want of information in Kimchi respecting the translation of ׀ (vau) by *ibi*, there: the truth is obvious, as proved by the common version."² What truth is proved by the common version? Does Mr. B. quote that version which he censures so much, to prove that ׀ means *ibi*? but let me ask, has Mr. B. taken the trouble to ascertain whether ׀ is EVER translated *there* in the common version? The reader will be surprised to learn that ׀ is *not* translated *there* in the common version, either in 2 Kings xxv. 22, or in Jer. xv. 8, or in any other passage in the Bible, as far as I can learn. Taylor gives ׀ the sense of *ibi* in two passages, Noldius in one, and I endeavoured briefly to prove that it has not that sense in either passage, and consequently that Mr. B. has no sufficient authority for giving it that sense. Mr. B. says that I have wrongly charged him with omitting the translation of אָתָּה [othah]. "To show the reader," says he, "the manifest injustice which is done by the misrepresentation of the new translation, I quote the note on the word אָתָּה [othah], page 42 of the new translation. I shall now refer the reader to the intermediate words in this clause, אָתָּה מִבַּיִת [othah mibayith]. THESE WORDS ARE RENDERED ONLY BY THE WORD WITHIN. אָתָּה [othah] is a compound word, of אָת oth, which here means *in*, see 1 Sam. vii. 16—ix. 15. Ps. xvi. 11.—cxl. 13. Ezek. xlvii. 23, and the feminine termination הָ ha, which, agreeably to the Hebrew, reads *in her*; but according to the idiom of our language, *in it*, or *within*. Accordingly I have

¹ כָּפַר *tesit, operuit, linivit, oblinivit, obturavit*, Schindleri Lex. Pent.

כָּפַר *to cover by smearing, &c.* Taylor's Heb. Conc.

כָּפַר *to cover, overspread*, Parkhurst's Heb. Lex.

² Bellamy's Reply, p. 127.

here translated the text, *thou shalt expiate* אָתָּה [othah,] its plain literal reading; [Qu. ? meaning;] but which Kimchi positively declares I have omitted; but why, he knows not!" Mr. B. has courteously expressed his unwillingness to tax me with ignorance or wilful misrepresentation; I hope I shall be able to prove that I have been guilty of neither. Mr. B. himself allows that the two words אָתָּה מִבַּיִת [othah mibayith] "are rendered only by the word *within*." Admitting therefore the correctness of his own statement in the note on his Bible, he is reduced to this dilemma; either he has omitted to translate the word אָתָּה, as I very innocently supposed, or he has given to אָתָּה a new and unheard-of meaning, and has omitted to translate מִבַּיִת. But unfortunately Mr. B.'s note does not accord *even with his own text*: the note acknowledges that the words אָתָּה מִבַּיִת are rendered only by the word *within*. Whereas in his New Translation, *as quoted by himself*, he translates the words אָתָּה מִבַּיִת by the English words, "*in it, even a house!!*" Make for thee, an ark of the wood of Gopher; rooms thou shalt make in the ark; for thou shalt expiate *in it, even a house*, also with an outer room for atonement." In fact Mr. Bellamy seems to have been so little satisfied with his own *first* translation of this verse, as published in his prospectus, which now lies before me, that before he sent his Bible to the press he seems to have altered the verse in several particulars. This will appear from the following transcript of his first translation, with which, by some strange blunder, the note in his new translation accords, *whilst it differs from that very text which it was designed to illustrate!* "Make for thee an ark of the wood of Gopher; *apartments* thou shalt make in the ark: *there* thou shalt expiate, *within and without*, by atonement." It was on this *first* translation, and not on that quoted by Mr. Bellamy from his Bible, (which I endeavoured in vain to get a sight of,) that my remarks were made. But even this *second* new translation is at least equally objectionable with the first. Mr. B. says that אָתָּה [othah] is compounded "of אָת oth, which here means *in*, see 1 Sam. vii. 16. ix. 15. Psal. xvi. 11. cal. 13. Ezek. xlvii. 23. and the feminine termination הָ ha." Now in the first place the word אָת oth does not occur in any one of the passages quoted. In fact there is no such Hebrew word, either in Taylor or in Noldius's elaborate work on Hebrew particles. In

¹ Bellamy's Reply, p. 127.

² Bellamy's Reply, p. 124.

three of the passages quoted the word is **את** *eth*: in one **את** *eth*, and in the remaining passage I find the compound word **יתו** *itto*: and though **אתה** [*othah*] is a word of very frequent occurrence, I challenge Mr. Bellamy to bring forward any one passage in the Hebrew Bible, in which any one translator or lexicographer of reputation has given **אתה** [*othah*] the sense of *in it*. In his first new translation of this verse, Mr. B. had very properly followed our authorised version in translating **מבית** *within*: a sense which it frequently has. See Exod. xxv. 11, xxvi. 33, xxxvii. 2, &c. In this latter passage the expression bears much resemblance to that in Gen. vi. 14, **ויצפורהב סוחר מבית ומחוץ** “*And he overlaid it with pure gold within and without.*” But in his amended translation he has given **מבית** the sense of *even a house*. **בית** certainly signifies a house; but I defy Mr. Bellamy to produce a single passage of Scripture in which the sense of *even* is given to **ב** by any translator or writer of authority. I believe he will find equal difficulty in proving that **חוץ** ever signifies *an outer-room*. “**ומחוץ** also *with an outer-room.*” If, in addition to numerous grammatical errors which Mr. Whittaker has proved him to have committed, Mr. B. can produce no authority, besides himself, for the sense he has given to **אתה**, to **מבית**, and to **ומחוץ** in the passage under discussion, I think no one will be at a loss what weight to attach either to his censures on the authorised version, or to his new translation.

I now proceed to Mr. B.'s grave charge of infidelity, levelled at those who hold that the text of the Old Testament has suffered from the faults of transcribers. “Now if this be simply the state of the case,” says Mr. B. “if the sacred inspired volume be corrupt, through the errors of transcribers, we do not know to what extent those errors have been committed, the whole genuineness and authenticity of Scripture would be swept away at once. A better argument than this could not be put into the hand of the objector; it surpasses all that ever was advanced against the truths of the sacred volume. ‘But,’ says Kimchi, ‘it has suffered more or less, as every human work has done, from the occasional carelessness or mistakes of transcribers.’ Here then our modern Kimchi, and every one who believes in divine revelation, are at issue. If the sacred Scriptures be divinely given, if the sacred writers were inspired to write them, then they cannot be a human work, or the work of man, as Kimchi ventures to assert. They would be of no greater authority than the Koran or the Veda.”

¹ Bellamy's Reply, p. 130.

It is not a little extraordinary that Mr. B. should accuse Kimchi of venturing to assert that the sacred Scriptures are a human work, when *in the very same sentence* from which he has drawn this illogical inference Kimchi describes the text of the Old Testament as "*penned by the inspired writers.*" It is the reverence with which I regard the Holy Scriptures, as the word of God, and as alone *able to make us wise unto salvation*, which has led me to protest against the groundless innovations of Mr. B. The charge of disbelief in divine revelation, which is so prodigally made by Mr. B. against his opponents, must apply not less to "the best Hebrew scholars in this country," as Mr. Bellamy justly calls them,¹ Lowth, Kennicott, Blayney, Newcome, than to the Quarterly Reviewer, Mr. Whittaker, and myself; for they all agree in entertaining similar views respecting the state of the Hebrew text. "All writings," says Bishop Lowth, "transmitted to us, like these, from early times, the original copies of which have long ago perished, have suffered in their passage to us by the mistakes of many transcribers, through whose hands we have received them; errors continually accumulating in proportion to the number of transcripts; and the stream generally becoming more impure, the more distant it is from the source. Now the Hebrew writings of the Old Testament, being for much the greatest part the most ancient of any; instead of finding them absolutely perfect, we may reasonably expect to find, that they have suffered in this respect more than others of less antiquity generally have done."² "As concerning the present defective state of the Hebrew text," says Dr. Blayney, "the various kinds of mistakes that have found their way into it, and the ordinary sources of its corruption, &c. all these points have been so thoroughly examined, and represented with so much learning, skill and precision in the before-mentioned Preliminary Dissertation of the Bishop of London, &c. that I have nothing new to offer concerning them."³ "Other causes of the difficulties with which these prophetic writings abound," says Archbishop Newcome, "are the want of historical records, &c. and above all, the many corruptions which deform the present text."⁴ Dr. Kennicott's opinion on the state of the Hebrew text is so well known, and has been so

¹ Bellamy's Reply, p. 123.

² Lowth's Prelim. Diss. to Isaiah, p. 50. Perth Edition.

³ Dr. Blayney's Prel. Disc. to Jeremiah, p. vii. second edition.

⁴ Newcome's Preface to the Minor Prophets, p. vii. Pontefract edition.

often referred to by Mr. Bellamý, that it is needless to quote any passage from his works in proof of his opinion.

The fear of Mr. B. that, if the corruption of the Hebrew text through the faults of transcribers be admitted, the whole genuineness and authenticity of Scripture will be at once swept away, is perfectly visionary. "It is a fact undeniable," says the learned and sagacious Dr. Bentley, "that the sacred books have suffered no more alterations than common and classic authors; and have no more variations, than what must necessarily have happened from the nature of things. And it has been the common sense of men of letters that numbers of manuscripts do not make a text precarious; but are useful, nay necessary, to its establishment and certainty. The result then of the whole matter is, that either all ancient books, as well as the sacred, must now be laid aside, as uncertain and precarious; or to say, that all the transcripts of sacred books should have been privileged against the common fate, and exempted from all slips and errors whatever. I have too much value for the ancient classics, even to suppose that they are to be abandoned; because their remains are sufficiently pure and genuine to make us sure of the writers' design. *If a corrupt line, or a dubious reading, chances to intervene, it does not darken the whole context, nor make an author's purpose precarious.* Terence, for instance, has as many variations as any book whatever, in proportion to its bulk; and yet, *with all its interpolations, omissions, additions or glosses, (choose the worst of them on purpose) you cannot deface the contrivance or plot of one play; no, not of one single scene; but its sense, design and suberviency to the last issue and conclusion, shall be visible and plain through all the mist of various lections.* And so it is with the sacred text. And why then must the sacred books have been exempted from the injuries of time, and secured from the least change? What need of that perpetual miracle; if, with all the present changes, *the whole scripture is perfect and sufficient for all the great ends and purposes of its first writing?*"¹ "Take any one, the most faulty Hebrew MS. in the world," says Dr. Kennicott, "and I humbly presume, that it will be found to contain the same Bible in the main, and teach the same great doctrines and duties as are taught at present."² "Frustra

¹ Bentley's Remarks on Free-thinking, quoted by Kennicott in his 1st Dissertation, p. 563.

² Kennicott's 2nd Dissertation, p. 585.

itaque dicunt," says Vossius, "quia nullum exemplar sit omnino purum, ergo nusquam esse sacram scripturam. Imo vero nullum tam mendosum exemplar, quod non pro sana scriptura debeat habere. Abunde et copiose quibusvis sacrarum librorum codicibus omnia ad salutem et fidem necessaria, possunt hauriri."¹ If Mr. B. before he had stigmatised that opinion respecting the state of the Hebrew text, which has been held by Secker,² Newcome, Lowth, Horsley,³ Blayney, and many more of our first Biblical scholars, as "*an infidel dogma*,"⁴ had taken the trouble to examine Kennicott's or De Rossi's collations on any important passages of scripture, he would have been satisfied that the various readings do not at all affect the divine authority of the scriptures or the doctrines and precepts of religion, and would have abstained from a charge so utterly groundless.

But let me ask Mr. Bellamy, if a perpetual act of providence has miraculously preserved the text of the Old Testament from those errors of transcribers from which every human work has suffered, would not the same cause have induced the Almighty miraculously to preserve the text of the New Testament? Could it be of less importance that the words of our Redeemer himself, the sublime truths of the Gospel, and the terms of our salvation, should be handed down to us, in every word and letter as they originally came from the pen of inspiration? Does then Mr. B. maintain the opinion that the text of the New Testament is now as pure and perfect as it was when first committed to writing by the inspired evangelists and apostles of our Lord? If so, where is this pure and perfect text to be found? Are we to seek for it in the Alexandrian or the Vatican MS.? and how are we *infallibly* to distinguish, which is the pure transcript of the autograph, and which has suffered from the faults of transcribers? for all Mss. which deviate at all from the genuine text must inevitably have been more or less corrupted. But if Mr. B. admits that there is no standard and immaculate text of the NEW TESTAMENT, why are those to be branded as infidels and deists who maintain the same opinion respecting the text of the OLD TESTAMENT?⁵

Falmouth, July, 1821.

KIMCHI.

¹ Vossius de LXX Interp. quoted by Kennicott, Diss. 2. p. 586.

² See his notes on the Psalms and Prophets, inserted in the works of Merrick, Newcome and Blayney. ³ See his notes on the Psalms.

⁴ Bellamy's Critical Examination, p. 39, &c. &c.

⁵ Mr. B. accuses me of want of candor, in not referring the reader to his "Critical Examination." The reason was, that I did not *then* know that such a work had been published.

OXFORD ENGLISH PRIZE ESSAY for 1821.

THE STUDY OF MODERN HISTORY.

Quo spectanda modo, quo sensu credis, et ore?—Hoz.
Unde necesse est, inde initium sumatur.—Cic.

THE direction of our studies is usually determined, not so much upon grounds of abstract dignity or usefulness, as by the comparative importance of different pursuits with reference to our views in life. The philosophy of man—in other words, the philosophy of history, is almost the only study, at once so comprehensive and so necessary, as to command the attention of every one who is to reason or to act. Whoever would speculate upon the safe foundations of induction, or avoid in practice the errors incident to ignorance, must explore the principles of human nature as they are developed in the annals of mankind; and investigate the Past as the great index of the Probable.

But in order to derive the highest possible advantage from the moral and political lessons of history, the attention should chiefly be confined to those systems of affairs, and expositions of character, which are traced out for our examination in all their bearings, and subject to the test of our familiar and distinct conceptions. Man is so much the creature of circumstances, that to theorise upon any notions independent of these, is a certain road to be deceived. However uniform the original principles of his nature may remain, their influence and operation must be perpetually modified. As the current of events rolls on, the sources that supply it may be fixed and immutable, but its channel will be for ever shifting, and its aspect varied by continual alterations. The agency of external and contingent causes has power to control, diversify, transform. Characters, or actions, which have little real dissimilitude, will be attended, under changes of era or condition, with very opposite appearances, and widely discrepant results. The tyrant of one century would be the fool of another: The action that at one period might be excused as an harmless licence, or recognised as a legitimate proceeding, would be sufficient, at a different epoch, to kindle the flames of revolution, and deluge a nation with blood.

Hence arises the peculiar and paramount importance of MODERN History. To govern conduct by example, to judge of the probable issues of affairs by the rule of experience, being

the grand ends of historical study, an adequate idea of the model to be imitated, a perfect comprehension of the case to be applied, are primary and most essential steps. Reasoning from analogy is always a method of much nicety. If a due caution against oversights be not observed, and a prudent horror of precipitate conclusions maintained, it may become a method of much danger. In its comparisons, the omission of a single term will vitiate the entire proportion: in its combinations, admit the slightest mixture of an unwarrantable element, and you destroy the whole. Yet analogy is the only medium for converting history to use; the preparatory ordeal through which her stores must pass, before they will be clear of doubt or fit for application. No aid should therefore be neglected that can promote the safer management of so indispensable, but so delicate a process. It is wise to afford the judgment every chance of security; and, where the materials for employment are almost without limit, to select for closer operation that portion whose properties and relations we can most fully appreciate and understand.

It will not be inferred from this, that the portion of history which treats of a condition of the world slenderly related to its existing state, has no claims to be considered of importance. The importance of ancient history rests upon a basis, too secure to be undermined, and fortunately too evident to be otherwise than wilfully mistaken. For general examples of vice or virtue, folly or wisdom, strength or weakness, it forms a vast and inexhaustible repository. It reveals the secret springs of human conduct: it abounds in every thing to warm the fancy, inform the memory, and elevate the taste. Stamped by the all-powerful hand of genius with the characters of truth, it retains that everlasting impress which confers a value where currency is lost.

Even the science of political philosophy had made a wonderful progress among the ancients. They supply the student of history with more than bare materials; and speculate as well as describe. The unostentatious wisdom that mingles with the details of their professed historians is uniformly fraught with instruction; while the just and comprehensive views upon political subjects taken by their philosophers are frequently astonishing. Thus Archytas could deduce, though from a defective model,¹ the splendid doctrine of a balanced government, which

¹ The Constitution of Sparta.—See *Pythag. Fragmenta Politica*.

It has been the work of centuries to realise in the most perfect of modern constitutions. Thus the piercing sagacity of Aristotle, from an extensive range of laborious researches, drew that analysis of practical philosophy, which has been compared to the work of Montesquieu,¹ and which Locke recommended as an essential preliminary to the study of history and politics.* And even the errors into which the mystical imagination and lofty abstractions of Plato betrayed him, are not unmixed with conclusions at once accurate and sublime. Nor should it ever be forgotten, in considering the useful lessons to be derived from the details of antiquity, that Machiavel, so pernicious a writer, where he argues from modern events, and the transactions of his own country, has found a beneficial scope for his transcendent talents in reasoning upon a portion of the ancient annals.³

But something like the discernment and abilities of an author whom Harrington[†] has characterised as the only politician of later ages, is requisite for the safe accomplishment of such a task as Machiavel performed. It is too hazardous for common understandings. The danger is, lest by too ardent and implicit an attention, too intense a study of the ancient models, the discriminating sense should be gradually blunted, until self-deception become pleasing, and the labor of separating illusion from reality at once disagreeable and difficult. To discover an example of such danger, and of its fatal effects, we need only turn to the great instance of the French Revolution. Amid the mingled horrors and absurdities of that disgusting scene, it is easy to detect an anxious imitation; though it produced nothing better than a distorted resemblance, of a classic original. When the minds of men are once heated with a favorite notion, its influence grows soon predominant. The idea is cherished until what was at first an institution of reason, or perhaps a movement of caprice, ends in a principle of passion; and its force is entirely uncontrolable, because every opposing consideration is either constrained to fall in with the domineering fancy, or, if stubborn and untractable, is thrown out of sight, and altogether disregarded.

To erect, in this manner, a standard borrowed from antiquity;

¹ Miller's Philosophy of Modern History.

² Letter to Mr. King from Locke.

³ Discourses on the First Decade of Livy.

[†] See Harrington's Oceana.

and to adopt with unhesitating zeal what should be scrutinised with cautious scrupulosity; is thus strikingly preposterous. As well may the traveller hope to direct his route with certainty through an unknown country by a chart whose divisions are obsolete and very names forgotten, as the statesman expect to be guided with plainness and precision by examples which must often be imperfectly applicable, and often indistinctly apprehended.

Modern history, at whatever æra we may fix its commencement, displays a striking and extensive change in the condition of the world. Even if we descend with Bolingbroke¹ to the close of the fifteenth century, we shall perceive a vast, though not a total alteration. New series of events, and new systems of causes, connected by a very sensible and intimate relation with the present disposition of human affairs, begin at that epoch to appear. From that epoch too it is more requisite to study history in detail. The different Powers of the civilised world are thrown into closer connexion with each other; the veil is drawn away from many objects formerly obscure; and the genius of governments and growth of constitutions in the several countries, while they become a more necessary, becomes also a more easy and more open topic of inquiry.

But, in order to consult the grander views of political philosophy, and to afford the student of history a completer survey of that great machinery which has produced such wonderful effects, it is proper to ascend to a much higher period than Bolingbroke has marked. The subversion of the Western Empire, in the year of the Christian æra 476, presents a point at which the change is almost perfect, and from which nearly every step in our observations must be progressive. The exterminating swords of the barbarian conquerors, as they urged the work of desolation, left scarcely a vestige of former systems behind them. A deluge passed over the face of the earth, and its moral aspect was transformed. Looking forward from this point, we perceive mankind acting under impulses, and placed in situations, which were previously unknown. They come upon the stage with a change of character, of appearance, and of attitude: a wider theatre is opened, and unexpected scenes expand. History becomes a study of augmented interest; and the political philosopher acquires a field for speculation, at once altered in its nature, and enlarged in its extent.

¹ Letters on the Study and Use of History.

It is no longer, as in the early history of oriental countries, a succession of broken and confused traditions, a series of gorgeous but uncertain and unsatisfactory pictures, that is hardly to excite, or poorly to repay, his attention. It is no longer Greece, with her feverish and fluctuating destinies, her perplexed politics and endless divisions, her gleams of grandeur and long tracts of gloom, whose records are to appal while they instruct, and to instruct, for the most part, by negative examples. It is no longer Rome, in her gradual rise, her broad dominion, and her slow decline,—a brilliant illustration of the Polybian theory of constitutions,¹ but too engrossing to afford variety, and too singular to bear comparison,—that is to confine his observation to one system, simple in its principles, and sure in its results, described in a line by Virgil, and comprehended in a paragraph by Tacitus. Countries, disregarded in the huge and cumbrous mass of Roman territory, unfold their energies and assert their dignity. Navigation spreads a bolder sail, and adventure finds a way to shores whose existence had never been suspected. The Hercynian Forest teems with empires:—Isles, which Roman contempt would have banished almost beyond the limits of the world, assume a more imposing attitude; and we hail with patriotic exultation the progressive advancement of Great Britain to that station of eminence, from which her laws have been dictated to wider regions, than Rome, at the zenith of her greatness, ever knew!

To this creation of fresh dynasties and rise of powerful states, where ancient history had depicted barbarians or neglected slaves; to the gradual process of civilisation and discovery, which enlarged the sphere of human action; and to the attendant variety of growing causes and new interests, which advancing time was to bring into collision, we must ascribe not only the primary impulse that gave birth to a different order of things, but likewise the first origin of those additions to the objects of historical study, which, as much as the argument already drawn from the uncertainties of analogical reasoning, bestow importance on the consideration of modern transactions. Such an extension in the scope of historical study has been followed by a similar extension in its aims: the science has found new subject-matter, and the subject-matter has reacted on the science. Two chief and remarkable additions at once present themselves to notice. The doctrine of the equipoise of power, as it is now

¹ Polybii Hist. l. vi.

understood and established, and the doctrines of political economy, form branches of practical philosophy, which cannot be overlooked with impunity by any one whose historical researches have a higher end than the mere satisfaction of curiosity, and which may easily be traced, in their first elements, to the causes specified above.

When the pressure of universal dominion has once been removed; when the province has risen into the kingdom; and tributary states have become independent, nations quickly learn to measure their own strength with that of others, to be jealous of their separate rights, and to confront with resistance the attempted inroads of aggression. This is the mere spirit of self-preservation; the rudest policy which danger dictates to man. To discern the approach of danger, while its actual assault is directed against a different quarter, and to lend a timely succour in the quarter assailed, lest the next step of successful violence should be planted on its own territory, is a further lesson which experience teaches to a government, and an advance in the refinements of policy. From the want of appreciating its utility, as the candid Tacitus has not scrupled to confess,¹ the most powerful nations of the ancient world fell successive victims to the ambition of Rome. The riper politicians of antiquity, however, were far from being ignorant of the value of this lesson. Grecian statesman and Persian satrap were equally aware of the necessity of practising it: as the arguments of Corcyra,² the speeches of Hermocrates,³ and the artful waverings of the crafty Tissaphernes,⁴ without citing another example from the instructive details of the Peloponnesian war, are sufficient to attest.

But to descry, in periods of tranquillity, the latent seeds of future disturbance; to display the wisdom of prospective policy; and to exert the great right of mutual interference for the preservation of the general safety, was a step beyond the actual, perhaps the possible, attainment of ancient communities. The fifth book of Thucydides alone, that singular Epitome of Grecian politics, contains enough to convince us, that although the acutest politicians of the ancient world might appreciate the value of a balance of power, it was but a *temporary* balance they ever wished to create: and that, although they had wished to make it permanent, systematic bad faith and restless jealousies must have balked their best-concerted plans. It has been reserved for the governments of the modern world, acting in a

¹ Vita Agricolaë, c. xii.

² Thucyd. I. i.

³ Thucyd. I. iv. and vi.

⁴ Hellen. I. i.

sphere too wide for animosities as rancorous, and interests as complicated, as debased and obstructed the international arrangements of ancient Greece, to erect the precautionary system of the equipoise of power: and even in modern history we perceive, that though the elements of the system were so early formed, it required a long course of centuries to ripen, and the agency of very powerful stimulants to bring them into steady and effectual operation. The great religious revolution of the sixteenth century, among its other glorious results, gave being to the system of the law of nations, which Grotius moulded into form,¹ and to the fuller recognition and establishment of those reciprocal rights and obligations, upon which the beautiful structure of balanced power reposes. The lasting principles of division and mutual resistance furnished by the same cause have hitherto contributed to maintain the fabric; while events of a still more recent date have impressed upon all countries the importance of preserving it entire. The lesson has been read to more than diplomatists; and maxims that would sacrifice the independence or integrity of the meanest state to the aggrandisement of another, are spurned in the cottage, if admitted in the cabinet. May ambition never again have the power of throwing Europe into a convulsion like that from which she has recovered! May its unprincipled designs, whether displayed in the open aggressions of a single Usurper, or lurking in the plausible pretences of a despotic alliance, be ever baffled by the awakened vigilance of freedom!

The science of political economy, if philosophically traced to its virtual sources, will be found to be derived from the same division of interests, enlargement of the sphere of human affairs, and consequent improvement of mankind in just views and liberal opinions, from which have been deduced the first principles of the equipoise of power. In a *technical* light, it has indeed been rightly termed the offspring of that increased commercial activity,² which has so much affected the character of nations, as to render new combinations of philosophy necessary for their direction.³ It was this gave rise to the essay of Raleigh, the first methodical treatise on the subject, which was combated at a much later day by the agricultural theory of Quesnay. But it is chiefly from their expositions of its intricate details, and various projects for surmounting its practical

¹ Miller's Philosophy of Modern History.

² Genilh's Inquiry into the various Systems of Political Economy.

³ Miller's Lectures.

difficulties, that the celebrated writers on political economy, from Raleigh to Smith, and from Smith to philosophers of recent eminence, can be styled the authors of the science itself. Viewed in its noblest character, as the science which professes to regard the happiness of whole populations, and to devise means for its support, political economy had begun to exist in reality, before it was thrown into a regular shape, or spoke in a technical language. Notwithstanding the long prevalence of Feudalism, with its oppressive and degrading maxims, the division of the great Western Empire into a variety of independent states, at the commencement of the modern æra, prepared the way for improvements, such as the world had never known, and which were to increase the general sum of human felicity. Dispelled by those powerful causes, which have been traced by the sagacity of Robertson,¹ the feudal darkness at length disappeared; the subjects of every country began to acquire a growing importance; the slave became the citizen; the citizen obtained a right to have his interests consulted; and the arrangements of government were directed with a view to the widest diffusion possible of wealth and happiness among the governed. Even the increased spirit of commercial activity, if it must be allowed to have been the immediate parent of political economy, owes its rise to the prior causes here alleged. For, while the multiplication of independent states enhances the necessity of mutual exchange, the extension of personal freedom, that nurse of every virtue, gives new life to the pulses of industry; the former is the shape which commerce assumes, the latter is the animating principle that invigorates and sustains it. Under either aspect, the doctrines of this science, as well as those connected with the balance of power, are a creation of modern times: since both the international arrangements of ancient dynasties were without the security of good faith, and their interior systems of government were in no instance founded upon equitable and comprehensive maxims of genuine liberty.

Such are some of the chief claims advanced by modern history to the diligent and earnest attention of the statesman and political speculator. But it is not only for the statesman, who is to guide the helm of government, or the philosopher, the soundness or futility, adoption or rejection of whose theories is to affect the happiness, perhaps the very being, of millions, that she unrolls her ample page. There is scarcely a profession of

¹ Charles V. vol. 1.

any description, scarcely an intellectual pursuit, that can be successfully prosecuted without constant application to the rich and varied stores which that page contains. To the patriot it must be superfluous to point out those attractions, which the history of his own country, in all its branches, cannot fail to present. Is there a right exerted—is there a privilege enjoyed, which will not call back to his grateful memory those glorious events, the landmarks of time, and those illustrious characters, the boasts of human nature, to whose united influence he owes their existence? To him who considers how much the records of different countries are formed to throw light upon each other, it must be equally superfluous to suggest that his historical views are not to be confined to those of a single nation; especially from that period which Bolingbroke selected, and since which, the universal progress of science, the invention of printing, and other obvious causes, have filled the world with such a multiplicity of authentic documents, that mistake is nearly impossible,—such a variety of materials to be compared, that truth *must* flash from their collision. To all it must be needless to remark, what the occurrences of every day will of themselves sufficiently declare, that for information on most topics of curiosity, and direction in most cases of interest, it is modern history which must supply the reference, even in that earlier portion of its transactions, during which a considerable darkness is spread over objects of minuteness, and it is only on the more prominent and striking points that the eye of observation can repose.

Those laws, for example, which affect the course of inheritance and the settlement of property, objects of great and universal concern, lead us back to a review of the feudal enactments, formally commencing in the heart of Lombardy, and towards the close of the sixth century,¹ which spread over Europe with so swift and steady a progress, and have been distinguished by such durable effects. The superior humanity which attends the operations of modern war; the sensibility of honor, and the refinements of gallantry, by which manners have been polished, and social happiness increased; if they place us, in some important respects, above the highest attain-

¹ The Convention of the thirty-six Dukes of Lombardy with their Sovereign, A.D. 584, is reckoned by Miller the formal commencement of the Feudal Law of Europe. Butler agrees with him, while Craig would carry us back to the days of Tacitus.—*Cragii Jus Feudale*.

ments of a classical antiquity, are to be traced to that whimsical, but useful, institution of chivalry,¹ which was the real author of these beneficial results. Literature will own its debt of gratitude to the exertions of her oriental protectors, who, by providing in the erection of Bagdad,² which the eighth century saw completed, a retreat for the learning of Europe, preserved the precious stores, which as soon as the confusion of the middle ages should begin to subside, were to be rolled back upon the West. And Religion, while she exults in the great event of a more recent period, which purged her holy flame of its impurities, must yet revert, with reverent emotions, to that powerful and pervading influence of the Papal authority, which kept it burning through the season of moral degradation.

An infinite number of more petty, but obvious relations, connect us with the same series of transactions which has furnished these mighty links. The soft drapery, and fragrant balm, recal to memory those concurring causes that made Genoa and Venice the emporia for Eastern traffic. Nor has commerce converted one luxury of former ages into a comfort of the present, that does not remind us of the fortunate discovery which gave navigation a guide in the widest seas, and of the adventurous courage, which carrying the mariners of Europe into the remotest climes, has made the treasures of both hemispheres our own.

Thus are we united to the system of modern affairs by such an immediate and personal connexion as ancient history cannot supply. Except, perhaps, that influence of the Roman jurisprudence perceptible in the legislative codes of European nations, we can detect no chain to bind the ancient to the modern world. The separation is immense: there lies a gulf between them. We peruse the records of the former with curiosity, with interest, almost with passion; but it is only while the picture is fresh and glowing in the eye, while the eloquence is sounding in the ear, while the enchantment lasts, which reflection will weaken, if it do not wholly destroy it. We turn to the annals of the latter for causes, of which we are actually feeling the effects: here it is Experience itself that drives us to the oracles of History. To us it is of little consequence to know that the liberties of Greece were saved at Marathon, which we now see struggling with far worse barbarians than thronged the le-

¹ Robertson's View of the State of Europe, &c.

² Gibbon's Decline and Fall, vol. 5.

gions of Darius; that customs were common which have ceased to influence; or dynasties established which no longer exist. To contemplate the transactions of antiquity, however disastrous, or however beneficial, at the time when they took place, is but to gaze upon a scene where we know storms to have raged that have left no vestige behind them, or plenty to have once gladdened what may now be a waste of desolation. How different the impression, when we look on the fresh prints of the earthquake, with the ground yet trembling under foot, or welcome the dawn of the sunshine that is to enrich while it illumines, to fertilise as well as to delight!

There is one light in which modern history has been considered, that cannot properly be omitted in a review of the study, although it may appear to argue more of piety than of judgment in the persons with whom it has originated. It is the professed object of several writers, and especially of a recent author,¹ to treat the whole series of modern events as a scheme of Providential government, laid down with all the coherence and the unity of a moral drama. But though few will be found hardy or impious enough to deny, that the disposition of human affairs, in all ages and in every country, must be under the immediate influence of the Divine control, and that there must exist some grand and ultimate aim, to which the various combinations of events are slowly and silently directed, it seems too arduous an undertaking to analyse the system of Providential agency, or to point out with absolute precision the result it is intended to produce. Distinct and minor portions of modern history may indeed afford fit subjects for an attempt that is always laudable in the design, if not always happy in the choice of materials. Thus the History of the Reformation, for instance, will yield an example, where the aim of Divine interference is clearly discernible, and the means employed are strongly and distinctly marked. As a splendid Episode in modern annals, it may, with this view, be very usefully contemplated.

But it is ancient history, in reality, that presents the most favourable field for observations of such a tendency. Looking to the most important and interesting event that ever took place in the annals of mankind, as the end proposed by Providence, there is a regular system of converging causes plainly and palpably exposed. It is a Drama complete in all its parts. Each separate incident, on this magnificent scale of action, evidently

¹ *Miller's Philosophy of Modern History.*

tends towards the awful and sublime catastrophe: and no sooner is the end accomplished, than the system begins to dissolve! The seeds of ruin had already begun to unfold themselves in the bosom of the Roman Empire, while Judea was witnessing the fulfilment of those great designs, in aid of which that empire had been suffered to obtain successive mastery over all her rivals, and, in the words of one of her own Cæsars,¹ to arrive at such a satiety of glory as made her willing to give peace to the world. This striking and illustrious fact may also serve to explain, why the Christian Religion, the establishment of which was one conspicuous result of the event alluded to, cannot be considered, like the influence of the Roman law, a bond of connexion between the ancient and modern systems. Although founded under the first, its chief operation and authority have been reserved to adorn and benefit the last. From the time of its earliest appearance, the historian has to relate the gradual decline of Roman dominion, until the period when it was finally subverted, and modern history commences.

It must not be forgotten, likewise, that for thus examining the plan of the Divine dealings in the ancient world, there is an unerring guide to regulate inquiry. An interpretation not to be mistrusted accompanies the volumes of antiquity. The predictions of the inspired writers, and especially the famous prophecies of Daniel, form a key to the most remarkable and authentic facts which are recorded in them. The fated revolutions of empires, the destined agents to be employed, the very times of action appointed, are specified with a boldness which bespeaks the confidence of truth, and an accuracy which must confound the Pyrrhonist whom it fails to convince. We are left to wander in no labyrinth of conjecture: the path is open, and the clue is in our hands.

There is no such assistance to direct our efforts in unravelling the Providential scheme of modern history. The attempts of ingenious men to apply the book of Revelations to this purpose have not been characterised by much success, nor productive of any certainty. In contemplating, from that earliest point which has been fixed for their commencement, the succession of modern transactions, we look along a vista whose termination cannot yet be ascertained. No event that has hitherto occurred, within the period designated, can be compared in its magnitude

¹ Tacit. Annal. l. 12, c. xi.

Mode of Ploughing described by Virgil. 105

or its effects, to that which has been pointed out as the grand end of the Divine government throughout the ages of antiquity, though it might not exactly synchronise with their conclusion : and our prospective view is necessarily bounded and obscure. In treating of particular cases, the philosophy which teaches by examples may sometimes be prophetic ;—but how shall it presume to sketch out a general plan for Almighty wisdom ? how pretend to fathom the uncompleted counsels of Omnipotence ?

Since, then, modern history presents no entire and absolute Whole, upon which reason might be exercised with confidence ; and since all light from higher sources is either withheld, or only partially vouchsafed ; speculations of this nature are better restricted to a more suitable and certain range. The absurdities into which the most powerful and philosophic minds have been betrayed, in the endeavour to apply the study we have been considering to an object for which it is not adapted, denote the futility of the attempt. But there is at least one grand and interesting corollary to be drawn from its details, which may be announced without the fear of seeming visionary, and affirmed without the rashness of presumption.—If analogy instruct us to believe, that the destined end of the present system of affairs will display at once the wisdom and benevolence of the great Being by whom its operations are controlled,—patriotism may teach us to hope, that a Country, which has hitherto sustained so proud a part in modern history, will not be without a most important share in adjusting the final dispositions of the world !

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CHRIST CHURCH.

REMARKS

On the different methods of Ploughing adopted by the Romans, being a specimen of a new Translation, with Notes particularly illustrative of the didactic precepts, of the first Georgic of Virgil.

THE following is the ancient plough of Hesiod and Virgil, delineated in the edition of Virgil by Paul Sandby ; and taken from a medallion of Ceres, Ex numismate Gentis Vibie, ex Begeri Thesaur. Tom. ii. page 593. Spectat Geor. i. v. 170.



REFERENCES.

- a. The Buris.
- b. The Groove for the Temo.
- c. The Dentall.
- d. The Stiva, with its manícula at e.

The first Georgic of Virgil is divided into three parts. The first division consists of an "Exordium," and an Invocation in epic measure: the middle, of a series of didactic precepts, in what Servius calls a middle style, except where his subject admits of a higher strain of poetry, of which he always contrives to take advantage: and the third, of a prayer to the Gods for the safety of Rome, and the welfare of Octavius Cæsar.

The following is a specimen of a new Translation of the first Georgic of Virgil, with notes subjoined, and is confined to the mode of ploughing described by that author: the metrical translation beginning at *Vere novo*, v. 43, and the notes at *Illa seges*, v. 47. The design of this article is to explain the operative part of the husbandry of the Romans, (a task not hitherto undertaken by any practical agriculturist, and consequently not executed with any degree of precision,) as well as the classical diction of the poem.

VERE novo; gelidus canis cùm montibus humor
Soon as in spring the snow-clad mountains flow

Before the precepts are minutely investigated, it will be necessary, in taking a general view of the Roman husbandry, to premise, that it consisted of two distinct methods of managing the corn-lands, (agros frumentarios): and the field destined for tillage was either called "campus novalis," or "ager restibilis:" the "novalis" was what is now denominated "convertible ground," at one time in pasture, and at another in tillage, with an intervening fallow, in process of time forming a decomposed mould (putra-

solum): and the "restibilis" was in "perpetual tillage" without fallow on a rich soil, (pingue solum). Varro, who was extremely fond of derivations, having himself written a grammatical treatise on the Latin language, thus defines "novalis," De Re R. l. i. 29. *Novalis est ubi solum fuit antequam secundâ aratione renovetur: i. e. the "novalis" is that land, which has formerly been under the plough, before it happens to be subsequently renewed by a fresh ploughing. And the "restibilis" he derives a restitudo, quis*

Liquitur, et Zephyre putris se gleba resolvit;
Depresso incipiat jam tum mihi taurus aratro
Ingemere, et sulco attritus splendescere vomer.
Illa seges demum votis respondet avari

With trickling rills, and mellow'd soils remit
Their icy bands at Zephyr's mild approach.
Let the strong ox his lab'ring toil begin,
And plough-shares glisten by the furrow worn.
Yet heedful mark, that corn-field best repays

restat novali quiescente: i. e. it remains in action whilst the "novalis" is quiescent.—*Restare* means "to keep its station." Thus Prop. l. iii. 8. 21. *Dum vincunt Danaï dum restat barbarus Hector.* And Ovid, Fast. l. i. v. 151. *Restant tibi frigora restant.* By keeping this distinction in view, the frequent allusions in the poem, either to the one or the other, may easily be comprehended, especially by those who have any knowledge of agriculture. The first mode of ploughing to which Virgil systematically adverts is the "novalis": this was performed, as will be more fully explained by various quoted authorities, by ploughing first a deep furrow, and the surface turf being cut through to the depth of a few inches, which was technically called *terram proscindere*, was deposited in the bottom of this first prepared deep furrow, and the returning plough making a second bout in the same furrow, penetrated a few inches deeper, and covered the buried turf with the subjacent earth thus brought to the surface: and a double portion of time was allowed to the ploughman to perform this "proscission." On this process Pliny remarks: l. xviii. c. 19. *Primum ares, proscindito: Hoc solitatem habet quod inverso cespite herbarum radices necantur.* In this state it remained, from the time of its first ploughing, *extemplo a mensibus anni*, till the summer solstice following, when it received a second

ploughing called "*terram offringere*:" this was generally across the first "proscinded" furrow. Thus Pliny, l. xviii. c. 19. *Omne aruum rectis sulcis, mox et obliquis subigi debet.* Again, quoting Festus; *Offringi terra dicitur cum iterum transverso sulco aratur.* After this followed the "occation," or the comminuting the concrete masses of the glebe by the rake, mattock, &c. It then remained at rest during the winter; and a third ploughing called "iteration" succeeded in the spring, with the "occation" also if required; this Virgil describes as having felt the pulverising effects of two summers and two winters; the whole then became what the rural writers call *putre solum* (a decomposed or mellow mould). The soil being reduced by the plough, by subsequent hard labor, and by atmospheric influence, was sufficiently adapted to the production of corn without manure. The seed-wheat being then sown in the autumn was covered by the "sarrition" of the rake, or "sarculation" of the hoe, by dint of manual labor: but it was deemed a slovenly practice to have recourse to the "occation" after the seed was sown. The wheat from this course of preparation was accounted more abundant at harvest, more nutritious, and less liable to blight, than by any other mode of culture.

That Corn-field, v. 47. *Illa seges.*
Se ges in the first acceptance of

Agricolæ, bis quæ solem, bis frigora sentit.

The sanguine peasant's hopes, twice doom'd to feel
The summer's heat, and twice the winter's frost.

the term, signifies "sown corn" or "standing corn." It is thus defined by Varro; *seges dicitur quod aratum satum est*. It also signifies "corn in general," as in the first line of the Georgic,

Quid faciat latus segetes.

In the passage under review it signifies metaphorically, "the field prepared for the tillage of corn;" in this sense it is also used by Cicero; *Ut enim "segetes" agricolæ subigunt aratris multo antequam serunt*. And in a more extended sense it signifies "the land assigned to every species of agricultural economy." Thus G. iv. 127.

Cui pauca relictis

*Jugera ruris erant; nec fertilis illa
juvencis*

*Nec pecori opportuna "seges," nec
commoda Baccho.*

Twice doom'd to feel, v. 48. *Bis
quæ solem.*

The commentators vary much in their exposition of this precept; yet considered as a general rule, it is very plain to the understanding of a practical farmer; it consists in giving the land, especially if it should happen to be of a stiff loamy nature (such being usually considered best adapted to the culture of wheat), a two years' fallow; as well for the sake of affording it rest and of extirpating weeds (and some seeds of weeds will not vegetate till the second year, of which class the wild oat (*avena fatua*) is reputed to be); as of causing the ground to recruit its strength, and to work more freely.

There were two distinct methods of management comprehended under the "novalis" system: the first had respect to what is now called

"convertible ground," such being in pasture, corn, or lucerne for an alternate series of years; the second to an alternation of wheat and fallow in each successive year: the former corresponds with the practice of Virgil, the latter with the definition of Pliny: *Novale est quod alternis annis seritur*. L. xviii. c. 49. And it is not an uncommon practice in some districts of England to alternate wheat with fallow, and wheat with beans, in constant and regular succession.

The same process of fallowing according to Theophrastus obtained in Greece: "Ἡ δὲ κατεργασία ἐν τῇ γῇ κατ' ἀποτέρας τὰς ἀπας; καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ καὶ χειμῶνος, ὅπως χειμῶνος, καὶ ἡμερῶν ἡ γῆ." L. iii. c. 24. Περὶ τῆς ἀγρ. Ursinus. "Arare novales oportet utroque tempore, et æstate et hyeme, ut frigus et solem terra sentiat." In the mountainous parts of Tuscany, where the ground from its rocks and declivities can only be worked by the hand-labor of the spade, it is customary at the present time to allow to wheat-lands a great latitude of fallow. "Dans les montagnes de Pise, à Buti, Calci, Sainte Columbe, &c.; après la récolte de blé on donne à la terre deux ans de repos." Simondi De l'Agric. Toscane, §. 22.

According to the alternating system of Pliny, by which the shorter time of fallow was adopted, there were usually only three ploughings, the "proscissio," "iteratio," and "tertiatio;" the ground would thus be eight months under corn, and sixteen months under fallow; but he notes that Virgil rather recommends the long fallow, which requires four ploughings: *Quarta veni seri sulco Virgilius existimatus vo-*

Illius immensæ ruperunt horrea messes.

v. 71. *Alternis idem tonsas cessare novales,*

Immense the stores his bursting barns have strain'd.
Suffer the lea-field in alternate change,

luisse, cum dixit optimam esse segetem, "quæ bis solem, bis frigora sensit." L. xviii. c. 20. But he remarks that in close loamy soils more frequent ploughings were necessary: *Spissius solum, sicut plerumque in Italia, quinto sulco seri melius est, in Thuscis vero nono.* L. xviii. c. 20.

To sow in the ninth furrow, means to sow after the ninth ploughing.

Illius may refer either to *segetis* or *agricolæ*; it seems rather to belong to the *avari agricola*. The meaning is, let the husbandman be ever so covetous, his fruits at harvest by this mode of culture will be abundant, will reward his patience, and amply repay his labor and expense.

Ruperunt is put in the perfect tense, because the appeal is made to experience; what has happened to the peasant before, he may safely reckon upon occurring again: *Bivium enim nobis ad culturam dedit natura, experientiam, et imitationem*, Varrô, §. 18. *De Re Rust.* Either of these, experience or imitation, will lead the attentive cultivator to the desired end.

Suffer the lea-field, v. 71. *Alternis idem.*

The poet having detailed his first general mode of cultivating wheat on fallows, in alternate series of years, and alternate changes of fruit and rest, by the system called "novalis," proceeds now to exemplify the second general mode without fallow, by the scheme of "perpetual tillage" called "restibilis," by which spring wheat was cultivated in every fourth or fifth year.

Since both the foreign and En-

glish commentators have given a very vague and discordant construction of these precepts, it may not be thought irrelevant to exhibit the whole in an enlarged vernacular translation, as under.

At the commencement of the year begin to plough your stiff loamy soils, that they may become mellow by exposure to the solstitial sun of summer; but the lighter lands being liable to be injured by a long fallow, are to be ploughed with only a slight furrow a few months before seed-time. But there is another method of sowing wheat in general use, and equally profitable; therefore you may chuse your alternative; and either suffer your land, divested of its herbage, to lie fallow in its alternate courses, and the field thus ploughed to remain inactive by rest for a long period; or changing the season from an autumnal to a vernal tillage, you may there sow your trimestral wheat, whence you may before have taken a crop of such of the leguminous tribe as are known to fructify the land, and to be productive of ripe fruit, when the seeds detached from the margins of their linear receptacles shake in their pods; such as the offspring of the trailing vetch, which may either be cut green for soiling, for a provision of hay, or suffered to ripen its seed; or the frail stalks and rustling haulm of the ripe lupin, having bitter fruit; but flax, oats and poppy on the contrary, if admitted into the rotation, deteriorate the ground, and in a manner burn it up: still nevertheless your labor may be applied with advantage, even to the cultivation of these exhausting fruits,

Et segnem patiére situ durescere campum;

Bare-fed a long inactive rest endure:

in their alternate courses, only be not fastidiously ashamed to saturate with fat stall manure such land as is become acid by these productions, nor to scatter a surface dressing of wood-ashes from the hearth, mixed with all such other sorts of compost ingredients as are commonly sown by hand, for the sake of giving an additional "stimulus" in the spring. Thus also, as well as by the fallow, the ploughed fields have a sort of respite from the change of fruits; and in the meantime a great return is made from the cultivated land with its ploughed-in seeds, which otherwise would be unproductive during the time it remained under fallow.

These are the plain and precise instructions of Virgil, yet very poetically embellished, and contain an outline of the modes in most common use for the preparation of the wheaten tillage, and are of the most easy comprehension to any person in the least conversant with the practical management of arable land.

Alternate change, v. 71. *Alternis*.

The precept requires that *alternis* in this place as well as below, v. 79, should be rendered by "alternation," having in its strict and most obvious sense the meaning of "*alternis vicibus seu ordinibus*." Servius gives the construction of an adverb to the first *alternis*, and of an adjective to the second: but Virgil's methodical arrangement in his connected series of precepts will not admit of this variation.

Servius also supposes that the use of the fallow was merely to enable the field to return to its pristine vigor; but the Romans had recourse to its efficacy in loamy

soils, chiefly that the weeds (*herbæ*), and the grassy turf, (*cræpes*;) should be prone to decay; for having no knowledge of the modern horse-harrow in the time of Virgil, and of its triturating powers by its quick motion, they were constrained by necessity to adopt the system of a long intermission, that both the buried sod and the superficial glebe might become, what the production of corn without manure required, a decomposed mould (*putre solum*), for Virgil says of this,

Namque hoc imitatur aranda.

G. ii. v. 204.

The *crates viminæ* of Virgil, are the *crates dentatæ* of Pliny.

Martyn's translation of these two lines *alternis idem*, &c., is rendered thus; "Suffer also your arable land to lie fallow every other year, and let the idle field grow hard by lying still." It is here to be remarked that Virgil does not inculcate that all arable land is to lie fallow, but only the "*novalis*" of which he had been treating, since the "*restibilis*" being under perpetual tillage, was incapable of the fallow. Neither can the field be supposed "to grow hard" (for Martyn gives this sense to *durescere*) by lying still, for this is contrary to the natural propensity and use of fallow, as well as to experience, and moreover defeats the end of the precept.

The fallow (*vervactum*) was a necessary appendage to the renewable system. Varro derives it from "*vere actum*," because it was well worked in the spring by the plough; and other implements of husbandry, and reduced to a convenient state of tillage. Other comments

Aut ibi flava serēs mutato sidere farra ;

Or changing seasons sow the golden "far,"

doors have also rendered *durescere*, by "indurescere" (to grow hard), contrary to every notion of a fallow, which to all intents and purposes, is to render the ground mellow and friable by an exposure to the sun and air, to the winds and frost, in order to reduce it to the state called by the poet *pulverulenta*.

Virgil adopts each of these words, *durus*, *durare*, *durescere*, in the sense of long continuance. Thus *durus* applied to the unremitted work of pruning vines and weeding corn,

Durus uterque labor ;

G. ii. v. 412.

And thus *durare* applied to the longevity of the oak (*Esculus*) G. ii. v. 394.

— *Immota manet, multosque per annos
Multa virām volvens durando sæcula
vincit.*

And thus also *durare* in the sense of *durescere*, applied to wine from the vine called *argitis* ; G. ii. v. 99. *Argitisque minor, cui non certaverit
ulla,*

*Aut tantum fluere, aut totidem durare
per annos.*

Gesner (*Thesaur.*) gives to *duro* this signification amongst others : "Sed frequentissime simpliciter notat manere, statum suum et conditionem servare ;" and exemplifies it by two quotations from Quintilian, L. i. l. 13. "*Cui (sermoni) cum Græcæ figura assidue consuetudine hæserint, in diversâ quoque loquendi consuetudine pertinacissime durant.*"

And again, l. v. ii. *Neque enim durassent hæc in æternum, nisi vera omnibus viderentur.*

Durare, &c. is used in both these senses by all the classical writers, but the translator cannot refrain

from bringing into notice the following lines of Lucretius for the sake of the moral, as well as the illustration.

*Sisyphus in vitâ quoque nobis ante
oculos est :*

*Qui petere a populo fasces, sævasque
secures*

*Imbibit ; et semper victus, tristisque
recedit.*

*Nam petere imperium, quod inane et
nec datur unquam*

*Atque in eo semper "durum" sufferre
laborem ;*

*Hoc est adverso nixantem tradere
monte*

*Saxum : quod tamen a summo jam ver-
tice rursum*

*Volvitur, et plani raptim petit aquora
campi.*

L. iii. v. 1008.

Where *durum laborem* does not mean hard or severe, but continued persevering labor. Heyne ascribes the sense of "requiescere" to the inceptive verb *durescere*.

And moreover *situ* is governed by *segnem* (unproductive through rest), and is put in contradistinction to the productiveness of the *inarata terra*, v. 83 below, (the unploughed or cultivated land.)

Or sow, v. 73. *Aut ibi serēs.*

The poet now enters on the second general mode of tilling wheat by the system called "restibilis :—" this term has been noted before to be derived according to Varro, "a restando." (Had there been any authority for the surmise, it would rather appear to have been derived from "res stipulæ" (a thing of stubble,) "quasi restipilis," changing the letter "p" into "b" for a better sound's sake, because

the field by this system was always in stubble when it came to be ploughed. "To stock the stubbles,"—"to plough the stubbles," are common phrases with modern farmers.

A general description of this system now follows, which consists in the changing the season (*mutato sidere*) of sowing wheat from the autumn to the spring; and subjecting all its different species in courses (*ordines*) with other seeds to a trimestral culture; but the fruits at harvest were not accounted so heavy, so productive, or so luxuriant as those of an earlier seed-time. Many districts were so cold or wet, (*loci frigidi et uliginosi*), that they would not carry semential wheat through the winter.

Or changing seasons, v. 73. *Mutato sidere.*

Martyn in his note on this passage thus descants; "Pierius found '*mutato semine*' in the Roman manuscript, which seems a plainer and more intelligible reading than *mutato sidere*." This reading is also approved by Wakefield. But surely this change would destroy the whole scope of Virgil's reasoning, which depends not on changing either seed or grain, but on changing the season of sowing wheat from the autumn to the spring. By keeping in view the proper distinctions of these two systems, to which our author so frequently refers, his precepts will more readily be comprehended.

The golden "far," v. 73. *Flava farra.*

The "far" was the common grain of Italy used for bread, and other condiments of meal, even before the settlement of the Romans; it was by them held in high estimation, and always made a part of their consecrated first-fruits, and was used also in their various

religious rites, ceremonies and sacrifices; hence it was called "*far sacrum*," "*pium*," and sometimes without any other appellation simply "*adoreum*." It is still cultivated in Switzerland and Germany, but is scarcely known in England. Its general character according to Linnæus, is "*triticum spelta*." A figure of the plant is given in Gerard's Herbal under the article "*spelta*." The glumes stick very close to the grain in its spike, and could not be separated from it in the Roman "*area*," it was therefore always measured in its husk, and sown also in this state: on this account ten "*modii*" of seed according to Cato were allotted to a Roman "*Jugerum*," whereas five were deemed sufficient of any other species of wheat. It was one of the employments of the long nights of winter to separate the chaff from the body of the grain by fire; and to this Virgil alludes in this Georgic, v. 267.—*Nunc torrete igni fruges, nunc frangite saxo.*

In the composition of the coarser household bread, the husk or glume was not removed, but pounded or ground in a mass with the flower.

Some commentators call this an "*hystreron proteron*," asserting that the corn must be ground before it is subjected to the fire; this is not the case: the "*far*" was first roasted to get rid of the husk, and afterwards broken in the mill, and finally formed into different condiments by fire. Thus Ovid, Fast. L. i. v. 693.

*Triticæos fetus, passuraque farra, bis ignem
Hordeaque ingenti fanore reddat
ager.*

It was often used, especially in the trimestral sowings, as well as the "*siligo*," to support the trailing leguminous plants, and cut as green fodder; and this produce being a

Unde prius lætum siliqua quassante legumèn,
Aut tenues foetus viciæ, tristisque lupini

Where late luxuriant in their shaking pods
Were gathered legumes; vetch with trailing stalk,

mixture of many sorts, of which "far" was the basis, was called "farrago," and gave rise to a metaphor in common use, expressive of any heterogeneous compound; thus Juvenal, Sat. i. v. 85.

Quicquid agunt homines nostri farrago libelli.

The after-winning of corn consisting of light grains and various seeds of weeds, was also called *farrago*, and chiefly used as food for the aviaries.

Legumes, v. 74. *Siliqua*.

The legumes are so called because they are plucked by hand. Thus Varro, l. i. c. 23. *Hoc enim legumen (cicer) ut cetera quæ velluntur e terra non subsecantur; quæ quod ita leguntur, legumina dicta.* By the *siliqua quassante*, the poet means to infer, that the seeds being detached from the longitudinal margins of their sheaths in the haulm when ripe, and rattling in the shaking pods, is an evidence that the legume is luxuriant (*lætum*): and it is observed in modern husbandry, that the greater the produce of what is called "a fallow crop," the more certain will be the subsequent produce of corn; and a failure of one is generally followed by a failure of the other. *Siliqua* is governed by *lætum*. The fruitful *siliqua quassante* is contradistinguished from the barren *siliquis fallacibus* below v. 195.

Vetch, v. 75. *Tenues fetus viciæ.*

The vetch was more generally cultivated as fodder for cattle, either cut green, or made into hay, than for its seed. It is stiled *tenuis* (weak or trailing), from being una-

ble to support itself on its slender stem without the aid of a prop.

v. 75. *Tristisque lupini.*

"Le Poëte appelle les lupines tristes, *tristisque lupini*. Sans doute il fait allusion à leur étymologie, tirée du Grec "λόπη," qui veut dire tristesse, ou à leur amertume désagréable." Catrou.

The Greeks give the name of "θερμός" to the lupine, derived "a θέρω" (to heal), from its quality of refreshing land after it had been impoverished.

The lupine was sown in the middle of September, when designed to be ploughed in for manure in May, but in the Spring for other uses. The fruit of the lupine in its crude state was bitter (*tristis*), and was always boiled previous to being used. Cato mentions the allowance to a yoke of working oxen each night, when lupins were given with hay: *Dato bubus modium lupini macerati, et fani pondo quindecim.*

De Re Rust. §. 54.

According to Pliny, millet and radish were frequently sown after barley, oats, or pulse in the same year, on rich "restibilis" ground: and modern travellers report that the inhabitants of Tuscany are still in the habit of cultivating five crops in three years on their rich plains, the second crops of the same year, commonly legumes, being fed off the land, or ploughed in for manure, and sufficiently preparative for a second crop of wheat, and a third of other grain in succession.

"Les assolements de la plaine forment peut-être la partie la plus

Sustuleris fragiles calamos, sylvamque sonantem.

v. 77. Urit enim lini campum seges, urit avenæ,

Or lupine rustling on its fragile reed.

But oats and hungry flax-seed burn the soil,

intéressante de l'agriculture Toscane; le cours de récolte y dure en général trois ans, et l'on sème cinq fois la terre."

"Le voici."

"1^e Année, blé, lupins en automne."

"2^e Année, blé, en automne raves, treffle, ou autre fourrage."

"3^e Année, blé de Turquie (ou mais), millet, ou sagine." Simondi, De l'Agric. Toscane, p. 59.

The same author thus describes the cultivation of lupins for manure. §. 14. "L'on sème le lupin en Août, ou en Septembre. Ce lupin est déjà grand au mois d'Octobre, quand on commence les semailles, pour lesquelles il doit préparer la terre.—L'opération d'enterrer le lupin pour engraisser la terre, montre une grande intelligence des bons principes de l'agriculture, et réussit merveilleusement à fertiliser le terrain. Les paysans sèment encore quelques autres plantes dans la même intention, et entr'autres les fèves; mais aucune ne pourrit si bien et si vite que les lupins, et ne possède à un si haut degré la vertu de fertiliser."

Flax-seed, oat, poppy, v. 77. *Urit lini seges.*

It was a common opinion among the ancients, as it is with us at the present day, that flax, if suffered to ripen its oily seed, very much impoverished the ground: the oat also was reckoned an exhausting plant, as well as the poppy. A quotation from Columella, who notices this passage, will happily illustrate it.

Ac de iis quoque leguminibus, quæ velluntur, Tremellius obesse maxime

ait solo virus ciceris, et lini: alterum quia sit salsa, alterum quia sit fervide naturæ: quod etiam Virgilius significat dicendo;

"Urit enim lini campum seges, urit avenæ;

Urunt lethæo perfusa papavera somno."

Neque enim dubium, quia et iis seminibus infestetur ager, sicut etiam milio et panico. Sed omni solo quod prædictorum leguminum segetibus fatiscit, una præsens medicina est ut stercore adjuves, et absumtas vires hoc velut pabulo refoveas.

Some commentators call this an "hysteron proteron," asserting that the corn must be ground before it is subjected to the fire: this is not the case; the "far" was first roasted to get rid of the husk, and afterwards broken in the mill, and finally formed into different condiments by fire. Thus Ovid, *Fast.* l. i. v. 693.

Triticeos fatus, passuraque farra bis ignem

Hordeaque ingenti fenore reddit ager.

The *fatus* of Ovid corresponds with the *gratia* of Virgil.

Theophrastus thus notices the oat. *Περὶ πυρ.*

Ἐπικαρίζεται σφοδρὰ καὶ δ αἰγίλας. τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἐστὶ πολὺρίζον, καὶ πολυκαλάμων.

("Avena admodum agrum defruiat propter radicem, et calamorum multitudinem.")

This is rather to be understood of the "avena fatus" (*Æglops*), but is equally applicable to the "avena sativa."

Urere in its application to the af-

Urunt lethæo perfusa papavera somno.

And fraught with sleep lethean poppies burn.

fairs of husbandry means to injure, as well as to burn and exhaust.

Thus Geor. ii. l. 196.

Sin armenta magis studium vitulosque tueri,

Aut fatius ovium, aut "urentes" culta capellus.

Poppies, v. 78. *Papavera.*

The Romans cultivated both the white and black poppy, the seeds of the white were sometimes served up at their tables mixed with honey, hence the epithet *vascum papaver*: but the chief use made of them was to feed their thrushes, and other birds in their aviaries. It was mixed in certain proportions in all their food, and given to all young unfledged birds, immediately on quitting the egg-shell, especially to young geese. Thus Palladius, l. i. tit. 30. *Parvi anseres semine papaveris primis decem diebus intus pascendi sunt.*

The Romans who were adepts in the fattening of all kinds of birds for the supply of the luxuries of the table, relied much on the assistance of sleep, and of darkened enclosures: in addition therefore to nourishing food, they had recourse to the narcotic quality of the poppy, aided by the almost total exclusion of light.

It is no uncommon practice with the housewife of the present day to put a lump of charcoal in the water-trough of the fattening geese, for the purpose of administering sleep to this watchful tribe.

"The white poppy is cultivated in our Physic gardens, the heads of them being much in use, for of them is made the syrup generally known by the name of "diacodium." And the black poppy is

not only sown in our gardens, but grows wild also in several places; the seeds of it are sold for birds under the name of "mawseed." Martyn.

"Ceres being much agitated at the loss of her daughter Proserpine, and being deprived of sleep, was advised by Jupiter to eat the seed of poppies, which brought her the desired relief." Servius.

Sleep was called Lethæan, because the philosophers who taught the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, were wont to feign that the shades of certain departed spirits, after a purification of a thousand years, were compelled to drink of the waters of Lethe, which produced an immediate oblivion of every thing that had happened to them, whilst antecedently dwellers upon earth, before they personated other future bodies.

Yet in their turn, v. 79. *Sed tamen alternis.*

Servius supposes the poet returns again to the system of intermission, and that "agris" is understood, confusing both the construction of the lines and the bearing of the precepts, for the first and second *alternis* cannot with propriety have two different senses, neither can the system of perpetual tillage, which is now discussed, admit of the intermission. The term *alternis* requires to be used adverbially, as "alternatim," or as "alternis vicibus" in both places. This sentence is connected with and evidently depends upon the two immediately preceding lines; the meaning is, that the labor bestowed on these exhausting or burning crops is capable of accomplish-

Sed tamen alternis facilis labor; arida tantum
Ne saturare fimo pingui pudeat sola; neve
Effœtos cinerem immundum jactare per agros.

Yet in their turn e'en these thy toil reward.
Deem it not shame with stall-manure the soil
Dry-parch'd to saturate, nor shame to spread
Thy compost ashes o'er the meagre field.

ment, and will be favorable to your exertions and wishes, provided a sufficient quantity of manure is allowed to recruit the land when thus impoverished.—*Facilis* is to be rendered by "quod qui facere potest," and is opposed to *haud facilis*, or *difficilis*. An interpretation assigned to it by Ainsworth, "that which happens according to your wishes," well accords with the meaning of Virgil in this place. *Facilis* is used in the same sense "positively," G. ii. v. 460.

Victum facilem fundit tellus:
"and negatively," v. 122. below,
Pater ipse colendi

Haud facilem esse viam voluit:
which very strongly inculcates, according to the poet's usual figure, that the ways of culture ordained by Jupiter are extremely difficult in execution, and do not happen, without great care, according to your wishes.

And *labor* means that specific labor, which excites industry, attention and judicious management: the *labor* of the subsequent passage, v. 150; *Mox et frumentis labor additus*, has precisely the same signification; and all these expressions are in perfect unison with Virgil's agricultural and philosophical notions.

The adjuncts, *enim*, *tamen*, and *quoque*, have each their relative force and meaning; they are by no means to be considered in the way of expletives, since the clauses of the sentence depend entirely upon their right construction.

Dry-parch'd, v. 79: *Arida*.

Arida manifestly refers to the

urit and *urunt* of the former lines, and is a connecting link between them.

Stall-manure, v. 80. *Fimo pingui*.

The poet is said to throw about his dung with such a grace, that the lowness of the subject is overlooked in the dignity of his manner, and the sweetness of his muse.

Cinerem immundum. v. 81.

It was usual to throw dry wood ashes by hand (*Jactare*), on the green blade of corn in the spring, before the culmiferous stalk was formed, giving it what was called a "top dressing;" and the *cinerem* was termed *immundum*, because it was mixed in a dry pulverised compost with what was collected from the dove-cotes, aviaries, &c.

Pliny affirms these manures were always used distinctly. *Utroque tamen* (cinere et fimo), *non utuntur in eodem arvo*. L. xvii. c. 9.

And that the Cisalpine Gauls preferred ashes to the dung of cattle; *Transpadanis cineris usus adeo placet, ut anteponant fimo jumentorum*. Ibid.

The Roman farmers were particularly attentive to the saving and collecting of manure, and every laborer, according to Cato, was expected to save the sweepings of his chamber, the product of his hearth, the off-scouring of his body, and even to commit the water in which he washes his oily person and clothes to the compost pile; and after all kinds of impoverishing fruits, the ground was to be manured even to saturation.

Sic quoque mutatis requiescunt foetibus arva,

Thus also fruits in change the lands refresh;

Thus also fruits, v. 82. *Sic quoque mutatis.*

Almost every commentator of note has given a different explication of this passage: Ruæus interprets *inarata* by "Quæ non arata fuerit." And Servius by "non sata;" and Martyn by "uncultivated;" all which are unhappily the reverse of Virgil's meaning. *Inarata* is the participle from *inarare*: the agricultural writers give only one sense to this verb, and that is "to plough in," and is applied to "plough in" manure, stubble, or seed, as the case may require. Thus Pliny, l. xviii. c. 23. *Autumno aliquid saturus, Septembri mense fimum inaret post imbrem.* And again, l. xviii. c. 20. *Salassi, cum subjectos Alpibus depopularentur agros, panicum, miliumque jam excrecens tentavere. Postquam respuebat natura "inararunt:" at illæ messes duplicata docuere.* Cato and Varro also use *stercus inarare*.

The term was generally applied to the "ploughing in" of seed under furrow (sub sulco) at the final ploughing, and in a special manner to that of the "restibilis" system, which in a tender soil (pullo solo), required only one operation. Thus Columella, l. ii. c. 10. *Cum semen crudo solo infecerimus, inarabimus.*

And indeed to assign to *inarata* the phrase of "to unplough," "to unsow," "to uncultivate" is an absolute contradiction in terms.

Gratia properly means a "gift," "grant," or "favor;" it is here taken to signify "an advantageous return for work performed." Columella uses the word in the same sense in a passage much resembling the phraseology of Virgil. *Experto mihi crede Silvine, bene positam viqueam bonique generis, et bono cultore,*

nunquam non cum magno favore "gratiam" reddidisse. L. iv. c. 3.

A careful attention to etymology, to the common acceptation of the words, and to the object of the precepts, will afford a clue to their easy solution. The lines in a literal translation will run after this manner: "Thus also the arable fields are caused to have respite by the change of fruits, nor in the mean time is there no return to the in-ploughed land: that is, there is a great return from the land being ploughed and sown. These two lines taken together are a concluding corollary deduced from the preceding precepts, having respect to the two general methods of the Roman tillage—the fallow by rest, and the interchange of fruits by perpetual tillage, and by a more diffuse explication will bear the following construction. "Thus also (as well as by the fallow, the word *quoque* referring to this operation before noticed at v. 71, 72.), the arable fields (*arva*) have a sort of respite by a change of fruits, and in the mean time (by the figure "litote," to which the author has frequent recourse by way of ornamenting his variety of diction, and under which is couched much more than is expressed); there is a great return (the term *gratia* having the effect of "reditus" from the land (terra) being cultivated under the scheme of perpetual tillage.

It is remarkable that this passage has never been satisfactorily explained by former commentators, their mistake has arisen from giving the construction of the adjective of Horace and Ovid, instead of the participle of Virgil, to *inarata*.

It will be necessary here to no-

118 *Mode of Ploughing described by Virgil.*

Nec nulla interea est inaratæ gratia terræ.

And vast returns meanwhile from tillage rise.

tice the criticisms of two distinguished expositors, Martyn and Wakefield. Martyn's marginal translation of the line, *Nec nulla interea est inarata gratia terræ*, is this: Nor at the same time is there any grace wanting "in an unploughed field." And in his notes he says, by *inarata* he means "uncultivated." And he continues, "he here again encourages the husbandman to let his ground lie fallow a year or two, if he can afford to wait so long, and assures him that his forbearance will be well rewarded."

Martyn by misunderstanding this passage, and treading in the steps of many of his preceding annotators, makes the author contradict himself, for how can the ground lie fallow a year or two, and yet produce an interchange of pulse, or of pulse and grain every year. The fallow had been disposed of before, at v. 71, 72, and is now quite out of the question. The intention of the poet clearly is, to introduce either annual ameliorating, now called fallow crops, or else manured crops, previous to a trimestral sowing of wheat, in the room of the bare fallow preceding a sementival one.

And Wakefield, equally misunderstanding the reasoning of the author, recommends a gratuitous and unwarranted transposition of his lines, and creates confusion in the most intelligible precepts. He thus expresses himself in his note and proposed amendment. v. 70. "Transpositione infelici laborat hic locus, sed ne multis et lectorem et meipsum morer, suo ordine versus colloco, qui loci rationem, bene perpendenti, propria luce, ni fallor, commendabitur."

"Urunt Lethæo perfusa papavera somno.

Sic quoque mutatis requiescunt fœtibus arva,

Sed tamen alternis facilis labor; arida tantum

Ne saturare fimo pingui pudeat sola; neve

Effatos cinerem immundum jactare per agros.

Nec nulla interea est inaratæ gratia terræ."

"Sic quoque mutatis: id est, hac ratione 'ETIAM' mutatis fœtibus, arva quodammodo requiescunt."

The word *quoque* is here indefinitely explained by "*etiam*" in large letters: if it is meant to convey any other sense than the plain "*also*," the conclusions to be drawn from the poet's propositions are defeated: and by this "unhappy transposition" of the critic, the connecting clauses are completely deranged. The lines themselves in their regular order, exhibit the clearest proofs of practical knowledge, methodical arrangement, and illustrative perspicuity.

By the plain construction of the words, and by the evident intimation of the precepts, the land was by this second process to be ploughed, sowed, and cultivated: by the *mutato sidere*, there was a change in the sowing season of wheat from the autumn to the spring: and by the *mutatis fœtibus*, there was an annual interchange of pulse, and ultimately of pulse and wheat. We may suppose the courses (or-dines) to have been somewhat after this manner.

1. Beans or pease, or with manure, flax or poppy.

2. Barley or oats manured either upon the crude soil, or upon the spine of the plants themselves,

De 1 Corinth. xi. 10.

Διὰ τοῦτο ὀφείλει ἡ γυνὴ ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς διὰ τοῦς ἀγγέλους.

MULTUM de hoc loco perquam implicito sudaverunt alii; neque tamen hilum profecerunt. Conjecturarum numero mea quoque addi potest. Legere soleo,

Διὰ τοῦτο οὐ θολίαν μὲν γυνὴ ἐξιοῦσα ἀνέχῃ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὴν ἀγούσαν γέλαν :

Quapropter minime mulier capiti imponat velamen, risus excitaturum.

His verbis Apostolus morem, qui obtinuit apud Corinthias mulieres, sugillat. Eæ etenim solebant, utpote Venerem plus æquo colentes, et munditiarum appetentes, velamen splendidius capiti imponere. Id decus muliebre appellabatur *θολία*.

In Theocrit. Id. xv. 39. Ἀμπεχονον φέρε μοι καὶ τὴν θολίαν, hera e domo exitura (ἐξιοῦσα) ita ancillam loquitur. Vocem ibi exponit Valckenaer. "Τὴν θολίαν *umbra culum* Lacenæ Σαλίας vocabant. Hesych. Σαλία. πλέγμα καλὰ θὰ ὁμοιον, ὃ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς φοροῦσιν αἱ Λάκαιναί· οἱ δὲ, θολία. Cf. et Polluc. vii. 174. θολία, πλέγμα τι—ὃ ἀντὶ σκιᾶδος ἔχοντο αἱ γυναῖκες: necnon Schol. in Aristoph. Ἀν. 1508. Σκιαδίων—ἔχουσι αἱ Κανήφοροι ἀπιοῦσαι εἰς τὰ Ἐλευσίνια: unde emenda Schol. ad Aristoph. Eq. 1345. Σκέπασμά τι, ὅπερ αἱ γυναῖκες παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἔχουσι θεοῦσαι, legendo ἔχουσι ἐξιοῦσαι." Ubi tamen ipse malim εἰς θέαν ἰοῦσαι. Minime debui dissimulare Heringam in literis ineditis ad L. C. Valckenaerum vidiisse in vulgata lectione

with an after-crop in the same year, of millet and radish: this process is mentioned by Pliny.

3. Lupins or lentils, or other pulse.

4. Vetches or panic, for hay or soiling, or for being ploughed-in as manure.

5. SPRING WHEAT.

6. Turnips, rape, or kale.

7. Rye or barley, manured and sown afterwards with panic and radish.

8. Beans, pease, kidney beans (*phaseli*), or lentils.

9. Farrago for soiling or ploughing-in.

10. F.A.B., or other Spring wheat.

Some of these were esteemed ameliorating crops. Thus Pliny quoting Cato: *Nec non et satis quibusdam ipsis pasci terram dicit Cato. Segetem stercorant fruges lupini, faba, vicia.* Lib. 17. c. 9. And thus Varro, l. i. c. 44. *Illud quoque multum interest in rudi terra, an in ea serus quæ quotannis obita sit, quæ vocatur restibilis; an in veracto, quæ interdum requiescit.* In Olynthia quotannis restibilia esse dicunt, sed ita ut tertio quoque anno uberiores ferant fructus. He afterwards subjoins his own advice: *Agrum alienis annis relinqui oportet, aut paullo levioribus sationibus terere, id est, quæ minus sugunt terram.*

verbum *διόγουσα* latere. At cetera non vidit. In *ἐξιούσα* incidit quoque H. Junius de Coma, c. 4. ante Toupium ad Suidam, ut didici e Scholiis L. C. Valck. T. ii. p. 279., qui tamen negat *ἐξιούσα* similibus exemplis firmari posse.

G. B.

CONJECTURÆ IN HORAT.

Od. iii. 29. 5. et Epist. i. 8. 12.

INTER omnigenos fere Romanos scriptores, Horatium esse unicum ab omnibus lectum, a nemine intellectum, ecquis probe eruditus confiteri recusat? Id Marklandus primus palam dicere ausus est. Id quoque comprobatum satis est commentariis editionibusque, sicut arena, numero carentibus. Mihi ad manus esse multa, neque prius audita, unde Horatius melius intelligi queat, nihil attinet commemorare. Libet tamen specimen aliquod hujusmodi proferre, ut aliquantisper viro hasce literas diligenti, si potero, satisfaciam. Is in Cl. J. No. xxxii. p. 383. attulit verba Horatii ita vulgata. — *eripe te moræ; Ne semper udum Tibur et Æsulæ Declive contempleris arvom et Telegoni juga parricidæ*: ubi Nicolaus Hardinge, teste Marklando Explicat. Vet. Auctor. p. 258=267, fertur ita emendasse, *ut semper-udum*: cui conjecturæ suffragatur S. Parrius, et opitulari voluit Kiddius, voce *ἀσίνως* vel *ἀσινῶς* apud Græcos. At conjectura illa admissa, Horatius oportet sibi dispar esse videatur. Scilicet is, *qui Romæ Tibur amat*—et *Tibure Romam*, Mæcenatem vult nihil aliud facere, quam contemplari ruris amœnitates. Non ita cum principibus vixit Horatius, neque omnis adeo rusticus fuit. Hoc unum voluit, ut tempore æstivo Mæcenas omitteret *mirari beatæ Fumum et opes strepitumque Romæ*. Vide igitur annon legi debeat,—*eripe te moræ; Messe i per udum Tibur, ut Æsulæ—contempleris*: ubi messe est pro æstate: sic Anglice dicitur *harvest*, pro *harvest-time*: sic et Græce, *Ἀρότος* et *Πόλα*. Ad Hesych. *Ἀρότους* ἐνιαύτους, *Σοφοκλῆς Τραχινίαις*, citat Sopingius Callimach. Fragm. 182. *Αἴγυπτος προπάροιθεν ἐπ' ἔνεα κάρφετο πολας*: necnon Rhianum apud Pausan. Messeniac. iv. 17. *Χείμαρά τε πολας τε δύο καὶ εἴκοσι πάσας*. Probata igitur voce *messe* hic, corrigi potest similiter Epist. i. 8. 12. *Romæ Tibur amem ventosus Tibure Romam*, legendo *Romæ, Tibur amem nive, at astu Tibure Romam?* Certe *ventosus* intelligi nequit.

G. B.

NOTICE OF

PROFESSOR GAISFORD'S *Publications ; with Emendations on the Supplices and Iphigenia in Tauris* of
EURIPIDES.

IN conformity with a kind of promise, given in the last Number, of devoting an article occasionally to the review of different Classical works, which have appeared in this Country, since the commencement of this Journal, but which from various causes have been either neglected or only partially noticed, we shall enter without further preface upon a rapid examination of the Greek publications from the Clarendon Press, and especially those, of which Professor Gaisford is either the avowed or supposed editor.

In our recent notice of Mr. Elmsley's *Bacchæ*, we had occasion to regret that any scholar, whose reputation stands deservedly high, should be unwilling to exhibit proofs of native vigor of mind on occasions, where ample scope is given for the exercise of it. A feeling of similar disappointment has been excited in our breast in the perusal of Mr. Gaisford's editions ; certain as we were that in a scholar, whose industry never tires, and whose judgment is ever on the alert, the power could not be wanting to remove much that deforms the half-hidden beauties of Grecian Literature.

But whatever may be our own feelings on a point, the importance of which is differently estimated by minds of different temperament, all must agree in one opinion, respecting the honorable manner, in which Mr. G. has by continued exertions put to the blush the indolence and inability of those, who have been content to sleep away their time in the *otium sine dignitate* of a professorial chair in either University.

The publications, in which Mr. G. first appeared anonymously in the character of Editor, are the following plays, printed separately :

Euripidis <i>Electra</i> ———— <i>Alcestis</i> ———— <i>Andromache</i>	}	cum Variis Lectionibus. In usum Scholæ Westmonasteriensis.
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True to the very unassuming title of the work, Mr. G. has in the *Electra* given only various readings, extracted, in very few words, from the writings of preceding critics, with the exception of one passage, where he has ventured upon an emendation, which has been subsequently made by G. Burges *ad Troad.* Ap-

pend. p. 171. Blomfield in *Edinburgh Rev.* N. 38. p. 481. and *ad S. C. Th.* 212. and by Seidler *ad Electr.* v. 1221. Although the emendation is rather an obvious one, yet the credit of it may as well be given to its first promulgator.

In the *Alcestis* although we do not find any emendation from the pen of Mr. G., yet we discover a slight change from his previously concise style in enumerating various readings; and we are also favored, at v. 492, with an extract from Eustathius, respecting the Homeric and Tragic forms respectively, $\kappa\chi\alpha\omega$ and $\kappa\chi\chi\alpha\omega$, which Porson, we believe, was the first to notice and to adopt in the Glasgow *Æschylus*.

Equally sparing of original matter is Mr. G. in the *Andromache*; though rather more liberal in making extracts from works not in the hands of mere tyros. We allude more particularly to the notes in v. 17, 60, 103, 147, 180, 228, 276, 419, and 1251.

The next anonymous publication of Mr. G. was one with the following title:

Euripidis Tragediæ, Hecuba, Orestes, Phœnissæ; cum variis lectionibus et notis Sam. Musgravi, 1809.

The various readings, here alluded to, are from a Ms. once in the possession of William Hunter, but where at present preserved is not stated; nor is there any account given of the number of plays which it contains. We suspect, however, from the inspection of its readings, that it belongs to that numerous class of Mss. of Euripides, which, containing only three plays, are all modern transcripts of one archetypus, which partly coincides with, and is partly superior to, the Aldine text. Although the value of the Hunterian readings is not very great, yet there are some which deserve the attention of such scholars as know how to use properly a Ms.; an art, that, simple as it seems to be, is one, nevertheless, of which editors only of the Bentley school can boast the knowledge, or are capable of applying to any efficient purpose.

Mr. Gaisford's attention as an Editor was next given to the following publication:—

Euripidis Supplices Mulieres, Iphigenia in Aulide et in Tauris. Cum notis Jer. Marklandi integris et aliorum selectis. Accedunt de Græcorum quinta declinatione imparisyllabica et inde formata Latinorum tertia, Quæstio Grammatica; Explicationes veterum aliquot Auctorum; Epistolæ quædam ad D'Orvillium datæ, cum Indicibus necessariis.

Of this edition the merits may be discussed in a few words. Although it does not contain, like the preceding publication, the

collation of a Ms. not hitherto inspected, it is enriched with some notes of Porson, which have been subsequently printed in his *Adversaria*. As far as relates to the notes of Mr. Gaisford himself, the scholar will be glad to find a translation of Burney's well-known article in the *Monthly Review* respecting the difference of metrical quantity in the comparative adjectives in *ion*, in the language of Athens and other parts of Greece. On the head of emendations we have it in our power to quote two instances, where Mr. G. has made an attempt of this kind; but even of those two, one is subsequently repudiated. In the letters of Markland will be found an egregious emendation of Lucian; the corrupted state of whose text Markland affirms, in opposition to Bentley, that the edition of Grævius has not corrected in one place out of four. A similar observation might be made respecting the three plays of Euripides, even after the appearance of Markland's publication. Such at least are the recorded sentiments of Mr. Elmsley, in the *Quarterly Rev.* N. xiv. p. 445, who will probably be not displeased to find that the very individual, to whom allusion is made, under the name of the British Bothe, has in some measure verified his predictions, by communicating to us his reflection of some most difficult passages, and demanding no common hand to bring them to the state in which Euripides left them. To those who take any interest in such subjects, the length of the following extracts will be their best recommendation.

In the dialogue held between Adrastus and Theseus in the *Supplices* we in vain endeavoured to find the least connexion, till we were taught thus to read v. 181, and following :

ἔλθειν δ' ἔτλησαν δεῦρο καὶ ξένον πόδα
θεῖναι, μόλις γεραιὰ κινεῖσθαι μέλη,
πρεσβεύματ', οὐ Δημήτρὸς εἰς μυστήρια,
ἀλλ' ὡς νεκροὺς θάψωσιν, ὧν αὐτὰς ἔχρην,
τέκνων ταφείσας χερσὶν, ὥραιων τυχεῖν
τάχ' οὖν ἂν εἴποις, Πελοπίαν παρὲς χθονά,
πῶς ταῖς Ἀθήναις τόνδε προστάσσω πόνον ;
ἐγὼ δίκαιός εἰμ' ἀφηγεῖσθαι τὰδε.
πένητα δὲ τοὺς πλουσίους ἀποβλέπειν,
ζητοῦνθ' ὃν οὗτις χρημάτων ἔρως ἔχῃ·
Σπάρτη μὲν ὦμῃ, καὶ πεποίκιλται τρόπους,
τὰ δ' ἄλλα, μικρὰ κάσθενῃ πόλις δὲ σὴ
μόνη δύναιτ' ἂν τόνδ' ὑποστῆναι πόνον·
τά τ' οἰκτρὰ γὰρ δέδορκε, καὶ νεανίαν
ἔχει σὲ ποιμὲν' ἐσθλόν· οὐ χρεῖα πόλεις
πολλὰι διώλонт', ἐνδεδίς στρατηλάτου.

- ΧΟ. κάγω τὸν αὐτὸν τῶδε σοὶ λόγον λέγω,
 Θησεῦ, δι' οἴκτου τὰς ἐμὰς λαβεῖν τύχας.
 ΘΗΣ. σοφὸν γε πέναν τ' εἰσορᾶν τὸν ὀλβιον,
 τὰ τ' οἰκτρὰ τοῦς μὴ δυστυχεῖς δεδορκέναι.
 ἄλλοις τὰδ' εἶπον, οἷς ἀμιλλαν θεὶς ἔχω
 λόγων· ἔλεξε γὰρ τις ὡς τὰ χεῖρονα, κ. τ. λ.

Respecting the literal alterations, the English Bothe thought it unnecessary to say much, referring us to Markland's notes for the confirmation of ὦν αὐτὰς—and δυστυχεῖς δεδορκέναι, and citing in defence of his own ἀμιλλαν θεὶς—λόγων a similar passage in the very same play, v. 438, ἀμιλλαν γὰρ σὺ προύθηκας λόγων. Our attention was chiefly called to the transposition of the verses; where he bade us remark that in the proposed arrangement, the commencement of Theseus' speech alludes, as it ought to do, to some sentiment expressed by Adrastus: nor did he fail to state, that the tetrastich, which Tyrwhitt and others fancied an unaccountable interpolation in this play ought to be placed in the next speech of Adrastus; the lines preceding which, as being miserably corrupt, he thus corrected:

- κάπειτ' ἐγὼ σοὶ ξύμμαχος γενήσομαι;
 τί πρὸς πολίτας τοὺς ἐμοὺς λέγω καλόν;
 χαῖρ'· οὐ θέμις γὰρ, ὅς βεβούλευσαι κακῶς
 αὐτὸς, πῖζεν σὴν τύχην ἡμᾶς λίαν.
 ΧΟ. ἡμαρτεν οὐ νεωστὶ δ' ἀνθρώπων τόδε 5
 ἔνεστι· συγγνώμην σε τῶδ' ἔχειν χρεῶν.
 ΑΔΡ. οὗτοι δικαστὴν σ' εἰλόμην ἐμῶν κακῶν,
 ἀλλ' ὡς ἱατρὸν ᾧδ', ἀναξ, ἀφίγμεθα·
 οὐδ', εἴ τι πράξας μὴ καλῶς εὐρίσκομαι,
 τούτων κολαστὴν κάπιτιμητὴν σ' ἐῷ 10
 ἀλλ', οἷς ἀμύνωμ', εἰ σὺ μὴ βούλει τάδε,
 στέργειν ἀνάγκη τοῖσδ' ἐμοῖς· τί γὰρ πάθω;
 οἷσθ' ὕμνοποιου τοῦπος, “ ἂν τίκτη μέλη,
 χαίροντα τίττειν· ἦν δὲ μὴ πάσχη τόδε,
 οὗτοι δύναιτ' ἂν οἰκόθεν γ' ἀτώμενος 15
 τέρπειν τιν'· αὐλὸς δ' οὔτε χεῖρ τέχνην ἔχει.”

To confirm his emendations in this passage, the English Bothe deemed it necessary to write the following Latin notes, as enabling him to express his sentiments with greater conciseness.

2. Vulgo λέγων. At lingua postulat τί—λέγω; *quid dicam?* Vid. Dawes. Misc. Crit. p. 374. ed. Kidd.

3. Variant libri inter χαίρων ἴθι μὴ οὐ γὰρ βεβούλευσαι καλῶς et χαίρων ἴθι δὴ μὴ γὰρ—Hermannus probante Elmsleio in *Clas-*

sical Journal, N. xvi. p. 424., χαίρων ἴδ'· εἰ δὲ μὴ——et mox deī vice λίαν: ubi pro τὴν vulgatur σὴν.

5. Vulgo ἐν νέοισι δ' ἀνθρώπων τόδε. Quam graviter in hoc versu peccatum fuerit, omnes vident; at qua ratione corrigi debeat, nemo. Quod ad νεωστὶ, cf. Hipp. 343. ἡμεῖς οὐ νεωστὶ δυστυχεῖς. Quod ad sententiam, cf. Archiloch. Fr. "Ἡμ-πλακὸν σκόπου· τί δ' ἄλλον ἢδ' ἄλη, κιχήσατ' οὐ;

7. Vulgo τῶνδ'. Reponitur ᾧδ'. Etenim dicto ᾧδ' ad vittas, quas manibus Supplices præferebant, digito Adrastus intendit.

10. Vulgo κάπιτιμητὴν ἀναξ. At ἀναξ hic abundat. Neque id legebat Pollux, a quo citatur in ix. 140, κολασταὶ κάπιτιμηταὶ κακῶν e Sophoclea Fabula Προκρίδι, non alibi commemorata: ubi tamen legi debet Εὐριπ. Ἰκετὶδ. Verum et ibi κακῶν irrepsit ex illis δικαστὴν—κακῶν. Restituitur σ' ἰῶ, te sino.

11. Vulgo ἀλλ' ὡς ὀναίμην, εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλει τάδε. At lingua rejicit ὀναίμην, et postulat, quod metrum non sinit, ὀνωμαι. Legi poterat ὀνώμεθ': sed οἷς ἀμόνωμ' est ratio potior. Redde quibus me tuear.

12. Vulgo τοῖσι σοῖς. At collato Soph. Philoct. 540. Ἐγὼ δ' ἀνάγκη προὔμαθον στέργειν κακὰ, patet legi debere τοῖσδ' ἐμοῖς. Non enim dicitur quis στέργειν τὰ ἄλλων; verum τὰ αὐτοῦ, κακὰ.

13—16. Hoc tetrasctichon ita vulgo exstat in Adrastii oratione superiori.

τόν θ' ὑμνόποιον αὐτὸς ἂν τίκτῃ μέλη
χαίροντα τίκτειν· ἦν δὲ μὴ πάσχη τόδε,
οὗτοι δύναντ' ἂν οἰκόθεν γ' ἀτώμενος
τέρπειν ἂν ἄλλους· οὐδὲ γὰρ δίκην ἔχει.

Ex istis nemini intellectis eruitur, quod Euripidem saltem non dedecet. Adrastus excusationem sibi prætendit, quo minus verba amplius profundat. Etenim fingit sibi dolorem linguam præpedire, neque velle dicere aliquid invita Minerva. Quod ad illud, nescio cujus, poetæ dictum, conferri debet Horatianum, *Nam neque chorda sonum reddit, quem vult manus et mens, Poscentemque gravem persæpe remittit acutum.*

Such are the notes we have received from the English Bothe, who has favored us with another refiction of a sadly perplexed passage in the same play; where he thus reads in v. 703:

νικῶντα δ' ἴπποις ὡς ὑπεῖδ' αὐτοῦ στρατὸν
Κρέων τὸν ἐνθὲν, ἰτέαν λαβὼν χερεῖ,
χωρεῖ, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν ξυμμάχοις δυσθυμίαν
οἱ, ξυγκατάρξαντες ἐνὶ σύμπαντες κράτει,
ἔκτεινον, ἐκτείνοντο, καὶ παρηγγύων
· κελευσμὸν ἀλλήλοισι σὺν πολλῇ βοῇ,

“θεῖν’, ἀντίρριδος τοῖς Ἐρεχθεύδαις δορὶ.”
καὶ μὴν τὰ Θεσίως γ’ οὐκ οὐκ διαφάρα
λόχος δ’ ὀδόντων ὄφας ἐξηνδρωμένους
θεῖνός παλαιστής ἦν ἔκλιπε γὰρ κέραις
τὸ λαὸν ἡμῶν, δεξιῶ δ’ ἡσσωμένον
φεύγει τὸ κείνων ἦν δ’ ἀγῶν ἰσοῦρπος·
κὰν τῶδε τὸν στρατηγὸν αἰνέσαι παρῆν.
οὐ γὰρ τὸ νικᾶν τοῦτ’ ἐκῆραιεν μόνον,
ἀλλ’, οἷά τις θεός, λάμπρ’ ἀναγκάσας ὄπλα,
τάχ’ ᾤχετ’ εἰς τὸ κάμνον οἰκίου στρατοῦ.

10

15

Here also, as before, the notes of the English Bothe are presented in a learned dress :

1. Vulgo *ὁρᾶιτο*. At ratio antitheseos postulat αὐτοῦ, quod respondeat vocibus τὸν ἐνθὲδ’ : ita enim Hermannus edidit.

4. Vulgatur καὶ *ξυμπατάξαντες μέσον πάντα στρατόν*. At verbum *συμπατάσσω* est nullius pretii. Restituitur *ξυμπατάξαντες*. Mox μέσον hic plane oppugnat iis, quæ præcesserant. Ibi enim sermo est de rebus per totam aciem, minime de iis per mediam exercitus partem, gestis. Ita enim scripsit Euripides in v. 690 et seq.

ἰδὼν δὲ Φόρβας, δς μοναμπύκων ἀναξ
ἦν τοῖς Ἐρεχθεύδαισιν, ἀρμάτων ὄχλον
ξυνῆψεν ἀλκῇ κατὰ κράτος ἡσῶντο δὲ,
οἱ πᾶν τὸ Κάδμου διεφύλασσον ἱππικόν.

Ubi, ne quid dissimuletur, versus transponuntur, et vice *κατὰ κράτος* : de qua formula videsis Lexica : unde se tuebitur et hic ἐνὶ σύμπαντες κράτει. Faceta est annotatio Blomfieldii in Mus. Crit. N. 11. p. 184, vice *ξυμπατάξαντες* “lege *ξυμπατάξαντ’* ἐς. Creon scilicet ac Theseus.” Atqui Theseus post mortem ipse vivus in scenam mox intrat. Verum hoc, inquit Blomfieldius, est ad Thesei morem, ex inferis alibi revertentis.

14. Vice *ἐκέρδαιεν* Musgr. voluit *ἐκῆδαιεν*. Hermann. *ἐκῆδαιεν*. Neutrum verbum Attice dicitur. Euripideum esse *ἐκῆδαιεν* patet ex Hipp. 223. et Herc. F. 518.

15. Vulgatur *ἀλλ’ ἴετ’ εὐθύς*. At transposito versu, quod fieri debet propter sententiæ nexum, abundat *ἴετο*. Inde eruitur *ἀλλ’ οἷα τις θεός*. Respiciat ad Homericum in Ἰλ. H. 207. *Αἶψα δὲ κορύσσετο νώροπι χαλκῷ*. Αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ πάντα περὶ χροῖ ἔσσαντο τέυχῃ, Σούατ’ ἐπειθ’ οἷός τε πελώριος ἔρχεται Ἄρης.

To the preceding specimens of the English Bothe’s powers in restoring the language of Euripides, we add another, taken from the Iphigenia in Tauris ; where modern editors could not have been at fault so long in discovering the right reading,

had they given as much attention to nautical subjects, as Mr. Blomfield boasts of giving to Walton's Angler. The whole passage, though long, we deem it necessary to transcribe entire; and although the emendations sufficiently recommend themselves at one view, still the English Bothe has thought proper to forward his annotations. The extract commences at v. 1324, where the Ἀγγελος bids his master Θόας consider

- διωγμὸς ὅστις τοὺς ξένους θηράσεται ;
 ΘΟ. ταρσῶ κατήρει πύτυλον ἐπιτερωμένον
 πρυμνησίων τε καὶ δι' ἰδυνηρίας
 οἰακος ἐξαρεῖν τιν' εὐπρόμνου νεώς—
 ΑΓ. λέγ'· εὐ γὰρ εἶπας·
 ΘΟ. οὐ γὰρ ἀγγίπλουν πόρον 5
 φεύξουσιν, ὥστε διαφυγεῖν τοῦμὸν δόρυ.
 λέγ' οὖν.
 ΑΓ. πρὸς ἀκτὰς ἤλθομεν θαλασσίας,
 οὐ ναῦς Ὀρέστου κρύβιος ἦν ἄρμισμένη·
 ἡμᾶς μὲν, οὐς σὺ δεσμὰ συμπεμπεις ξένων
 ἔχοντας, ἐξένευσ' ἀποστῆκας πρόσσω 10
 Ἀγαμέμνονος παῖς, ὡς ἀπόρρητον φλόγα
 θύσουσα, καὶ καθαρμὸν, ὃν μεταώχeto·
 αὐτὴ δ' ὅπισθε δέσμ' ἔχουσα τοῖν ξένοις
 ἔστειχε χερσὶ καὶ τὰδ' ἦν ὑποπτ' ἐμοί,
 ἤρεσκε δ' ὁμονοοῦσι τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἀναξ, 15
 χρόνον δ', ἵν' ἡμῖν δρᾶν τι μὴ δοκῇ πλέον,
 ἀνωλόλυξε καὶ κατῆδε βάρβαρα
 μέλη, μάγοις τις ὡς φόνον νίζουσα δή.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ δαρὸν ἤμεν ἡμενοὶ χρόνον,
 εἰσῆλθεν ἡμᾶς, μὴ λυθέντες οἱ ξένοι 20
 κτάνοιεν αὐτήν, δραπέται τ' οἰχοίατο.
 φάβω δ', ἃ μὴ χρῆν, εἰσορᾶν, καθήμεθα
 σιγῇ· τέλος δὲ πᾶσιν ἦν αὐτὸς λόγος,
 στείχειν ἵν' ἦσαν, καίπερ οὐκ ἐωμένους.
 κἀνταῦθ' ὀρώμεν Ἑλλάδος νεὼς σκάφος, 25
 ναύτας τε πεντήκοντ' ἐπὶ σκαλμῶν πλάτας
 σπεύδοντας, ἐκ δεσμῶν δὲ τοὺς νεανίας
 ἐλευθέρους, πρυμνῇ τ' ἐφροσάτας νεώς·
 κοντοὺς δ' ἐπάρας εἶχ' ὀδ'· οἱ δ' ἐπαυτίδαν
 ἄγκυραν ἐξάνηκτον, οἱ δὲ κλίμακας 30
 πόντονδε δόντες τῇ ξέτῃ καβέσαν,
 ἦγον δ' ἔχων τις διὰ χερῶν πρυμνήσιαι
 ἡμεῖς δὲ, φηλήσαντ' ἐτ' οὐχ, ὡς εἶδομεν
 δόλιχα τεχνήματ', εἰχόμεσθα τῆς ξένης·
 λόγοι δ' ἐχώρου, “ Τίνοι δόλωι πορβμεύετε 35

“ κλέψαντες ἐκ γῆς ξόανον ; οὐ θυήπολον
 “ ἀντος ὦν σὺ τῆσδ' ἀπεμπολᾷς χθονός.”

2. Hic versus vulgo exstat post 25. Verum ibi abundant νεῶς, σκάφος, et πύτυλον.

3. 4. Hoc distichon vulgo exstat post 34, in loco plane non suo.

4. Vulgò ἐξηροῦμεν. Restituitur ἐξαρεῖν τιν' : etenim syntaxis est λέγε τινὰ ἐξαρεῖν πύτυλον, ἐπτερωμένον ταρσῶ κατήρει, διὰ πρυμνησίαν τε καὶ ἰθνητηρίας οἶακος εὐπρύμνου νεῶς : ubi vice κελεύω, quod dicturus erat Thoas, subdit Nuncius λέγε.

6. Ita Scaliger. Vulgo φεύγουσιν.

7. Vulgo ἐπεὶ πρὸς ἀκτᾶς. Restituitur λέγ' οὖν. πρὸς—. Ita tandem intelligitur, repetito λέγε, qua ratione tristichon illud, de sede sua motum, in alium locum migret.

10. Ita Reisk. Vulgo θύουσα.

14. Ita Valck. in Not. Mss. Vulgo ὑποπτα μίν. At manifesto antitheticum aliquid postulatur. Fuit enim, cui res ea suspecta esset ; fuit, cui non.

15. Vulgo ἤρεσκε μέντοι σοῖσι προσπόλοις. At plane inepta est mentio προσπόλων. Etenim omnes erant πρόσπολοι, sed non omnes de re eadem consentiebant. Restituitur, quod confirmat v. 23, τέλος δὲ πᾶσιν ἦν αὐτὸς λόγος.

16. Vulgo δὴ—πλέον. Sententia postulat μὴ—πλέον.

18. Vulgo μαγεύουσ' ὡς. At φόνον νίζουσα intelligi nequit, omisso μάγοις.

29. Vulgo κοντοῖς δὲ πῶρας εἶχον. Hæc nemo intelligere potuit. At quisque rerum nauticarum peritus satis intelliget κοντοὺς δ' ἐπᾶρας εἶχ' ὅδ'. Etenim nautæ remos erigere prius solent, quam eos in aquas demittunt. Cum hoc loco conferri debet Polyæni iv. 6. p. 374, ἄλλοι μὲν ἀνέσπων τὰ πρυμνήσια, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀνεῖλκον τὰς ἀποβάθρας, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀγκύρας ἀνιμῶντο : neque omitti debet Eurip. Helen. 1550. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἴσῳδον, ὃ δὲ πλάτην καθίστατο Ταρσόν τε, κ. τ. λ.

31. Ita fere Joan. Pierson. in Not. Mss., qui reddidit *demiserunt scalas usque ad mare, ut adscenderet hospita*. Vulgo Πόντῳ δίδοντες τὴν ξένην. Musgravio debetur τῇ ξένῃ : quod pro suo venditat Blomfieldius in Mus. Crit. N. 11. p. 193.

33. Vulgo δ' ἀφειδήσαντες ὡς ἐσείδομεν. Ibi nequeo intelligere ἀφειδήσαντες. Sententiæ nexus postulat δὲ, φηλήσαντ' ἐτ' οὐχ, ὡς εἶδομεν. Hesych. Ἐφήλωσεν ἡπάτησιν respicit ad Æschyl. Agam. 475 : exstat et φηλούμενοι in Eurip. Suppl. 243, ubi Markl. citat Lycophr. 785, et Apoll. Rh. 111. 982.

35, 36. Vulgo λόγῳ — κλέπτοντες — καὶ θυήπολον. At λόγῳ

non satis est ad rem accommodatum. Μοx κλέψαντες lingua postulat.

37. Vulgo *τίνας τίς ὦν τήνδ'*. Inde efficitur *ἀνατος ὦν σύ*: ubi *σύ* Marklando debetur. De *ἀνατος* sæpe depravato vid. G. B. in *Classical Journal*, N. xiv. p. 376.

We cannot bring these annotations to a close without remarking, that if future scholars hope to arrive at the truth respecting the remains of the Greek Drama, they must adopt a bolder style of criticism, than what has hitherto been acted upon. Of the necessity and utility of such boldness, numerous examples might still be given, particularly in the transposition of lines, half lines, and even single words; but the preceding specimens must for the present suffice.

EURIPIDIS PHŒNISSÆ EMENDATÆ.

SOLONIS fuit dictum memorabile, Ἀεὶ γηράσκω πολλὰ διδασκόμενος. Quod ex animo Editoris, si cujus alius, nunquam excidere debet, id mihi equidem ipsi sæpe reperi esse utilissimum, non oblivisci diebus novis inveterata peccata emendari posse. En luculentum satis exemplum. Ipse enim Euripidis Phœnissas decennio plus edidi; et una cum iis, qui sibi videntur esse non ex infima classe eruditorum, intellexi scenam illam nobilem, in qua fratres Thebani coram matre verbis digladiantur, esse librariorum incuria, parte aliqua, non optime habitam. Verum hodie factus oculatio inter intelligo, quantas inter tenebras olim versatus sim. Ne quis igitur in posterum queratur se in Phœnissis verba quidem Græca legere, nec tamen Euripideā intelligere posse, scenam omnem describere libet, quantum fieri potest, emendatissimam.

ET. μήτηρ, οὐ λόγων ἀγῶν ἔσ'· ἀλλ' ἀνάλωται χρόνος
ὄν μέσῳ μάτην, περαίνειν τ' οὐδὲν ἢ προθυμία·
οὐ γὰρ ἐν ξυμβαίμεν ἄλλως, ἢ π' τοιοῦδ' εἰρημένοις,
ᾧστε νιν, σκήπτρ' οὐ κρατοῦντα, τόνδ' ἀνακτ' ἔαν χρόνος.
τῶν μακρῶν δ' ἀπαλλαγείσα νοσητημάτων μ' ἔα
καὶ σὺ τῶνδ' ἔξω κομίζου τειχεῶν, ἢ κατθανεῖ.

ΠΟ. πρὸς τίνος; τίς ὦν ἄτρωτος, ὅστις εἰς ἡμᾶς ἕϊφος
φόνιον ἐμβάλη, τὸν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀποίσεται μόρον;

ET. ἐγγὺς, οὐ πρὸσω βεβηκότ' εἰς χέρας λεύσσεις ἔμε;

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I

- ΠΟ. εὐ σ' ὀρώ, δειλὸν γ' ὁ πλοῦτος καὶ φιλόψυχον, κακόν. 10
 ΕΤ. κῆτα σὺν πολλοῖς σύ γ' ἤλθες πρὸς τὸν οὐδὲν ἐς μάχην.
 ΠΟ. ἀσφαλὲς γάρ—ΕΤ. ἦτθ' ἀμείνων ἢ θρασὺς στρατηλάτης.
 ΠΟ. κομπῆς εἰ. ΕΤ. σπονδαῖς πέποιθας, αἱ σε σώζουσιν θανεῖν.
 ΠΟ. αἶς σέ, δεύτερ' οὐκ, ἀπαιτῶ σῆπτρα καὶ μέρη χθονός.
 ΕΤ. οὐκ ἀπαιτούμεσθ'· ἐγὼ γὰρ τὸν ἐμὸν οἰκήσω δόμον. 15
 ΠΟ. τοῦ μέρους ἔχων—ΕΤ. τὸ πλείον, φήμ' ἀπαλλάσσου δὲ γῆς.
 ΠΟ. ὦ θεῶν βωμοὶ πατρῶων· ΕΤ. οὓς σὺ πορθήσων πάρει.
 ΠΟ. κλύετ' ἐμοῦ· ΕΤ. τίς ἂν κλύοι σοῦ πατρίδ' ἐπεστρατευμένου;
 ΠΟ. καὶ θεῶν τῶν λευκοπῶλων δάμαθ'· ΕΤ. ἂ στυγίς σύ γε.
 ΠΟ. ἐξελαύνομαι γάρ. ΕΤ. ὃν γε καὶ κτενῶ πρὸς· ΠΟ. ὦ θεοί, 20
 ἀδικίας γε σῆς· ΕΤ. Μυκῆναις, μὴ ἐνθάδ', ἀνακάλει θεοῦς.
 ΠΟ. ἀνόσιος πέφνης· ΕΤ. ἀλλ' οὐ πατρίδος, ὥς σὺ, πολέμιος.
 ΠΟ. ὅς μ' ἄμοιρον ἐξελαύνεις· ΕΤ. καὶ γὰρ ἤλθες ἔκ μ' ἐλῶν.
 ΠΟ. ὦ πάτερ, κλῦεις ἂ πάσχω· ΕΤ. καὶ γὰρ οἶα δρᾷς, κλύει.
 ΠΟ. καὶ σὺ μήτερ· ΕΤ. ποῦ θέμις σοὶ μητρὸς ὀνόμασαι κἀρα; 25
 ΠΟ. ὦ πόλις· ΕΤ. μολῶν ἐς Ἄργος, ἀνακάλει Λέοντος ὕδαρ.
 ΠΟ. εἰμι· μή μ' αἶνει· ΕΤ. σὲ δ' αἰνῶ μὴ ἕτερ' ἢ ἐξίθι χθονός·
 ΠΟ. ἔξιμιν· πατέρα δ' ἐν ὅσσοις εἰσιδῶν—ΕΤ. οὐκ ἂν τύχοις.
 ΠΟ. ἀλλὰ παρθένους ἀδελφάς· ΕΤ. οὐδὲ τάσδ' ὄψει σύ γε.
 ΠΟ. ὦ κασίγνηται· ΕΤ. τί ταύτας ἀνακαλεῖς ἐχθιστος ὦν; 30
 ΠΟ. μήτερ, ἀλλὰ μοι σὺ χαίρει.

ΙΟΚ. χαρτά γ' οὐ πάσχω, τέκνον.

- ΠΟ. οὐκέτ' εἰμι καὶς σός; ΙΟΚ. ἡ πόλλ' ἀθλία σ' ἔφυσ' ἐγώ.
 ΠΟ. ὅδε γὰρ εἰς ἡμᾶς ὕβριζει· ΕΤ. καὶ γὰρ ἀνθυβρίζομαι·
 ΠΟ. ποῦ πόδα στήσεις πρὸ πύργων; ΕΤ. ἐς τί μ' ἱστορεῖς τάδε;
 ΠΟ. ἀντιτάξομαι κτενῶν σε· ΕΤ. κάμει τοῦδ' ἔρωσ' ἔχει. 35
 ΙΟΚ. ὦ τάλαιν' ἐγὼ, τί δράσεται, ὦ τέκν';
 ΠΟ. καὶ ΕΤ. αὐτὸ σημανεῖ
 ὡς τάχ'.

ΙΟΚ. ἔα κάθαιμα τᾶργ'.

- ΠΟ. καὶ ΕΤ. οὐ τοῦμὸν ἀργήσει ξίφος.
 ΙΟΚ. οὐ πατρὸς φεύξεσθ' Ἐρινυς·
 ΠΟ. καὶ ΕΤ. ἐρρέτω πρόπας δόμος.
 ΠΟ. τὴν δὲ θρέψασάν μ' ἐγὼ γῆν καὶ θεοὺς μαρτύρομαι,
 οὐκ ἔχων, ἂ σκῆπτρ' ἀπαιτῶν ἡλθον, ἐξελαύνομαι 40
 δοῦλος ὤς, ἄτιμα πολλὰ κού τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς λαβὼν.
 καὶ σὺ, Φοῖβ' ἀνάξ' Ἀγνιεύ καὶ μέλαθρα χαίρετε,
 ἡλίκαι, θ' οἱ μοι, θεῶν τε δεξιμήλ' ἀνάκτορα·
 οὐ γὰρ οἶδ', εἰ μοι προσειπεῖν αὖτις ἔσθ' ὑμᾶς ποτέ.
 ἐλπιδες δ' οὐκω καθεύδουσ', αἶς πέποιθα σὺν θεοῖς, 45
 τοῦδ' ἀποκτείνας, κρατήσῃεν τῇσδε Θηβαίαις χθονός·
 καὶν τί σοι, πόλις, γέννηται, μὴ μὲ, τότε δ' αἰτιῶ.

Annotations.

1. Vulgo ἔστ' ἀγών. Grotius ἀγὼν ἔστ' et sic MS. pœnon Ricardum Heberum. At Elmsl. ad Heracl. 722. ἔ' ἀγών.

3. Vulgo τοῖς. At conditiones mox proferuntur.

4. Vulgo ὥστ' ἐμὲ σκῆπτρων κρατοῦντα τῆσδ' ἀνακτ' εἶναι χθονός. At nimis tautologa sunt σκῆπτρων κρατοῦντα et ἀνακτ' εἶναι. Opportune igitur MSS. alii σκῆπτρα, alii σκῆπτρον. Inde erui σκῆπτρ' οὐ. Mox bene sit MSto Harleiano exhibenti variam lectionem ἀναστῆναι, utcunque pravam: inde enim patet ἀνακτ' εἶναι huc inferri e. v. 901. μὴδ' ἀνακτ' εἶναι. Reposui igitur τόνδ' ἀνακτ' εἶναι: etsi τῆσδε stare poterat; nisi ratio sana postulasset antithesin inter ea, quæ frater uterque esset factururus. Proba igitur est lectio ὥστε νιν σκῆπτρ' οὐ κρατοῦντα, τόνδ' ἀνακτ' εἶναι χθονός: ubi τόνδε est δεικτικῶς dictum de Eteocle ipso.

8. Vulgo ἐμβαλὼν. Lingua postulat ἐμβάλλη.

9. Ald. ἐγγύς οὐ πρόσω βέβηκας: εἰς χεῖρας λύσσεις ἐμάς. At MS. Paris. 2713. exhibet γρ. ἐγγύς οὐ πρόσω. Eteocles, dicto ἐγγύς, ad fratrem propius accedit. Unde intelligi potest εἰς χεῖρας jungi debere cum βεβηκότα. De phrasi βῆναι ἐς χεῖρας vel μάχην vid. Valck. ad Theocrit. Adoniaz. p. 300. necnon Bergler. ad Aristoph. Pac. 315. Restitutis igitur βεβηκός ἐς χεῖρας manifesto legi debet Εὐ σ' ὁρῶ vice Εἰσορῶ. Ubi contentum notat illud εὐ.

10. Cum MSS. plerisque exhibet et Paris. 2713. δεινόν: superscripto tamen λ a recentiori manu. Eustathium semel citat Porson; addere poterat eundem in Ἰλ. Σ. p. 1195. δειλὸν γὰρ ὁ πλοῦτος. Ad versus finem aliter quam vulgo distincti. Jungi debet κακὸν cum Εὐ σ' ὁρῶ.

11. Vulgo πολλοῖσιν. Ald. πολλοῖς. Ipse dedi πολλοῖς σύ γ': ubi σύ γε contentum indicant.

12, 13. Hic quoque de novo verba disposui, quo melius perspiceretur certaminis vis. Mutavi igitur ἔστ' in ἦσδ' et πεπειθὺς in πέποιθας.

14. Vulgo καὶ σὲ δευτέρῳ γ' ἀπαιτῶ. At falsum hoc. Non ante regnum petierat Polynices. Reposui igitur δευτέρ' αἶα. Paulo ante mutavi καὶ σὲ in αἷς σέ. Ita enim perspicitur tandem sententiarum, qui nullus est in vulgatis, nexus.

19. Vulgo οἱ στυγοῦσί σε. At scire non potuit Eteocles, utrum in visus, necne, Diis esset Polynices. Potuit quidem fratri vitio vertere odium ejus erga Deos ipsos patrios, quorum templa ab eo forent, Thebis expugnatis, diruenda. Reposui igitur αὐ στυγείς σύ γε. De οἱ et α permutatis, vid. Porson. Med. 44. De α producto ante στ, cf. Med. 1293. ἔσταιτε στήγεις.

20. Ald. ἐξελαυνόμεθα ἀπὸ πατρίδος: καὶ γὰρ ἦλθες ἐξελαῶν, ἀδικίᾳ γε σῇ, ὧ θεοί: at ἀπὸ omnes fere MSS. omittunt: mox plurimi ἐξελαυνόμεθα: verum MS. Hunter. cum tribus aliis apud Pau-

συνεπὴν ἐξελαύνομαι: dein cum Ald. MS. Paris. 2713. ἀδικία γε σῆ, ὦ θεοί: at alii MSS. omittunt vel γε vel σῆ vel ὦ. Uuus Harleianus 6300. ἀδικία σῆ γ', ὦ θεοί. His omnibus inter se collatis, erui ἀδικίας γε σῆς, ὦ θεοί. Quod ad syntaxin opportune Gregor. de Dial. Attic. § 70. Ἀπτικὸν καὶ τὸ λέγειν " τοῦ θράσους" ἀντὶ τοῦ " ὦ τοῦ θράσους," καὶ " τῆς ἀναιδείας" ἀντὶ τοῦ " ὦ τῆς ἀναιδείας," καὶ παρ' Ἀριστοφάνει " ὦ Ζεῦ—τῆς λεπτότητος τῶν φρενῶν." Ibi Koën bene vindicat τοῦ θράσους Philostrato, quem alibi citat Gregorius, poteratque vindicare τῆς ἀναιδείας Gregorio δμᾶνύμαρ, quem æxies ad minimum citat Lexici scriptor. Theologi verba in T. 11. p. 249. D. Γράφειν σὺ τολμᾷς; τῆς ἀναιδείας ὄση, refero accepta Valckenaero ad Phœn. 1378. qui tamen non intellexit ea esse emendanda in τῆς ἀναιδείας γε σῆς, propter illa Euripidea in Iph. A. 327. ὦ θεοί, σῆς ἀναισχύντον φρενός! quæ ad amussim quadrant cum ὦ θεοί, ἀδικίας γε σῆς: ita enim voces erutæ transponi propter metrum debent; transponi quoque debent voces καὶ γὰρ ἡλθεῖς ἐξελῶν, propter linguam: iis etenim dictis subdere non potuit Polynices, ὦ θεοί, ἀδικίας γε σῆς; quæ verba melius conveniunt cum dicto fortiori ὦν γε καὶ κτενῶ πρὸς: ita enim legi debet illa versus particula, quæ vulgo claudit v. 23. ubi MSS. alii καὶ κτανῶ γε πρὸς: alii καὶ κτενῶ σὲ πρὸς; alii καὶ κατακτενεῖ πρὸς: alii καὶ κατακτενῶ γε πρὸς. Citat quidem Porson. κἀπιθαυῆω γε πρὸς in Prom. 73. et καὶ πρὸς γ' εὐτυχεῖς in Heracl. 642. Sed et γε abest in Phœn. 891. νοσῶν τε καὶ πρὸς ἡτιμασμένους. Restituta tandem versus particula καὶ κτενῶ πρὸς in sedem suam, deletisque glossematibus ἀπὸ πατρίδος, illico se produnt supplementa γὰρ ὦν γε: ubi γὰρ est manifesto necessarium; ita enim ratio datur et precum, κλύετ' ἐμοῦ, et odii, ὦ στυγῶ. Postremo, transpositis vocibus καὶ γὰρ ἡλθεῖς ἐξελῶν, liquido patet deesse pronomen, quod respondeat pronomini in verbis ὅς μ' ἄμοιρον ἐξελαύνεις. Dedi igitur ἐκ μ' ἐλῶν. Talis formulæ exemplum Matthiæ Gr. Græc. § 594.2. citat Herod. 111. 36. ἀπὸ μὲν σεωυτὸν ὤλεσας. Ipse addo Eurip. Suppl. 829, κατὰ με πίδον γὰς ἔλοι. CEd. C. 1689. κατὰ με φόνιος Αἰδᾶς ἔλοι. Acharn. 272. κατὰ σε χάσσομεν. Vesp. 781. ἀνά τοι με πείθεις, et ex emendatione. Nub. 913. διά τοι σ' οὐδείς φοιτᾶν ἐθέλει.

22. Vulgo πύφουκας. Atqui minime fuit e natura, verum e rebus gestis, ἀνόςιος Eteocles. Qua ratione πέφνηα et πέφουκα permutentur, vid. Porson. ad Od. E. 206.

25. Vulgo οὐ θέμιτόν σοι μητρὸς ὀνομάζειν κάρα. At inter Trochaicos anapaestus admitti nequit. Id primus ipse monui, facile, quicquid in hac parte mihi objectum sit ab Elmsleio in *Edinburgh Rev.* No. xxxvii. p. 91. dejecturus. Hic ὀνόμασαι dicitur eadem var. lect. qua MSS. alii ἀνόμαζεν, alii ἀνόμασσαν in ἔχον. 27. exhibent. Paulo ante ποῦ dedi vice οὐ. Vid. Porson. Orest. 792.

27. Vulgo εἶμι μὴ πόνει· σὲ δ' αἰνῶ, μήτηρ· ἔξιθι χθονός. Hæc nemo intelligere potuit. Mea sunt, neque alia possunt esse, Euripidea. Manifesto vox eadem in tali dialogo repeti debet; neque repeti potest πόνει.

28. MS. Paris. 2713. ἔξειμι πατέρα δέ μοι δὸς ἰδεῖν. Alii γέ μοι δὸς εἰσιδεῖν. At minime decuit Polynicem ita preces effundere. Reposui igitur ἔξιμεν πατέρα δ' ἐν ὅσοις εἰσιδῶν—De formula ἐν ὅσοις ἰδεῖν similibusque vide Monk. ad Hippol. 1260. ἰδῶν ἐν ὁρμασιν. Hic ἔξιμεν Musgravio debetur.

29. Vulgo ὅφει ποτέ. Sed ποτέ deest in MS. Hunter. Ipse dedi σύ γε: quæ voces contemtum indicant. Similiter σύ γε versum Æschyli claudunt apud Plutarch. 11. p. 86. F. et Eustath. Ἰλ. Γ. p. 415=314. Τράγος, γένειον ἄρα πενήσεις σύ γε.

31. Ita Blomfieldius. Vulgo χαρτὰ γούν. At Eumath. de Ismen. vii. p. 270. citatus a Valck. exhibet Ἰσμενία, χαίροις. Ἐγὼ δὲ, ἀλλ' οὐ χάρτα πάσχω. Nihil hic habet γούν.

32. Filio sciscitanti, Οὐκέτ' εἰμι παῖς σὸς nihil aliud respondere poterat mater, quam ἢ πόλλ' ἀθλία σ' ἔφουσ' ἐγώ. Ineptum esset εἰς πόλλ' ἀθλία πέφυκ' ἐγώ, quod vulgo legitur.

34. Vulgo ποτε στήσει. Ipse dedi πόδα. Cf. omnino Helen. 986. Ἦν δ' ἐς μὲν ἀλκὴν μὴ πῶδ' ἀντιθῆ ποδί: ubi Ald. ποτ'. Quem locum adde iis, quæ congessi ad Tro. 991. Similiter emendavit Brunckius Vesp. 1162. Ἐνθες πῶδ': ubi omnes libri ποτ', quod ad rem. Cf. Tyrtæi verba Καὶ πόδα παρ ποδὶ θέεις, et Euripidea in Heracl. 836. πούς ἐπαλλαχθεὶς ποδί. Mox vulgo ὡς τί μ'. At perite admodum Valck. ἐς τί μ', allegatis Trach. 407. Σὺ δ' ἐς τί δή με τοῦτ' ἐρωτήσας ἔχεις; et Iph. T. 494. ἐς τί δή σοι ταῦτ' ἐν ἡδονῇ μαθεῖν;

37, 38. Vulgo β'. α'. At voces ὡς τάχα de σημαίνει divelli nequeunt. Cf. Androm. 264. τὸ δ' ἔργον αὐτὸ σημαίνει τάχα. Versus igitur transposui; transpositosque emendavi Ὡς τάχ' οὐκέθ' αἱμάτηρον τοῦμὸν ἀργήσει ξίφος, legendo Ὡς τάχ' ἔα κάθαιμα τάργ'· οὐ τοῦμὸν ἀργήσει ξίφος: emendatosque personis de novo distribui. Etenim hæc omnia histrionis ad gestus sunt comparata. Nempe dictis ἀντιτάξομαι κτενῶν σε et κάμει τοῦδ' ἔρως ἔχει, frater uterque gladii scapulum corripit: quo gestu matris perterritæ sciscitanti que τί δράσεται ὦ τέκνα, respondent uterque simul filius, αὐτὸ σημαίνει ὡς τάχ': interque dicta gladium ipsum aliquantisper protrahunt: ad quem gestum refer omnino verba ἔα κάθαιμα τάργα gestumque matris, inter fratres se projicientis et utrumque manu reprimentis; cujus tamen manus uterque rejicit, dictis οὐ τοῦμὸν ἀργήσει ξίφος: mater vero ita repulsam ægre ferens, ad ædes patrias digito intendit, et jamjam e scena abitura, eloquitur voce tristi illud πατὴρ οὐ φεύξεται· Ἐρίωνος: similiter filius uterque gladio jam omnistricto ad patris ædes intendunt, dictis Ἐρίτω

πρόπας δόμος. Hactenus de rebus histrionicis, ad verba ipsa redeo. Opportune MS. Hunter. omitit οὐκέθ' : quod plane ineptum esset, junctum cum αἰμάτηρον : non enim ξίφος fuit adhuc αἰμάτηρον : neque melius idem intelligi poterit, modo conjungatur cum ἀργήσει : etenim diu τὸ ξίφος ἀργεῖ inter hæc verba, et facta illa, quæ nuncius de morte fratrum mox commemorat. - Istud οὐκέθ' in hoc loco turbis originem dedit, dum nescio quis male sedulus adscripsit Phœn. 765. 'Ἄλλ' εἰμ', ὅπως ἂν μηκέτ' ἀργῶμεν χέρα : ita enim ipse Euripides scripsit, non, ut vulgo, μὴ καταργῶμεν. Igitur in hoc loco dedi ea, unde facilius intelligi posset lusus in ἔργα et ἀεργήσει. Quod ad verbum monosyllabon ἔα, sæpe depravatum, verbis non opus est. Unum illud moneo, quod in Cœd. c. 1192. diu ad Tro. 323. emendavi. 'Ἄλλ' αὐτὸν ἔα σὺ χείρεσσι γοναὶ κακαί.

39. Vulgo με γαίαν. At ratio sana postulat μ' ἐγὼ γῆν. Etenim hæc solus eloquitur Polynices, qui modo verba una cum fratre edixerat. Ideoque abesse nequit ἐγὼ, ne quis suspicetur hæc quoque verba ad fratres utrosque pertinere. MS. Paris. 2713, ad γαίαν exhibet γρ. πάτραν.

40, 41. Vice hujus distichi vulgatur tristichon,
 ὡς ἄτιμος οἰκτρὰ πάσχων ἐξελαύνομαι χθονός
 δοῦλος ἄς, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ταύτου πατρὸς Οἰδίου γεγώς.
 οὐχ ἑκὼν γὰρ ἦλθον ἄκων δ' ἐξελαύνομαι χθονός.

At MS. Harl. 6300. distichon ultimum prorsus omitit, et versum, qui vulgo exstat inter Δούλος—et Οὐχ ἑκὼν, nempe καὶ τί σοι πόλις γίνηται μὴ με τόνδε δ' αἰτιῶ, margini adscriptum habet. Unde firmatur sententia Valckenaeri rejicientis Οὐχ ἑκὼν κ. τ. λ. At manifesto e gl. est Οἰδίου. Manifesto quoque hunc locum corrumpit alter ille versus ad fabulæ finem, Νῦν δ' ἄτιμος οἰκτρὸς ἐξελαύνομαι χθονός. Collatis igitur Phœn. 610. ἀπαιτῶ σκῆπτρα et 80. πατρὶ ἀπαιτῶν σκῆπτρα, erui σκῆπτρ' ἀπαιτῶν ex οἰκτρὰ πάσχων. Mox de ἔχων et ἑκὼν permutatis dixi ad Tro. Append. p. 188. Dein minime de nihilo est ἄτιμα, quod exhibent Ald. et MS Heberianus. Mox ταύτου πατρὸς est ineptum : non enim Polynices hic Eteoclem loquitur. Denique Οἰδίου μολῶν exhibet MS. Paris. 2713. superscripto tamen, γεγώς glossæ : μολῶν quoque MS. Florent. teste Vossio. Inde erui potest βολῶν et e βολῶν continuo fit λαβῶν. Ita λαβῶν ἄτιμα πολλά possunt opponi verbis σκῆπτρα ἀπαιτῶν.

43. Vulgo ἀγάλματα. Valck. intelligit altaria : quod fieri nequit, Reposui ἀνάκτορα. Eadem var. lect. in Tro. 15.

47. Manifesto in suum locum reponitur versus, qui vulgo legitur inter 40 et 41. Nempe vocem ingratam popularibus κρητήσιν quodammodo iniecit dictum illud εἰ τι σοι, πόλις, γίνηται.

G. B.

*De Vita JOANNIS JACOBI REISKII, Medicinæ
 Doctoris, Arabicæ Linguae Professoris in Academia
 Lipsiensi, Scholæ Nicolaitanæ Lipsiensis Rectoris,
 scripsit SAM. FRID. NATH. MORUS, Gr. et Lat.
 Linguae Professor Lips.*

VOLUISTI, Vir doctissime, ut narratio de vita Reiskii, cui summa Tecum amicitia intercessit, editioni Dionysii Halicarnassensis, quam aliquot abhinc annis Reiskius instituerat, Tuoque nomini consecraverat, adjungeretur, atque adeo flagitasti, ut a me potissimum scriberetur, quem nosses præ ceteris hoc debere Reiskio, et libenter se hoc debito exsoluturum sperares. Faciendum igitur putavi, ut voluntati Tuae obedirem, quæ ad integritatem amoris Tui erga Reiskium humanissima, ad meum animi sensum exoptata, et ad aliorum de me opinionem perquam honorifica est. Quod enim sponte nunquam sustinuissem, cum Joannem Georgium Eccium, Professore Lipsiensem doctissimum et elegantissimum, ante plures annos de vita Reiskii Tui accurate scripsisse scirem, quæ quidem narratio vitis philologorum, ab Illustri Harlesio editis, inserta est, id, cum Tua auctoritas intercessisset, excusatus a me fieri posse arbitratus sum. Una in re non licuit Tibi obsequi. Nam etiamsi perquam decorum erat, in extrema parte operis Dionysiani, quod summa Reiskii erga Te voluntas Tibi sacraverat, exstare narrationem de vita illius, Tuo suasu et hortatu consignatam: verissimas enim ei gratias egisti, quoniam potissimum in libro, Tibi tradito, memoriam ejus recolendam esse censuisti: nimia tamen operis imprimendi tarditas, qua ne expectatio tua fatigaretur verendum erat, effecit, ut hæc narratio separatim prodiret. Quod si parum expressa fuerit amici Tui imago, humanissime rogo, ne Te mandatorum Tuorum poeniteat. Benevolentiam erga me Tuam, cujus tot habeo illustria documenta, ita mihi conservabis, ut Reiskii memoria tibi sancta est. Scripsi Lipsiæ. Mense Octobri. c1c1occlxxvi.

OMNIS fere Reiskianæ vitæ summa fuit, non cedere malis, sed audentiolem contra ire. Quantacumque intelligi potest paupertatis foeditas, eam omnem Reiskius expertus est. Quidquid cruciatus habet ille morbus, sedentariæ vitæ proprius, id diu noctuque animum et corpus ejus laceravit, cum post vicesimum fere ætatis annum sæpenumero omnis cogitandi acies hebetaretur, et post diurnas jactationes aut insomnes essent noctes, aut tumultuosis somniis anxie: unde malum ad eam sævitiem processit, ut interdum se plane destitutum existimaret, ut nullum senectutis diem doloris sensu vacuum ageret, ut summa tristitia eum ad literas, amicos,

munera, res domesticas comitaretur, ut anxietas et metus adstantibus lacrimas extorquerent. Adde his jacturam parentum, incepta centies irrita, multa multorum odia, aliosque per omnem vitam gravissimos casus. Poteritne major hac calamitas fingi, aut literarum studio tristius impedimentum objici? Etiamsi vero tanta sunt hæc mala, ut singula singulorum vitam satis reddere possint ærumnosam: tamen Reiskius, his omnibus unus obrutus, multarum literarum scientiam perfecit, multos libros scripsit, multis hominibus inserviit, muneribus cum fide functus est, et, copiis suis omnibus in librorum editiones impensis, novo plane modo erga viros doctos liberalis fuit. Hujus ergo viri vitam propius nosse, et ipsius et literarum causa fas est. Quamquam enim doctrina ejus, in libris expressa, omnibus ad cognoscendum proposita, et ad immortalitatem famæ satis commendata est: non nulla tamen, quæ ut e scriptis intelligi nequeunt, ita haud paulo plus admirabilitatis habent, videntur narrando promenda, ut, quidquid fuerit in eo, quam luculentissime adpareat.

Misenensis fuit, in oppidulo Zoerbigensi anno hujus seculi sexto atque decimo, die quinto et vicesimo Decembris natus, e Joanne Baltasoro, coriario, et Joanna Christina Klossia: a quibus filius decennis, usus aliquamdiu privata Meisneri disciplina, in orphanotropheum Halense deductus est, ubi quinquennium exegit, interque alios præceptorem nactus est Sigismundum Jacobum Baumgartenium, nuper theologum Halensem longe celeberrimum et eruditissimum, cujus memoria tam grata fuit Reiskio, ut, si quid molesti habuisset illud tirocinii tempus, id omne suavitate nominis Baumgarteniani compensaretur. Sæpius vero dolebat, se non ab omnibus illius scholæ præceptoribus eo ductum esse, quo debebat, hoc est, ad eas artes, quibus reliquarum disciplinarum commentatio continetur: cum plerumque in recentiorum quorundam epistolis latinis detineretur, raro veterem latinitatis genuinæ scriptorem cognosceret; aut, si quem attigisset, non tam bona ejus, quam verba externamque speciem intueri et admirari juberetur. Nec fuerat ea philosophiæ et matheseos scientia imbutus, quam illius ætatis intelligentia commode capit, carebatque multis, quæ eum academix maturum redderent. Igitur anno tertio ac tricesimo Lipsiam profectus, cum certam literarum viam neque ingressus esset antea, neque ingredi sciret, ab alio ad aliud delatus, tandem in libris magistrorum Judaicorum et literis arabicis hæsit, incurius de reliquo, quare eas et quo modo disceret: satis erat, eo sequi, quo nescio quis impetus animi fluctuantem abstulisset: quamquam senex confessus est, adolescentiam suam in hac quidem re stimulis gloriæ ac famæ potissimum concitatam esse. Unde etiam curtam suppellectilem arabicis et rabbinicis libris coëmendis impendit, nec ullum aliud vitæ sustentandæ præsidium aut oblatum accepit, aut sponte quæsiuit, modo sitim istam expleret, ac totus in adamatis literis esset. Nec reprehendimus hunc ardorem, sine quo nihil egregium existere potest; miramur tamen, multos in aliquo genere excellen-

tes viros ab initio fere sine duce, sine ordine, sine consilio et delectu versatos esse, et temporis viriumque magnam jacturam fecisse, donec redirent ad se, cognita digererent, et studium ordine prudentiaque moderarentur: qui si statim perito monitore usi essent, incredibiles videntur facturi fuisse progressus, sequē ipsos superaturi. Sed quem semel acerrimum honoris et gloriæ studium agitare cepit, ei, præsertim juveni, vel summa festinatio tardior videtur.

Inter hæc accepit a Wolfio, theologo Hamburgensi meritissimo, librum arabicum Haririi, manu scriptum, quem cupidissime cognitum anno septimo et tricesimo Lipsiæ edidit. Qua re studium illud tantopere confirmatum est, ut, cum magnam arabicorum librorum multitudinem passim in bibliothecis, Leidensi nominatim, latere inaudisset, occasionem iis utendi quovis modo quærendam esse existimaret. Decrevit ergo, quamquam nemini apud externos notus, et cum maxime multo gravioribus, quam antea, rei familiaris difficultatibus impeditus, Leidam petere, ut, præter codices arabicos, etiam viros doctissimos, qui Bataviam orientalium literarum excellenti disciplina illustrabant, cognosceret. Tanta vis cupiditatis fuit, in eo præsertim ingenio, quod rem inchoatam deponere nesciebat. Ipse hæc de se fassus est in meletematibus de modo adjuvandi studii literarum arabicarum, quæ versioni germanicæ dissertationum academiciæ Parisinæ adjecta sunt.¹

Ingressus est iter anno duodequadragesimo, in quo Raphelium vidit, et Wolfium, de quo diximus, qui et omnino animum juvenis confirmavit, et lætorem incepti spem ei obtulit. Dorvillio enim, apud quem amicitia plurimum valebat, ita tradidit Reiskium, ut commendationis fructus mox enasceretur: quamquam in ipso Reiskii ardore, quem omni modo testatum faciebat, haud exiguum fuit ad conciliandam Dorvillii voluntatem momentum. Promisit nempe Dorvilius sexcenorum florenorum stipendium, si Reiskius ipsi in conferendis ac describendis codicibus operam amicam addicere vellet. Quam quidem conditionem noster renuit, non quo fugeret hujusmodi negotia, aut lucrum tale sibi necessarium esse dubitaret; sed quoniam incredibilis arabicorum codicum amor urgebat, ut Leidæ mallet arabica pauper discere, quam alibi, securus egestatis, in aliis literis tempus et operam collocare. Leidæ igitur, victis tandem obscuritatis difficultatibus, Schultensio patri innotuit, per eumque veniam codicibus bibliothecæ publicæ arabicis utendi impetravit, in quibus legendis ac describendis quinquennium fere versatus est. Editio inter hæc carmine arabico (Tharaphæ Moallakah), multo etiam magis se in gratiam Schultensii insinuavit, ab eoque jussus est catalogum codicum arabicorum Leidensis bibliothecæ conficere. Premebat vero Reiskium gravissima paupertatis moles. Nam

¹ Tom. XI. p. 148-200. Opus ipsum sic inscriptum est: *Historia academiciæ humaniorum literarum Parisinæ*: quod Gottschedia, doctissima nuper femina, e francogallico sermone in vernaculum transtulit.

labor catalogi conficiendi non fuerat magnopere fructuosus, et cetera, quibus adlevare onus egestatis solebat, partim operosiora, quam pro magni lucri expectatione, fuerunt, partim non omnino prospere cesserunt. Cum enim errores typographorum correctoris nomine notaret, nominatim in Petronio Burmanniano, et glossarii Hesychiani tomo priore : cœperat subinde in textu Petronii quædam sponte mutare, iustoque longius emendandi studio progressus, et gravem sibi contraxerat reprehensionem, et alios ad mandandum sibi tale munus cunctantiores reddiderat. Una occupatio lætior fuit, cum græcarum literarum studiosos, in his Schultensium filium, privatim erudit. In omnibus tamen his vicissitudinibus Dorvilliana amicitia non modo integra mansit, sed arctius adeo copulata est, perpetuaque studiorum societate ad suavissimam familiaritatem progressa. Scilicet Reiskius, in villam Dorvillianam Leida vocatus, sæpius mensem unum et alterum cum amico vixit, codices in ejus usum contulit, Charitonis codicem Florentinum descripsit, ipsumque opus, quamquam paulo brevioris temporis spatio, latinum fecit, et alia, a Dorvillio sibi demandata, curavit, atque interdum haud parvam ejus liberalitatem expertus est. Hujus amicitiae insigne monumentum exstat in præfatione Anthologiæ græcæ,¹ a Reiskio editæ : nemo enim videtur majore erga aliquem veneratione uti posse, quam illo in loco erga Dorvillium Reiskius : adeo se ei postponit, adeo observanter veniam rogat, quod edenda Anthologia succedere in locum præstantissimi Dorvillii sustinuerit. Sed cum ab uno amico omnia vitæ fortunarumque præsidia neque peti possent, neque expectari, et Reiskius tamen, omnibus copiis destitutus, multis indigeret, præsertim qui ceteris, quondam amicis, nunc uteretur paulo alienioribus, munusque Correctoris Campensis oblatum sibi declinasset : et monitus est ab amicis, et ipse decrevit, in patriam reverti. Ante vero, quam Batavos reliquit, Leidæ anno sexto et quadragesimo Doctor medicinæ creatus est. Nam Schultensius, postquam integro biennio Reiskium cognorat, ei suadere cœpit, ut medicinæ operam daret : id quod ita præstitit, ut anatomix studio imprimis occuparetur, ceteras disciplinæ medicæ partes cognosceret quidem, sed non pari cum cura et ardore. Atque ut ei contigerat, celeberrimos medicos, quorum fama tunc omnes externos adliciebat, sequi, ita Doctoris honores ab his et sponte et gratis oblatos accepit, agente potissimum Schultensio patre. Per quam occasionem observationes, e medicis arabicis petitas, edidit, quæ paucis abhinc mensibus, curante Grunero, Professore Jenensi doctissimo, et veterum medicorum interprete intelligentissimo, recensæ sunt. Sed posthæc, sive voluntate, sive vitæ genere, ad philologiam reversus, per omnem vitam in hac unice elaboravit.

Dicendum videtur, priusquam reliqua persequamur, quos fructus aut ipsi Reiskio, aut literis tulerit illa linguæ arabicæ scientia,

¹ Pag. xxiii.

tredecim annorum continuo studio parva, codicibus omnis generis veluti nutrita, auctoritate et exemplo summorum virorum gubernata, et omnis vitæ tenore exulta. Ac cetera quidem præmia, quæ ipse tulit, fuere pauca, nec ullum illustre, præter munus Professoris linguæ arabicæ in academia Lipsiensi: sed ipse tanto plus aliis profuit, honestissimamque recte factorum mercedem meruit. Si enim non spernendum est, ab omnibus in aliquo genere excellentem haberi, non quia fama sic ferat, sed intelligentissimi viri ita esse et sibi et aliis persuadeant: quis tandem neget, Reiskium hac existimatione felicem fuisse, quem plerique in arabicis consulerent et audirent, cujus cognoscendi causa exteri Lipsiam ventitarent, cujus essent per omnem Germaniam discipuli multi, qui, quæ a ceteris essent desperata, explicaret commode, qui, quod indolem linguæ et divitiis codicum, grammaticorum, ac scriptorum omnis generis hausisset, non e lexicis paucisque librorum non nullorum fragmentis, præ ceteris audiendus videretur, qui plures codices arabicos sua manu descripsisset, quam aliis legere contigisset, qui ornatam quoque Arabum scripturam, quam quidem calligraphiam apud illos in parte doctrinæ et lectu difficillimam esse constat, expedite legere atque extricare posset. Cum enim Nieburius, Danus, ex arabico itinere redux, Reiskium salutasset, tanta viri admiratione captus est, ut in descriptione Arabiæ¹⁾, quæ anno hujus seculi secundo et quadagesimo Hafniæ prodiiit, profiteretur, neminem se vidisse, cujus in hoc genere scientia Reiskianam æquaret, cum ea adeo, quæ in Arabia nemo sibi detegere potuisset, Lipsiæ patefecisset Reiskius. Vidimus ipsi Reiskium, periculi faciendi causa illas Nieburianas tabulas ex tempore explicantem, non celeriter modo, sed et docte, cum vel de lingua, vel de formis literarum et compendiis, vel de ritibus Arabiæ, de antiquitate et historia uberius disserteret, quam in magna diligentia commentarii, labore multo consignati, expectari potuisset. Tantum erat orationis flumen, tanta rerum copia. Et in hac scientia, in hac laude, tamen arabicis literis parvum statuere solebat pretium. Nemo fere ejus disciplinam expetivit, quin ab eo graviter deterreretur, non quidem augendis difficultatibus, quarum cogitatio neminem debet a discendi spe conatuque depellere; sed quod homines putaret plus adjumenti inde sperare, quam ipsa res pateretur: nam nisi quis historiam Arabiæ spectaret, cetera, libris arabicis tradita, non tanti videri, ut iis multum temporis consecraretur. Sed fortasse hujus animi alienioris causæ fuerunt in tædio repetendi centies eadem illa elementa, quæ ingenio acriori diu placere nequeunt, aut in casibus adversis, inter quos ipse ad illud peritiæ fastigium ascenderat: quorum quanta sit vis ad minuendam rerum jucundissimarum oblectationem, quis ignorat? præsertim, si cui paulo mollius sit ac humanius pectus, quod alios, simili studio deditos, in simili mise-

¹ Pag. 96. et præfat. pag. xxv. et xxxiii.

riæ societatem venturos esse, frustra quidem; sed amanter veretur. Nihilo minus, quem nactus fuerat discipulum, hunc tanta cum fide et comitate adjuvit, quasi ipse eum advocasset, ejusque constantiam blanditiis demerendam putaret. Neque enim tempus modo, matutinum pariter ac vespertinum, et horam, quam ceteri fere oblectationi et honestæ quieti tribuunt, discipulorum arbitrio indulsit; sed præterea facillimos habuit aditus, sermonesque, quandocumque vellent, cum iis conseruit, longe amicissimos illos et utilissimos. Atque his discipulis suis omnem adparatum librorum arabicorum manu scriptorum, ex Batavia adlatorum, liberalissime concessit, eos tractare docuit, describi permisit, etiam typis imprimi, sine ulla invidiæ significatione, aut lucri cupiditate: notis item additis suam sententiam discipulorum interpretationibus adjunxit: ut in illa Syriæ tabula, quam Celeberrimus Koehlerus edidit. Eadem humanitate alios, non e sua schola profectos, amplexus est, in his Eichhornium, Professorem Jenensem eruditissimum, qui nuperime¹ monumenta antiquissima historiæ Arabum edidit, ad quæ tractanda multa sibi a Reiskio præsidia subministrata fassus est, cujus etiam notas inseruit, et ad calcem libri animadversiones criticas Reiskianas in Hamzæ historiam regni Loctanidarum, ab Alberto Schultensio editam. Alia quædam, studio Reiskii ornata, extant in doctissimi Hirtii Anthologia arabica.² Ipse plura edidisset, si emtorum majorem copiam, aut bibliopolarum paratius studium exspectare sustinisset: saltem duas has causas sæpe indignabundus commemoravit. Ad illustrandam hebraicam linguam raro et cunctanter arabicis usus est, profecto non inscitia hebræi sermonis, quem pari studio cum literis rabbinicis excoluerat, nec vanitate opinionis, aut eorum, qui hoc agerent, contemptu. Nam, ut in notis ad Anthologiam Constantini Cephale professus est,³ commentarium in librum Jobi, quem sine literis arabicis vix dimidium intelligi posse judicabat, paratum habuit; sed gravibus de causis divulgare veritus est. Adeo non spreuit hebraica. Verum statuebat, indolem potius utriusque sermonis comparandam esse, quam singulorum vocabulorum similitudinem sectandam: illud habere plus laboris, quam pro suis occupationibus, quibus aliud atque aliud consilium capere, et vix cœpta abjicere plerumque cogeretur; hoc esse perquam lubricum, cum de cautionibus, ad eam rem necessariis, nondum satis constaret, et sine his libido omnia conferendi irreperere posset, nimiumque etymologiæ studium. Quamdiu enim tanta librorum arabicorum typis impressorum paucitate laboraremus, tamdiu fieri non posse, ut homines nostri ambitum totius linguae emetirentur, omnemque usum loquendi perspicere: latere item grammaticos Arabes, quorum non nulli admodum subtiliter scripsissent: sed pluribus impressis libris, cognitisque linguæ copiis, eveniturum, ut nexus singularum significationum, uni verbo tributarum,

¹ Gothæ 1775.² Jenæ 1774.³ Pag. 20.

non fingendo et philosophando excogitaretur, sed observandis exemplis reperiretur: id vero demum ad hebraica recte illustranda valere, hoc est, similitudinem indolis utriusque linguæ aperire. De his, ut de omni ratione, quam in discendis excolendisque arabicis literis tenuit, ipse scripsit, in meletematibus de modo adjuvandi studii literarum arabicarum, quorum paulo ante mentionem fecimus. Quod autem diximus, in fructibus arabicarum literarum eum potissimum posuisse scientiam historiæ arabicæ, id ipse præ ceteris spectavit. Nam reliquit historiam arabicorum regnorum, copiose elaboratam, sed pressam in hunc usque diem, eadem illa de causa, de qua supra conquesti sumus, quoniam, qui sumtus faceret operi divulgando, neminem reperire potuit. Hujus operis specimina proposita sunt in excerptis prolixis universæ historiæ, quæ in Britannia instituerunt Guthrie et Gray, viri clarissimi, unde in vernaculam translata jam a pluribus inde annis Lipsiæ deinceps prodierunt. Hic cum ad volumen sextum ventum esset, quod historiam Arabiæ comprehendit, Reiskius cum Heynio, Professore Gottingensi longe doctissimo, qui de hoc opere præclare meritis est, communicavit animadversiones suas, magnumque ornamentum doctrinæ suæ huic volumini adjunxit. Ceterum plura ad illustrandas literas arabicas, jam parata prelo, reliquit, in his diatriben de numis Arabum, et versionem germanicam omnium carminum, quorum auctor Montanabbi fuit, cujus versionis specimen annis abhinc undecim Lipsiæ vulgatum est.

Sed veniamus ad reliquum vitæ decursum. Dum ergo Reiskius Batavos relinquit, Zwollæ salutat Abreschium, virum doctissimum, cujus in se excipiendo ornandoque humanitatem singularem sæpe prædicavit. In Germania adiit viros, earum urbium, quas transibat, celeberrimos, multosque eorum deinde amicos habuit, et constantia et integritate probatos, Reimarum in primis Hamburgensem, cui notas ad Cassium Dionem, Reimarianæ editioni insertas, exhibuit, quas ipse tamen in volumine animadversionum ad scriptores græcos severe castigavit. Tandem Lipsiæ substitit, unde fuerat ad Batavos egressus: in qua quidem urbe se reperturum sperabat, quo modo in literis doctorumque virorum consuetudine adquiesceret, nec vitæ præsidia, quibus ipsa illa Lipsia tot alios instruxisset, sibi uni defutura. Sed altera hæc spes eum diu frustrata est. Nam, medicinæ faciendæ consilium, ut diximus, abjecerat, cum ipse sibi diffideret, nec medicum haberet exercitatum, cujus consiliis et commendatione adjuvaretur. Itaque ut vitam quomodo-cumque toleraret, molestissimos labores subire coactus est, indices majorum operum conficere, mendas typographicas emendare, francogallicos libros ad arbitrium bibliopolarum facere germanicos. Sed incredibile est, quas interea molestias pertulerit, famem, vigilias, frigus, quæ item sibi negaverit, neglectis propemodum omnibus, in quibus spes tuendæ vitæ atque sanitatis posita est. Itaque per hos annos exiguas roboris reliquias ita exhaustis, ut numquam ad justam valetudinem rediret. Nihilo minus, ut erat literarum

literarum amantissimus, eodem tempore non modo volumina animi-
adversionum ad scriptores græcos inchoavit, et anthologiam græ-
cam edidit; sed e libris etiam recens editis summam excerptis,
inserendam actis eruditorum, bibliothecæ britannicæ, aliisque hu-
jusmodi libris, multis item accessionibus miscellanea Lipsiensia aux-
it. Duo tamen commoda calamitatem illius temporis minuerunt:
alterum, munus Professoris arabicæ linguæ in academia Lipsiensi,
cum annuo salario: alterum, Ernestii humanitas, quæ integro
biennio Reiskium consuetudine et convictu quotidiano ita exhila-
ravit, ut anxia de vitæ necessitatibus sollicitudo evanesceret.

Sic transactis pluribus annis, a senatu Lipsiensi muneri Rectoris
scholæ Nicolaitanæ anno duodesexagesimo præfectus est, habuitque
ad finem vitæ, unde commodius viveret. In eo munere hoc egit,
ut discipulos ad facultatem intelligendi scribendique proveheret,
nec diutius in eodem loco detineret: sed, multis omissis, quæ vel
ad minutias referebat, vel perfectioni reservanda judicabat, ad fa-
miliaritatem cum scriptoribus ipsis adduceret: omninoque fide et
adsiduitate satisfacit officio. Quidquid autem temporis reliqui fuit,
id impendit legendo ac scribendo. Nam continuavit animadver-
siones ad scriptores græcos, edidit Theocritum, vertit in vernacu-
lum sermonem Thucydideas Conciones et Demosthenem, instituit-
que inde ab anno sexto et sexagesimo editionem Oratorum græ-
corum.

Sed, ut de his libris eo brevius dicere possimus, experiendum
videtur, an ea ratio, quam in crisi et interpretatione tenuit, sic a
nobis describi possit, ut græcarum literarum studiosi de ea recte
judicent. Omnia fere legerat græca, quæ quidem ætatem tulerunt,
multa etiam inedita, et ita legerat, ut non tam linguæ ipsius amplis-
simam cognitionem sectaretur: nam obiter notabat, quæ ex hoc
genere essent: quam ad ipsam rem et sensum festinaret. Ipse
multis locis fassus est, se iis parum delectari, quæ uni memoriæ
servirent, iudicio nihil magnopere adjumenti præberent. Jam etsi
nullas consulto collegerat grammaticas observationes, tamen om-
nem hujus linguæ usum ita habebat in promptu, ut ei statim succur-
reret, quo modo quidque dicendum esset, ut ætates scriptorum
diversas accurate dignosceret, exquisitamque atticistarum græci-
tatem egregie teneret, ac, quandocumque vellet, satis magnam exem-
plorum copiam ex adparatu illo, obiter congesto, depromeret.
Cum ergo, velut impatiens moræ, ad ipsam rem potissimum con-
tendere soleret, raro disserebat de ambitu alicujus verbi universo,
nec, nisi in Polybianis animadversionibus, in quibus ipse sibi vide-
batur se superasse,¹ omnes ejus significationes pluribus exemplis
illustrabat: illud agebat, ut, quod videretur ad sensum cujusvis
loci necessarium, breviter et sine ostentatione adderet, atque vitiosa

¹ Præfat. ad Vol. I. Animadv. ad Scr. Gr. pag. 2. it. præf. ad Vol. 3.
pag. 12.

loca non magis, quam dubia et obscura, illico emendaret. Ac talia fere sunt animadversionum ad scriptores græcos volumina, in quibus conficiendis ne codices quidem, aut editiones priscas, vel omnes, vel principes, consuluit: ut adeo omnia fere sint ingenio tribuenda, sive indolem spectes, a tarditate in singulis hærendi abhorrentem, et ad emendandum proclivem, sive sagacitatem, vel deprehendendi vitia, vel corrigendi. Nec videmur injuriam fac-
turi Reiskio, si multa hic subito scripta dicamus: nam ipse pas-
sim ea retractavit. Sed ne quis eum ingenio quidem excelluisse, ei vero indulsisse, ac laboris in re critica necessarij inexpertum, aut veræ rationis, cui adstricta esse debet crisis, ignarum existimet, adeat editiones ipsas scriptorum, quos Reiskius consulto sibi trac-
tandos sumsit: et intelliget, eum codicibus et editionibus antiquis primum locum tribuisse, nec labori colligendarum lectionum varia-
rum ullo modo pepercisse, eum in glossariis atque scholiis velut habitasse, et, sicubi essent alia adjumenta, diligentissime collegisse. Quæ ut teneret, non modo sumtus fecit permagnos, sed ipse omnia sua manu, suis oculis contulit, enotavit, disposuit. Nactus ergo materiem deligendi et judicandi, id, quod ipsa res in quovis loco postulare videbatur, in textum intulit, atque adeo, si illa materia nihil probabile haberet, excogitavit ipse, quod congruere videretur rei, historiæ, antiquitatibus, chronologiæ, idque in oratione ipsa scriptoris posuit. Quæ quidem libertas ejus a variis varie repre-
hensa est. Non ea dico, quæ vulgus crepat, se non cupere con-
jecturas interpretum, sed lectiones ipsorum scriptorum: quæ interdum mera est inscitia. Quid enim? Tenemusne scriptoris verba, si aperte corrupta sint? si nullum sensum habeant? Nonne librarii sæpe manus est, quæ lectionem, in se quidem probabilem, sed ab hoc loco alienam, nobis prodidit? An parum constat, sæpe inter-
pretationes loco veræ lectionis irrepsisse? Et sententia viri docti non potior erit aperto vitio? aut minoris pretii, quam subita scri-
bentis librarii opinio? Ita haud parvus numerus emendationum, quæ in textum recipi solent, ista criminatione liberatur. Sed etiam doctissimi viri interdum optarunt, ut Reiskius parcior esset in recipiendis emendationibus. Ille vero sic statuebat, textum esse exhibendum, qui posset ubivis intelligi, neque aperta vitia contine-
ret; satis se cavere errori legentium, si indicaret disertis verbis, quidnam ipse mutasset. Quæ sententiâ ab illo ingenio, quod paulo ante diximus omnia ad sensus integritatem retulisse, non abhorret. Utrum recte ita statuatur, an perperam, nunc non attinet interpre-
tari, etiamsi, præsertim in obscurioribus locis, nec aperte corruptis, paulo lentius festinandum est, cum alii feliciores nobis in reperiendo sensu exoriri possint: sed sufficit demonstrasse, quo sensu fuerit Reiskius, et quibus de causis sic potissimum egerit. Quod autem hac ratione efficere voluit, id præstitit: lectores enim, qui in corruptis, aut difficilioribus locis hærent, plerumque reperiunt in Reiskianis animadversionibus, quidnam ad perspicuitatem desit, possuntque hoc adjumento facillius ad cetera progredi, quam si in

medio rerum nexu subsistere, earumque velati filum rumpere cogerentur. Tum vero contigit ei hæc felicitas, ut, qui posthæc animadversiones ejus ipsis scriptorum editionibus insererent, Reimarus Dioni Cassio, Wesselingius Herodoto, Ernestius Xenophonti et glossario Polybiano. Rhoerius Porphyrio, Wytenbachius et Krigelius Plutarcho, ut ergo hi conjecturas Reiskianas sæpissime summi acuminis laude ornarent: sed Theocriti editoribus suam in explicando et emendando hoc poëta rationem perraro probavit.

Videamus de præcipuis operibus ejus, nominatim de editione *Oratorum græcorum*. Cujus operis consilium quomodo enatum sit, quam angusti fuerint ab initio limites constituti, (voluerat enim in uno Demosthene versari) quomodo prolati sint, ut, præter Isocratem, tractaret omnes, ordinemque primo institutum mutaret, satis dictum est ab ipso editore in singulorum voluminum præfationibus, unde nunc repetere non opus est. Mutandi quidem consilii causæ plerumque fuerunt fortuitæ, cum vel ab amicis moneretur, ut nunc quidem hunc vel illum oratorem, seposito Demosthene, tractaret, vel felicitate quadam nanciscendi codices aliaque præsidia adjuvaretur, aut, mora et difficultate impeditus, interea in aliis versari cogeretur, quam quos nunc tractare mallet. Sed res habuit immensum laborem. Quid dicam, codices consultos esse, editiones priscas undiquaque collectas, grammaticos et rhetores ætatis mediæ, qui libellos suos exemplis antiquorum oratorum illustrarunt, perlectos, scholiasten ineditum in lucem protractum, schedas Taylorianas, ab Askewio Viro Celeberrimo transmissas, examinatas et excerptas, confectos indices, consignatas paginarum tabulas, ut una editio cum altera conferri posset, commentarios denique conscriptos. Quæ si indefessum laborem postulant, cum unum scriptorem tractamus, quanto videtur gravius onus, tot volumina conficere, tam diversos scriptores tractare, quorum alii multos omnium ætatum admiratores, imitatores et interpretes habuerunt, ut editor ne legere quidem omnia possit, alii ita venerunt in oblivionem, ut eorum scripta multis in locis corrupta sint et desperata. Et tamen Reiskio nihil omnino adjumenti oblatum est, quo non uteretur, quantumvis molestus esset labor: nihil uspiam latuit, quod, modo sciret, non promeret, quantumvis procul arcessendum esset, magnoque sumtu constaret. Sed hæc in aliis quoque singula fuerunt, in quibusdam etiam conjuncta. Illud Reiskio proprium fuit, quod omnia hæc suis oculis tractavit, suis manibus scripsit, suæ unius opera perfecit, nec, præter conjugem, ullum umquam habuit socium et adiutorem. Quot noctes fere insomnes exegit, quantam hebetioribus jam oculis injuriam fecit, quot horas, quas honesto otio exhilarare potuisset, hac cura occupavit, quot oblectationes recusavit! Et in hoc immani labore sumtus etiam ipse suppeditavit omnes, omnia, ad imprimendam dividendamque editionem necessaria, ipse administravit, rei familiaris jacturam fecit, sanitatem penitus fregit, et cum pauciores nactus esset emtores, tamen animum non abiecit, aut, si quando labasceret, conjugis dulcissimæ cohortatione se confirmari

facile passus est. Neque vero aut conscientia hujus studii, cujus nos sæpe fuimus testes, aut suorum meritum opinio eum ad fastum vel arrogantiam provexit: imo adeo tam modeste et sollicitè de hujus operis imperfectione propemodum conquestus est, ut ipse sibi plus justo detraheret, et apud alios, qui nihil ipsi examinant, noceret. Sed conceperat animo eam perfectæ editionis imaginem, cui nihil facile respondere posset, ideoque, cum opera sua multum ab illo exemplari abesse cerneret, exiguum iis statuit pretium, nec aliud fere sibi reliquit, quam fortunam quamdam, aut absolvendi, quæ ab aliis essent inchoata, aut colligendi, in quibus tamquam materia posteri elaboraturi essent. Atque hæc sunt re ipsa illius operis dotes, et meritum Reiskii est, viam aliis ad editiones absolutas munisse. Quare æquum est, virum hunc e sua professione æstimare, et quoniam, quæ professus erat, præstitit, grata mente venerari; non carpere, si quid desit, non dicere, imperfectam esse editionem. Voluit præsidia critica futuris editoribus exhibere; et exhibuit: noluit historiam, antiquitates, jus Atticum, aut græcitatem illustrare. Si quis ergo critica in his voluminibus quærat, is ita demum de meritis viri, de consilio et utilitate librorum recte judicare poterit.

In meditatione hujus operis merito ponimus versionem Demosthenis germanicam, quæ anno quarto et sexagesimo Lemgovie quinque voluminibus prodiit. Ea quin expresserit sensum exemplaris græci, nemo dubitat; sed an omnes bonæ versionis laudes mereatur, de eo multum disputatum est, improbantibus aliis nimis multa impolitæ et obsoletæ dictionis germanicæ vestigia, ut *τινον* potius, quam *ἐμπνεύειν*; aliis tenuitatem carpentibus, quæ non æquaret divitias ornatum atque vim Demosthenis; aliis denique offensis humilitate. Neque nos dubitamus, emolliri quædam potuisse, et ad comtiorem habitum conformari; sed decreverat, nihil nisi sensum reddere, sibi que persuaserat, eam linguæ nostræ rationem, quæ apud majores obtinuisset, cum efficacia verborum, tum simplicitate omnis conformationis, multum præstare ei, quæ nunc vigeret. Itaque ejusdem fuit tenacior aliquot annis ante in vertendis concionibus Thucydideis, in cujus libri præfatione oburgatoribus paulo quidem acrius, sed ita respondit, ut quam haberet normam, demonstraret. In his vero concionibus Thucydideis idem fecit, quod in latina versione Lysiz, ut propter brevitatem scriptoris paraphrasin potius, quam versionem, exhiberet.

Nobilissimus est liber de cærimoniis aulæ Byzantinæ, qui ad Constantinum Porphyrogenetum auctorem refertur, et Reiskio curante in manus hominum doctorum venit. Ac Leichius quidem, Professor quondam Lipsiensis eruditissimus, qui hoc ipsum opus e codice Lipsiensi edere cœperat, cum ad paginam tomi prioris ducentesimam sextam atque decimam progressus esset, ei immortalus est. Statim omnium consensus absolutiorem operis Reiskio demandandam esse censuit, qui ita successit in locum Leichii, ut reliqua omnia græca imprimenda curaret, ver-

sionem latinam ab eo inde loco, ubi Leichius substiterat, elaboraret, ac priorem librum copiosissimo commentario illustraret. Fatendum igitur est, Reiskium ad absolvendam editionem multo plura contulisse, ipso Leichio, in cuius schedis non nisi paucula animadversiones et excerpta reperta fuerant, quæ Reiskius locis suis inseruit: nec dubitari potest, commentarium ipsum multi laboris esse multæque doctrinæ, tum vero illustre documentum scientiæ rituum ac rerum, illi tempori propriarum: sed quæ causa Reiskium in medio hujus commentarii cursu subsistere coegerit, ut ultra priorem librum non progrediretur, id quidem nobis non constat, et dolemus, talem librum, qui e codice primum ederetur, non penitus ab eo absolutum esse, qui cœptam ab alio telam pertexendam sumserat.

Editiones aliorum scriptorum, ut Theocriti, Plutarchi, Dionysii Halicarnassensis, Maximi Tyrii, ideo adgressus est, sive potius recepit, quoniam optimas horum scriptorum editiones repetere bibliopolis placuerat. Ne ergo omni carerent accensione, præfuit operis, quid et quo ordine recudendum esset, quidnam e recentiorum libris addi posset, quamquam hoc perraro, monuit, editiones veteres passim contulit, notata olim e schedis promisit, examinavit, auxit, atque ita editiones additamentis notarum locupletavit. Quantum ergo opera tumultuaria, sic enim ipse adpellat, effici potuit, tantum præstitit: et huc spectare debent omnes, ne contra, quam editor ipse voluit, iis utantur, eaque dijudicent, præsertim cum magna harum animadversionum pars non multo ante mortem, et erepta penitus spe recuperandæ valetudinis, scripta sit, pleraque item eo mortuo edita, quæ, si ipsi denuo percurrere licuisset, aliam fortasse habitura fuissent speciem. Verum Constantini Cephala anthologiam studiosissime perpolivit, neque tantum commentario illustravit, sed in primis tradenda notitia poetarum, quorum carmina ibi exhibentur, effecit, ut opus ipsum multo utilius ac facilius intellectu esset.

Præter hæc immensæ prorsus industriæ documenta, et alia scripta, quorum indicem huic narrationi adjunximus, tamen multa penitus elaborata viduæ doctissimæ reliquit, notas ad Philostratum, Libanium, Aristidem. Ac Libanii quidem orationes cum tractaret, ea felicitate usus est, ut non modo lacunarum insignium complementa in codicibus deprehenderet, sed integras etiam orationes, hactenus ineditas, quarum unam Reiskia nuper imprimendam curavit. Aristidis vero Scholia nactus est permulta, et magnam variarum lectionum adparatum congegit. Tum vero notatu dignissima sunt collectanea ad Herbelotii bibliothecam orientalem, cujus editionem cum instituisset, in margine notarat innumera, et propemodum eo progressus erat, ut, si quis librarius opus hoc redimere voluisset, brevi potuisset prelo parari. Quæ expectatio cum etiam in græcis scriptoribus, quos modo diximus, vivo Reiskio frustra fuerit, eo magis lætamur, propinquam spem editionis Libanii a Reiskia factam esse, optamusque, ut, in quibus vulgandis fortuna marito adversata est, in his voluntatem et liberalitatem viduæ adjuvet.

Nondum diximus de ea felicitate, quæ Reiskio contigit, cum anno quarto et sexagesimo matrimonio sibi junxit Ernestinam Christinam Muelleriam. Ea enim, præterquam quod amore, fide, concordia, comitate, integritate, inserviendique studio jucundissimam effecit societatem, in literarum consortium ita cum marito venit, ut singularis esset exempli. Nam cum exquisita recentiorum linguarum scientia animum ad omnem elegantiae sensum adsuefecisset, et veteres græcos latinosque scriptores e versionibus cognosset: mirum non erat, in consuetudine mariti, qui scriptores illos omnes perspectos haberet, conjugem etiam exardescere amore earum linguarum, quæ laudatissimis illis scriptoribus fuisset vernacula. Itaque græca et latina discere cœpit, et eo statim processit, ut poetas atque oratores legeret. Quæ res ut multum admirabilitatis habet, si ab illo sexu non nisi ad oblectationem honestamque sciendi cupiditatem conferatur: sic nova plane ratione adhibita est ab eruditissima Reiskia ad levandos mariti labores. In codicibus enim describendis et conferendis, in variis lectionibus digerendis, inque omni illa molestia, editori veterum scriptorum necessaria, sic adfuit marito, ut nihil desideraret. Ubi ergo hanc uxoris operam laudavit, ut in præfatione operis Demosthenici, ibi non existimandus est amor plus, quam veritati, tribuisse: nam infra merita ejus est oratio. Itaque, cum Reiskio non contigisset, totum illud opus editionis oratorum græcorum absolutum videre, tres ultimos tomos, elaboratos quidem illos et digestos, moriens ita tradidit uxori, ut omnia e schedis imprimenda curaret. Quod illa tanta fide et dexteritate præstitit, ut jam fruamur Reiskii doctrina et labore, non secus, ac si ipse ejus nos participes fecisset.

Animum habuit, miseriis laboribusque perferendis non paupertate modo et adversa fortuna adsuefactum, sed multo etiam magis amore literarum, cogitatione honesti, et magnitudinis sensu confirmatum. Nam cum, munere Rectoris scholæ Nicolaitanæ suscepto, ut ante diximus, haberet, unde commodius viveret, nihilo minus tantum laboravit, quantum vix pauperrimus quisque vitæ conservandæ causa sustineat. In omnibus negotiis multum valuit utilitatis publicæ cogitatio, quæ quidem effecit, ut in docendo mercedem non magnopere spectaret, ut, quos ipse possideret codices, cum aliis libenter communicaret, ut iis, qui librorum editiones molirentur, consilio et re adesset, iisque ultro offerret, si quid ipse haberet præsidii, ut eorum causa alios per literas adiret, iis codices æteros atque alia adjumenta curaret, omninoque neminem sua bona, suas copias celaret. Hinc si quid melius institui posse opinaretur, suadebat, et ipse adeo cum offensione aliorum operam suam interponebat: aut si quid jam haberet institutum, quod publice profuturum videretur, vel cum valetudinis et opum jactura perficiebat. Se solum vivere dicebat, nulla magnopere cum aliis necessitudine conjunctum; nullas autem uni homini opes corradendas videri; se graviora olim pertulisse; atque uxori carissimæ, se mortuo, non defuturum auxilium divinum. Sententiam de aliis

non magis, quam de se ipso, liberrime dicit. Quoties fassus est, se non nisi inchoasse aliquid, in quo alii essent elaboraturi, sua multum abesse a perfectione, se tantum monere alios, se non omnibus praesidiis adjutum, se aliis occupationibus distractum esse, se festinasse. Neque vero in hac modesta oratione erat laudis captatio, aut ulla simulatio: satis erat laudatus et spectatus, ut his artibus non opus esset. De se igitur ita statuens, idem de aliis, quos non ad metam pervenisse sentiebat, profitebatur, non reprehendendi aut obtrahendi studio, sed quia monendos alios putabat, ne opinione, auctoritatis praesertim, decipi se paterentur. Quae quidem libertas complurium animos ab eo abalienavit. Sed habebat impetus animi paulo acriores, nec premere talia poterat. Unde reprehensoribus plerumque paulo vehementius respondebat, iis maxime, qui nec causas reprehensionum idoneas, nec meliorem rationem demonstrassent. In sermonibus omnes fere laudabat, ipsos adeo illos, a quibus injuriam sibi factam putabat; aut si quid moneret, tantum apud familiares hanc veniam sibi indulgebat. A quibus autem amari se sciebat, his plane deditus erat, seque totum consecrabat, nec ullam fidelis amicitiae partem negligebat. Multos igitur habuit amicos, multos doctrinae pariter ac facilitatis summae admiratores, sub extrema praesertim vitae tempora, cum nemo apud nos ausus est de eo nisi reverenter loqui: mortuusque tantum sui desiderium reliquit, ut consentiens omnium vox esset, bene cum literis actum videri, si omnes iis ita, ut Reiskius, se totos darent, et cum earum studio tantum publicae rei amorem conjungerent.

Initia morbi, quo tandem absumptus est, ducenda sunt ab inopino casu, quo praeter modum commotus fuerat, ut paucos quidem dies decumberet, sed tota aetas ad colligendas vires non sufficeret: imo adeo ex eo tempore in dies magis debilitatus est. Accessit anno primo et septuagesimo tussis vehementior, quae omne robur penitus hausit, omni medicina potentior esse coepit, corpus emaciavit, animum hebetavit, et tandem anno quarto et septuagesimo, die quarto decimo Augusti, Reiskium exstinxit. Atque ut paucis ante mortem diebus, cum vix posset ferre morbum, tamen non desiit cum typographis agere, et in institutis operibus pergere, sic, quidquid vellet fieri de his, quae elaborata reliquit, accurate mandavit, ut, eo mortuo, omnia recte absolvi possent. Uxoris amor, omnes has ærumnas mirifice adlevanti, pari amore respondit. Amicos salutantes, dolentes, valedicentes excepit humanissime, in mediis corporis doloribus ipse eos consolatus est, summaque verborum humanitate iis et gratias egit, et memoriam sui commendavit. Tanta fuit constantia, tanta doloris tolerantia. Nobiscum paulo ante mortem de rebus humanis cum ea animi magnitudine locutus est, ut jam ad altiora enisus videretur: tantopere sentiebat, gloriam, præmia humana, occupationes innumeras aut multum vanitatis habere, aut omnia metienda esse modo ac consilio, quo quis ea quaereret, iis uteretur, dicebatque de his ea vocis contentione, eo

nam orationis genere, ut animum debilitati corpuseuli jam oblitum agnosceremus. Hunc talem sensum, hanc melioris vitæ præsentationem multum confirmavit religionis christianæ cogitatio, cui immortalis est. Ita nobis quidem, multis beneficiis ab se ornatis, desiderium sui acerrimum, et indelebilem doctrinæ, benevolentiae ac humanitatis memoriam, tum vero laboris, industriæ, tolerantiae, et, quod maximum est, grave confirmati ad mortem animi exemplum reliquit.

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A JOANNE JACOBO REISKIO

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33. Oratorum græcorum volumen tertium, Æschinem complectens. Lipsiæ 1771. 8.
34. Oratorum græcorum volumen quartum, continens varietatem lectionis et indicem græcitatis ad Æschinem, item tres orationes Dinarchi, unam Lycurgi, quatuor Andocidis. Lipsiæ 1771. 8.
35. Oratorum græcorum volumen quintum, Lysiæ textum cum notis Taylори, Marlandi et Reiskii continens. Lipsiæ 1772. 8.
36. Oratorum græcorum volumen sextum, fragmenta Lysiæ, Taylори lectiones Lysiacas, latinam Lysiæ versionem, a Reiskio confectam, varietatem lectionis et indicem græcitatis continens. Lipsiæ 1772. 8.
37. Oratorum græcorum volumen septimum, Isæi et Antiphontis reliquias, notas, versionem Isæi, et indices græcitatis continens. Lipsiæ 1773. 8.
38. Oratorum græcorum volumen octavum, continens reliquias Lesbonactis, Herodis Attici, Antisthenis, Alcideamantis, et Gorgiæ, latinam versionem Antiphontis, et indicem græcitatis. Lipsiæ 1773. 8.
39. Plutarchi quæ supersunt omnia græce et latine. E principibus editionibus castigavit, virorumque doctorum suisque annotationibus instruxit

- I. I. Reiske. Vol. I. 1774. Vol. II. et III. 1775. Vol. IV. et V. 1776. 8. Lipsiæ. Reliqua volumina, jam parata prelo, deinceps omnia prodibunt.
40. Dionysii Halicarnassensis opera omnia, græce et latine, cum annotationibus Henr. Stephani, Sylburgii, Porti, Casauboni, Ursini, Valesii, Hudsoni et Reiskii. Vol. I. et II. 1774. Vol. III. IV. et V. 1775. Vol. VI. 1777. Lipsiæ. 8.
41. Maximi Tyrii dissertationes e recens. Davisii. Editio altera, cui Marclandi notæ accesserunt. Recudi curavit et annotatiunculas addidit I. I. Reiske. Lipsiæ. Vol. I. 1774. Vol. II. 1775. 8.

MEMOIR

On the Antiquity of the Zodiacs of ESNEH and DENDERA.

PART I.

THE antiquity of these zodiacs must be decided, if it be decided at all, by the internal evidence which they themselves furnish. It seems, however, to be generally agreed, that they were intended to represent the state of the heavens at the commencement of a Sothic period; and consequently that they may be referred, with the greatest probability, either to the year 2782 before Christ, or to the year 1322 before Christ, or to the year 138 after Christ.

Before I proceed to canvass these questions, or to examine the zodiacs, I shall make some remarks: *first*, upon the system of chronology which is generally received—*secondly*, upon the progress which the ancient Egyptians, and the Orientalists in general, had made in the science of astronomy—and *thirdly*, upon the origin of the zodiacal symbols.

1. According to the chronology which is generally received, 5824 years have elapsed since the creation of the world, to the period at which I am now writing. It is my earnest wish to confirm the authority of the sacred records, on which this system of chronology is said to be founded; but I think myself at liberty to examine those records, and to judge for myself whether the received chronology be founded on them, or not. I am fully aware that in doing so, I shall expose myself to the charge of presumption; but this is a censure which I must be satisfied with enduring, since it shall never deter me from freely expressing

my opinions, either on this, or on any other subject, on which I feel myself competent to speak.

The world, as I have just stated, has been created 5824 years, according to the received chronology. It has been created 6065 years, according to the Samaritan text—7210 years, according to the Septuagint—and 7508 years, according to the testimony of Josephus. The received chronology is founded on a literal, but, as I conceive, a mistaken interpretation of the Hebrew text. It appears, both from the version of the LXX, and from Josephus, that some error has crept into the Hebrew text, in fixing the number of years between the creation and the deluge; and that a similar error has occurred, in reckoning the number of years from the deluge to the birth of Abraham, is still more apparent. But in this last instance the fault lies, perhaps, rather with the modern translators than with the original Hebrew. At Genesis, c. xi. v. 10. it is said, *Shem was a son of an hundred years*, (בְּרֵמֶאת שָׁנָה) *when he begat Arphaxad*. Now at v. 12, where it is mentioned that *Arphaxad lived five and thirty years and begat Salah*, the words, *son of an hundred years*, are to be understood after Arphaxad, and so of all the other descendants of Shem, down to Abraham. Thus the Samaritan copyist, the LXX, and Josephus, must have read the text. It is true that these writers differ from each other about the number of generations; but all alike have supplied the words which I have cited in their proper places. With respect to the number of generations, I hesitate not to follow the LXX, because their reckoning is the same with that adopted by St. Luke: and it follows, that the name of the second *Cainan* must have existed in some of the ancient copies of the Hebrew Bible. To the authorities which I have quoted, are opposed the version of Jerom, the traditions of the Rabbin, and the present state of the Hebrew text. The authority of Jerom may be referred to that of the Jew of Tiberias, who taught him Hebrew—the “masters in Israel” are not agreed among themselves about the chronology of the Bible; the age of the world being now 5571 years according to the *Seder Olam Rabba*; 6170 years according to the *Seder Olam Sutha*; 5878 years according to Maimonides; 5574 years according to Gersom; about 6000 years according to the Asiatic Jews—the present state of the Hebrew text is, perhaps, nearly what it was in the time of the Masorites, and so much may be allowed for its

approach to absolute integrity ; but the retrenchment of the words, *son of an hundred years*, might appear justifiable to the copyists, since they might observe, that all persons, acquainted with the elliptical structure of the language, would supply them of course. Those then who adhere to the present Hebrew text, but who read it, as I think I have shown it ought to be read, will reckon not less than 6562 years, from the creation to the present time. For my own part, however, I do not scruple to adopt the chronology of the LXX, and to assign a period of 7210 years from the creation to the year 1820 of the Christian æra. This period is thus divided—2262 years from the creation to the deluge, and 3128 years from the deluge to the birth of Christ.

My readers will see in the sequel, that it was absolutely necessary for me to state my opinion on the subject of chronology. Many of the traditions of the Orientalists, which it seems difficult to reject, may be reconciled to the Mosaic chronology, if we take the LXX for our guides ; and various monuments of Egyptian antiquity can be explained consistently with the same chronology, if we will only allow that Josephus must have been at least as well acquainted with it as we are.

2. There appears to be a general notion, among men of science at the present day, that the boundaries of human knowledge were extremely limited until within the last three or four centuries. It cannot be doubted that the art of printing has aided, in an extraordinary degree, the progress of knowledge and the researches of science ; but it may be suspected, that the acquisitions of the moderns have been contemplated by their admirers, with rather too much of partial complacency. He, who is now employed in adding new materials to the mighty mass of human learning, easily believes that nothing like it has ever existed before. He smiles with contempt, when he hears it suggested, that the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, or the Indians, may have done as much, or nearly as much, for the sciences, in two thousand years, as the moderns have done in two centuries. He appeals to the Greeks, and victoriously proves, how little was the science possessed by that ingenious and eloquent people. *They* have taught us what the *Barbarians* knew ; and the ignorance of both Greeks and Barbarians is easily detected and exposed by the superior science of the modern philosopher.

It may, however, surely be questioned, whether, or not,

the Greeks should be considered as competent to instruct us in the knowledge possessed by the Oriental nations. They were themselves extremely deficient in scientific knowledge. When they attempted to explain the systems of the Chaldeans and Egyptians, the glory of those nations had long passed away. Crushed under the iron sceptre of the Persian despots, the sciences flourished no more; and the Priests of Thebes and of Babylon no longer disputed with each other the palm of knowledge. Their posterity could but ill explain to the Greeks the learning of their ancestors. Pythagoras and Thales were the last philosophers of Greece, who visited Chaldea and Egypt before the Persian invasion. The war, which Cambyzes carried on against both countries, was counselled, not less by religious zeal than by restless ambition; and this Prince, the first iconoclast of whom we hear in profane history, persecuted learning, and learned men, in the same spirit of intolerance, that he defaced the temples and mutilated the images of the gods.

The Greeks were not only very indifferent proficient in the sciences, but they were in general extremely ignorant of the Oriental languages. In the whole course of my reading, I never remember to have met with one example, where a Classical Greek author has rightly written an Oriental word. Is it then from the inaccurate statements of the Greeks, that we ought to judge of the scientific acquisitions of the Chaldeans and Egyptians? Pythagoras left no writings behind him; but from the statements of his disciples, he appears to have acquired the knowledge of some great general truths; and the Greeks had the absurd vanity to believe, or at least to assert, that at a period when all Europe was in a state of barbarism, one of their countrymen went to Egypt, and taught the elements of geometry to the Egyptians, who had cultivated that science for more than a thousand years before. It was Pythagoras truly, who invented the problem about the square of the hypotenuse! Yet, it is still on the authority of the Greeks, that the moderns insist on proving the ignorance of the Orientalists.

Let us suppose, that in the course of 20 or 30 centuries from the present time, our Europe were reduced to the state in which Egypt now is, while the islanders of the Pacific Ocean revived the learning of the world; and let us suppose, that among their ancient monuments, and

mouldering books, they found some fragments of European science ill understood, and ill explained by their ancestors; —then might it happen that some future De Lambre might triumph over the errors and the limited knowledge of the illustrious astronomer and mathematician, who now bears that name. Mistakes, which had been made *for him* by strangers, who comprehended his language little, and his science less, might be imputed *to him*; and it may happen, (no doubt many ages hence,) that some learned philosopher of Austral Asia will write the history of astronomy, and will speak of the scientific discoveries of the Europeans, with as much contempt as De Lambre has spoken of those made by the Egyptians and Asiatics. How uncertain and unstable are the bases, on which human wisdom builds all its edifices! How fallacious have been all the calculations, which power, and glory, and grandeur, have hitherto made for their permanent duration! Shall we believe that the hand, which has dug the abyss under so many mighty empires, is now palsied; and that it works no longer? Shall we hope that the wisdom and learning of the present generation shall be transmitted to our latest posterity; that time shall preserve what time has created; and that Saturn shall cease to devour his children? The laws of Nature tell us but too distinctly, that the destroying principle can never lose its energy. Creation, preservation, decay, destruction, renovation, are names which we give to the various states of being, which we continually witness. It is in vain that we would endeavour to raise a standard, like the followers of Nimrod in the plains of Sennaar, which shall lift its head to heaven, and defy the injuries of time. The press, it is said, is the mighty engine, by which knowledge will ever continue to be diffused. Were this true with respect to general knowledge, which probably it is not, it seems by no means to be true with respect to the abstract sciences. The learning, which is only understood by a few, is always in danger of soon being understood by none. As science becomes more profound, the fewer are they who can sound its depths. We take up the deeply-meditated volumes of La Place. We see their pages, which display all the powers of the differential calculus, covered with cyphers. These cyphers are already hieroglyphics for most men; they may become so for all. The art of printing, which has been a blessing, may become a bane to mankind. The press may be shack-

led by power, and under the rule of abused authority, may be made the most terrible instrument of tyranny. Instead of diffusing knowledge, and with knowledge virtue, morality, and liberality, it may be employed to pervert, corrupt, and enslave the world. Or worse, if worse can be, it may become the hydra-headed oracle of anarchy, preaching confusion, and proclaiming desolation, until itself perish, with arts, sciences, and civilization, and be buried under the ruins of the social edifice, which it had helped to overthrow. Dark ages may come again. Other nations may have their brilliant day, when the Sun of science has set on Europe. Then new signs may be chosen for alphabetical characters; new symbols may be invented to abridge the labors of the calculator; and the future antiquaries, of the western or of the southern world, may look at our algebraical *formulae*, as we look at the hieroglyphics of the ancient Egyptians.

Learning, in ancient Egypt, was in the possession only of a few. The priests and initiated were instructed as they ascended from the lower to the higher ranks of their order. Of the degrees of the priesthood it would now be difficult to speak. Manetho had the rank of an ἀρχιερεύς. The priests of inferior dignity were called simply *Fathers*; for I cannot doubt that the word ΟΥΗΒ, *sacerdos*, is one of those corruptions so frequent in Coptic, where the indefinite article ΟΥ, *ou*, has been incorporated with the noun, and that ΗΒ, *eb*, in Egyptian, is really the same word with אב, *ab*, *pater*, in Hebrew. We are told in the Bible, that Pharaoh gave Joseph to wife Asenath, the daughter of *Poti-pherah*, priest of On. The word פוטיפרע is wrongly pointed by the Masorites: for *Poti-pherah*, we should read *Poti-phre*. Even this is a corruption, only equalled by those, which we find in the Greek and Coptic versions. The sacred writings may be thought to have occasionally suffered from the errors of the copyists; and in spite of the pleasant dreams of the Rabbin, about the absolute integrity of the Hebrew text, I have no doubt whatever, that foreign names have been frequently mutilated by the Jewish scribes. In the example before us, I have no hesitation in saying, that the letters have been wrongly placed. We know from Cyrillus that *On* was a solar title; and in the Coptic version for *On* we find ΟΥΗ ΤΕΩΡΙ, that is, *the city of On*, which the Greeks liter-

ally translated by *Heliopolis, the city of the Sun*. But it was commonly the usage in Egypt to denominate a city, or nome, simply by the name of the Deity principally worshipped in it. Thus we find cities called *Na-Isi, Na-Amoun, P'Ousiri, Schmin, Mendes, &c.*; and consequently the Hebrew historian has strictly followed the Egyptian custom, of indicating the city by the name of the God adored in it. At Heliopolis the Sun was worshipped under the name of *On*, which word signifies *luminary*. Now it seems to me clear, that the sacred historian wrote פִּיטוֹפְרֶה, *Pitophre*, or *Pithophre*, which the copyists, (not knowing the etymology of the word,) carelessly altered to פוֹטִיפְרֶה, *Potiphre*, or *Pothiphre*. In Egyptian, the words ΠΙ-ΤΩ-ΦΡΗ, *Pi-tho-phre*, would signify *the adorer of the Sun*. Now *Pithophre*, who is called כֹּהֵן אֵן, *cohen On*, Priest of *On*, in the Hebrew text, appears to have been the *Pontifex Maximus* of Egypt. In the Targum he is styled a Prince; and in the Coptic version, the word employed to render *cohen* is not ΟΥΗΒ, *Oueh*, but ΣΟΝΤ, *Hont*. This word *Hont* is equivalent to High-Priest. The priests immediately under the dignitary, called by the Egyptians ΠΣΟΝΤ, *p'hont*, appear to have been those denominated חַרְטוּמִּי, *chartomi*, in the book of Exodus. In the English translation of the Bible, these *chartomi* are called *magicians*. The LXX, if I recollect rightly, translate this word Μαγοί; but there is a wide difference between *Magi* and *Magicians*. Proceeding in their error, the English translators render בְּלִהְטֵיהֶם, *with their enchantments*,—the sense is—in their secret operations. I have elsewhere given the following etymology of the word *chartom*. “I derive it (חַרְטוּם, *chartom*,) from חָרַט, *charat*, to engrave, the ט being exchanged for ח. Thus חָרַט, a graver's tool, commonly called a graver, is manifestly from חָרַט, to engrave. Now the word חַרְטוּם, *chartom*, seems to me to indicate a person employed in directing the engraving of the hieroglyphics on the public monuments; in other words, this was a person learned in the sacred writings. Perhaps Herodotus meant one of this class, by the word *ισπογογμματος*.” It is not a little strange that Hyde, in citing the words of Daniel, *rab chartomia*, should derive חַרְטוּם, *chartom*, from the Persian. *Hi enim*, says he, *etiam in Persia gaudent titulo* خردمند *chiradmand: hinc Chaldæi decurrando et apocopando (quasi scriberetur خردم) fecerunt* חַרְטוּם, *chartom*. The learned

author surely forgot, that this word also occurs in the book of Exodus, and that if Moses were the author of that book, he could hardly have derived any word in it from a Persian source, unless it were when he had occasion to employ proper names. From all this I infer, that all the keys of the hieroglyphics were entrusted only to the priests of the highest order,—those Egyptian priests, who are denominated *Chartomi* in the book of Exodus.

In such a state of things, the persecution of the priesthood in Egypt, carried on with unrelenting zeal by Cambyzes, and by his immediate successors, necessarily produced the decay of learning. We see Pythagoras, who visited Egypt before the Persian invasion, returning among his yet barbarous countrymen, and informing them at least of some truths, which only the highest science could discover. In later times, Democritus, Plato, and Eudoxus, though they brought home much curious knowledge, appear to have known little of the truths to which I have alluded. It may be easily supposed that the priests of Egypt, who were well aware that knowledge is power, were anxiously desirous to conceal how much they had lost of both. Hence they pretended to read their ancient archives to Herodotus, who could not have understood them, as is evident from the way in which he wrote and translated the few Egyptian words which occur in his history. Hence too they divulged to Plato and Eudoxus the length of the solar year, when it appears evident, from the oath which they obliged their ancient kings to take, that this was a secret while the country was yet free from a foreign yoke. When finally the Persians were driven from Egypt, and the Greeks assumed the government, the priests seem freely to have communicated the remnants of their knowledge to those more welcome masters. A school for mathematics and astronomy was opened at Alexandria, and the Greeks of that city soon eclipsed the fame of their predecessors in this line in the parent country; though neither Greeks nor Egyptians approached to that perfection in astronomy, to which it is evident from the Pythagorean fragments, the ancestors of the latter had attained in former ages. But this was not all. The Greeks were no doubt curious to know all the secrets of the hieroglyphics; and the priests of Egypt were not to acknowledge to their masters, that they had lost the keys of those mysterious symbols. It is very possible that they may have been acquainted with the

meaning of the kuriologic hieroglyphics, and may also have retained the knowledge of the epistolary characters; but of the tropical, and enigmatical, and allegorical signs and symbols, I cannot easily believe that they knew the meaning; and it may be presumed that they often imposed on the easy credulity of the Greeks. They chose symbols to denote their new monarchs and their queens; they enclosed between lines, or placed in circular, quadrangular, or oval frames, the emblems of their new divinities; and Ptolemy and Berenice, admitted to the honors of the apotheosis, beheld their hieroglyphics placed by the side, and perhaps sometimes in the room, of those of Osiris and Isis. Long and adulatory inscriptions recorded the titles and the virtues of the Ptolemies; and these gods, as they were styled, promulgated their decrees not only in the Egyptian and Greek characters, but in hieroglyphics symbolical and tropical. But it is difficult to acquit the Egyptians of fraud on these occasions; nor is it easy to avoid suspecting the Greeks of sometimes lending themselves to the impostures practised by their flatterers. The Ptolemies, following the example of Alexander, disdained to be less than gods. Euhemerus, to flatter the successors of the Macedonian conqueror, had written his book to prove, that all the deities of the Pagan world were mortals honored as gods at their death; and this untenable hypothesis was willingly received and eagerly maintained, by the servile courtiers of Alexandria. The High-Priest Manetho wrote a history of Egypt, in which all the gods of that country, in spite of the honest testimony of Herodotus, were made to figure as its kings. This history was written for the inspection of Ptolemy Philadelphus; and Manetho pretended, that he had compiled it from the volumes of Thoth, which he gravely asserted were 36,000 in number. In the midst of these impostures, the hieroglyphics probably afforded abundant materials for fraudulent imposition; and it was easy to teach Greek artists to copy ancient symbols; and easier still to give such interpretations to those symbols as might suit existing circumstances.

When we compare the reports of Herodotus, with those of Manetho, and of the author of the old Chronicle, as it is called, and again with those of Diodorus Siculus, and of Plutarch, we can hardly fail to be convinced that the priests had forged archives, between the time of the Per-

sian conquest, and that in which Herodotus visited Egypt. The father of Greek history begins with detailing the events which took place in Egypt, according to the records which were read to him; and he relates, with a gravity and a simplicity peculiar to himself, the most absurd and surprising fables. But, as I have already observed, Herodotus must have been a very imperfect master of the Egyptian language. In no instance does he write accurately an Egyptian name—the word for a crocodile, in Egyptian, is *UCDZ* *ansah*, the historian makes it *χαμψης*—he tells us that the word *piromis* signifies *καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς*; but this *piromis* can be nothing else than ΠΙ-ΡΩΙΙ, *pi-romi*, ὁ ἀνὴρ. It is clear that neither Hecataeus nor Herodotus could have comprehended what the priests are stated, by the latter, to have said to the former. As they pointed to each image, the priests might have pronounced the word *Pirami*, *homo*; and this makes their argument intelligible. The other writers, whom I have mentioned, all contradict Herodotus, reject his fables, and put others in their place. Not one of them agrees with another; but all pretend to have derived their information from the archives, or from the traditions preserved by the priests of Egypt.

In order to confirm the remarks which I have been making, it may be observed that Herodotus visited Egypt about 65 years after the Persian invasion, and during one of those short intervals of emancipation from the tyranny of the Persians, which lasted only long enough to make the Egyptians feel more severely the weight of the yoke, when it was laid on them anew. Some confusion has arisen with respect to the æra of the persecution suffered by the Egyptians, because the sacred writers attribute to Nebuchodnassar the cruelties, which, according to the Greek historians, were committed by Cambyses. But it is strange that it has not, generally at least, occurred to critics and commentators, that Cambyses and Nebuchodnassar might be one and the same person. Cambyses is a name, which the Greeks must have strangely formed from some title belonging to the monarch whom they wished to indicate, for it bears no resemblance to any Persian name, and could never have been recognised as such by a Persian ear. But it is very possible that the son of Kosrau, whom the Greeks have taught us to call Cyrus, might have assumed various titles, as was the custom in the East;

and among others, he may have taken that which had been before given to the great Babylonian monarch who was the last but one of his dynasty. In fact *Nebo-Chod-n-Assar*, is an assemblage of divine names. *Nebo*, was the Syriac name for the God called *Anubi* by the Egyptians: *Choda*, is the Persian word for God: the *n* which precedes *Assar* is epenthetic, and this name is taken from the Persian *Azer*, the denomination given to the deity that presided over the planet Mars. The prince, called *Cambyzes* by the Greeks, may have taken these various names; and may have been known by them to the Jews; while the orthography and articulation of them were impossible to the Greeks. According to the sacred writers, the desolation of Egypt lasted, without intermission, for forty years; and according to the Greek historians, the persecution, carried on against the Egyptians by *Cambyzes* and his successors, lasted at least thirty-nine years, without any remission of cruelty and oppression. It seems clear then, that both the Hebrew and Greek writers spoke of the same events; and as *Cambyzes* was king of *Babylonia*, as well as of *Iran*, the difference of the names ought not to affect our belief in the identity of the person.

Herodotus says little of the sufferings of the Egyptians under the Persian yoke, and yet we know from other and authentic sources, that Egypt could have only presented a scene of ruin and desolation to this historian. One remark does, indeed, escape *Herodotus*, which shows that he was sensible of the truth of the fact which we have just stated. He says, that in the happy time of *Amasis*, Egypt counted 20,000 well-peopled cities. Now *Amasis* died two years before the Persian invasion, and only 67 years before the time when *Herodotus* visited Egypt. It is evident that the historian was aware of the contrast between the state of Egypt in the reign of *Amasis*, and its condition in his own time. *Strabo* expressly tells us that almost all the temples at *Thebes* were destroyed by *Cambyzes*, and that in his time that once splendid and opulent city was tenanted by villagers. When the same writer speaks of *Memphis*, it is to *Cambyzes* that he imputes the destruction of the temples of *Vulean* and of the *Cabiri*. According to *Diodorus Siculus*, *Cambyzes* not only burnt, destroyed, or defaced, the temples and the tombs, but pillaged Egypt of all its wealth. From one of the frag-

ments of the tenth book of Diodorus, it appears, that when Cambyses prepared to send an expedition to burn the temple of Jupiter Ammon, he gave orders to his officers, to make slaves of all those who dwelt around it, meaning, no doubt, the numerous Priests who inhabited this solitary Oasis in the midst of the Libyan desert. Herodotus gives us nearly the same account. He likewise tells us, that the Persian tyrant ordered the principal citizens of Memphis to be put to death, and the priests to be publicly scourged. But the priests probably concealed from the Greek stranger the persecution to which their order had been exposed; nor might they be willing to confess to him the state of degradation to which they themselves had been reduced. What the prophet Isaiah had said, was already realised—"And the Egyptians I will give over into the hand of a cruel lord, and a fierce king shall rule over them"—"Surely the Princes of Zoan are fools, the counsel of the wise counsellors of Pharaoh is become brutish"—"Where are they? where are thy wise men?" In the prophecies of Ezekiel we find the following passages—"I will make the land of Egypt utterly waste and desolate, from the tower of Syene even unto the border of Ethiopia," (read Cush, or Arabia.) "Thus saith the Lord God, I will also destroy the idols, and I will cause their images to cease out of Noph: and there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt"—"I will make Pathros desolate, and will set fire in Zoan, and will execute judgments in No. And I will pour forth my fury upon Sin, the strength of Egypt, and I will cut off the multitude of No. I will set fire in Egypt; Sin shall have great pain; No shall be rent asunder; and Noph shall have distresses daily. The young men of Aven (read On) and of Phi-beseth shall fall by the sword; and those (that perish not) shall go into captivity. At Tephaphnehes also, the day shall be darkened, when I shall break there the yokes of Egypt; and the pomp of her strength shall cease in her; as for her, a cloud shall cover her, and her daughters shall go into captivity"—"At the end of forty years will I gather the Egyptians from the people whither they were scattered. And I will bring again the captivity of Egypt, and will cause them to return into the land of Pathros, into the land of their habitation, and they shall be there a base kingdom. It shall be the basest of the kingdoms; neither shall it exalt itself any more above the nations."

After these statements both of Greek and Hebrew writers, I leave it to others to judge, whether or not the priests of Egypt, in the time of Herodotus, were likely to have retained the knowledge, which had been possessed by their predecessors before the Persian conquest. Now as Herodotus is the most ancient Greek author, whose writings have come down to us, who has spoken of the Egyptians, if we except some incidental passages in Homer, it may be fairly questioned, I should think, whether we may not be mistaken, in trusting to the reports of later writers, who have pretended to explain to us the philosophical opinions, and to estimate the extent of science, possessed by the ancient sages of Egypt. I mean not to say that science ceased altogether to exist in that country after its subjection to the power of Persia; but when it was ruled with a sceptre of iron, when it was plundered of all its gold and silver, when its inhabitants, who had lost all their property, trembled for their lives, when the temples of its gods were defaced or demolished, and when the only class of its inhabitants, who cultivated the sciences, were insulted, scourged, and butchered, it is impossible to suppose that learning could continue to flourish as it had done in times of peace and prosperity. The efforts of the Egyptians, not celebrated as a warlike people, to shake off the Persian yoke, prove at once their sufferings, their despair, and their weakness. Cambyses conquered Egypt, in the year 4189 of the Julian period. At the end of 30 years the oppressed inhabitants revolted; but in two years after, as we learn from Herodotus, (l. viii.) they were compelled to submit to their tyrants. Under the reign of Artaxerxes, about 21 years after their first effort at emancipation, they again took arms, according to Diodorus Siculus, and drove the Persians back into Asia; but in 5 years afterwards, they were compelled to receive the law from a Persian Satrap. After an interval of 80 years, they revolted a third time, and with better success, for they resisted all the forces which were sent against them by the Great King, during a period of 25 years. In the end, however, they were compelled to yield; and their country continued to make a province of the Persian empire, until about 18 years afterwards, when it submitted to the arms of the Macedonian conqueror.

But it may be said, that if the Greeks were not competent to estimate or to explain the science possessed by the

ancient Egyptians and Chaldeans, and that if, besides, none of their philosophers or historians, whose writings have come down to us, visited Egypt and Chaldea, before those countries had been subdued by the Persians, there remains no reason whatever for attributing so much scientific knowledge to the ancient Chasidim and Chartomi, who taught their philosophy to a few select disciples, on the banks of the Euphrates and the Nile. It is undoubted, that the knowledge of the priests was never imparted to the public, and that no people were ever more debased by ignorance and superstition than the Chaldeans and Egyptians. What then are the grounds on which we would pretend to erect for these priests a mighty edifice of wisdom and science? Shut up in the dark recesses of their sacred colleges, and apparently only busied about the mysteries of their obscure mythology, they were more likely to devote their minds to indolence and superstition, than to study and philosophy. Far inferior to the Greeks in the fine arts, they seem never to have surpassed them in the exact sciences.

It would be easy to lengthen this declamation against the presumed superiority of the Chaldeans and Egyptians in science and philosophy; but that they were better skilled than the Greeks in the severer sciences, may be inferred from the occasional, I might say the frequent, admission of the Greeks themselves; it may be inferred from the fact, that the most distinguished philosophers of Greece went to Memphis; and even to Babylon, to study geometry and astronomy; and lastly, and principally, it may be inferred from those fragments of science gathered in part by Thales, Pythagoras, and Democritus, which seem once to have belonged to a mighty system. The difficulty is, perhaps, to decide when, where, and by whom, this system was originally constructed. The fact, however, is certain, that at some remote period there were mathematicians and astronomers, who knew that the Sun is in the centre of the planetary system, and that the Earth, itself a planet, revolves round the central fire;—who calculated, or like ourselves attempted to calculate, the return of comets, and who knew that these bodies move in elliptic orbits immensely elongated, having the Sun in one of their foci;—who indicated the number of solar years contained in the great cycle, by multiplying a period (variously called in the Zend, the Shanskrit, and the Chinese, *ven*, *van*, and

phen, of 180 years by another period of 144 years;—who reckoned the Sun's distance from the Earth by a measurement equal to 800,000,000 of Olympic stadia, and who must, therefore, have taken the parallax of that luminary by a method, not only much more perfect than that said to be invented by Hipparchus, but little inferior in exactness to that now in use among the moderns;—who could scarcely have made a mere guess, when they fixed the Moon's distance from its primary planet at 59 semi-diameters of the earth;—who had measured the circumference of our globe with so much exactness, that their calculation only differed by a few feet from that made by our modern geometricians;—who held that the Moon and the other planets were worlds like our own, and that the Moon was diversified by mountains, and valleys, and seas;—who asserted that there was yet a planet which revolved round the Sun, beyond the orbit of Saturn;—who reckoned the planets to be sixteen in number;—and who calculated the length of the tropical year within three minutes of the true time: nor, indeed, were they wrong at all, if a tradition mentioned by Plutarch be correct. All the authorities for these assertions are stated in my Essay on the Science of the Egyptians and Chaldeans, and therefore I think it unnecessary to repeat them here. In the same essay, chapters 1 and 9, I have shown, that it may be considered as almost certain, that the use of the telescope and microscope must have been known to the ancient astronomers of Egypt and the East; and in chapter 9 I have cited a Greek author who distinctly describes these instruments; but in countries where knowledge was in the hands only of a few, who carefully concealed their discoveries from the public, it may be easily imagined that little was known to the people, of the art of assisting the powers of vision by the aid of glasses.

It may be said that the fragments, which we have collected here, were widely scattered. This I admit; but as we infer the existence of the poet from the *disjecta membra*, so we infer the existence of the system from the disjointed parts and the scattered remains. If in crossing the desert you find the spring of a watch in one place, an index in another, and pieces of a broken dial-plate in a third, you will scarcely doubt that somebody in the desert must once have had a whole watch.

To the few who reject the Mosaic chronology, there is no

thing in our hypothesis which can appear inconsistent with probability. They can have little reason to deny, that civilisation may have commenced in India, Chaldea, and Egypt, ten or twenty thousand years ago; and with this admission, it would be rather too much even for modern vanity to deny, that the Egyptians and Asiatics may have acquired as much knowledge in one or two hundred centuries, as the Europeans have done in three or four hundred years.

It is then from the advocates of the Mosaic chronology, that I must expect objections, as it is only by them that reasonable objections can be made. If, indeed, my opponents insist upon the literal version of the Hebrew text as it now stands, I must leave them to settle their chronology with the Jewish Rabbins; but to those who admit the chronology of the LXX, or who will even allow that it is not absolutely a point of faith, to abide by the received chronology in all its strictness, I hope to show, that my hypothesis is not only in no manner contrary to Scripture, but is even essentially confirmed by its testimony.

If we believe, let us not believe by halves. Before the Deluge, men lived commonly to the age of eight or nine hundred years. It is utterly impossible, that in attaining to such an age, they should not have made an extraordinary progress in knowledge. Every individual, who could live without the exertion of manual labor, could devote whole centuries to the study of the arts and sciences; and there might have been a large proportion of society raised far above the pressure of actual want, in the old world as well as in the new. From the very brief account which we find, of the antediluvians, in Genesis, we know that the art of music was studied, and that musical instruments had been invented before the flood. This circumstance, incidentally mentioned, denotes refinement. There is nothing then improbable in the report of Josephus, when he says that the descendants of Seth were skilful astronomers. The same writer seems to ascribe to them the invention of the *Neros*, a cycle of which Cassini has developed the excellence.

The Jews, Syrians, and Arabians, have abundance of traditions concerning the astronomical knowledge of the antediluvians, and particularly of Adam, Seth, Enoch, and Ham. It was asserted in the book of Enoch, as Origen tells us, that the constellations, in the time of that patriarch,

were already named and divided. The Arabians say, that they have named Enoch *Edris* on account of his learning. Hottinger has translated a passage from Beidavi, which begins thus:—*Enoch dictus Edris propter multiplex studium*. In citing the original, Hottinger has surely written erroneously **بخلد** for **بخلق**. The same Hottinger quotes the following words from Eusebius: *τοῦ δὲ τὸν πρῶτον παρ' Ἐβραίων; μῆνα περί ἰσημερινῶν εἶναι παραστῆσιν, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ Ἐνὸς μαθηματικά*. Kircher cites a passage from one of the Rabbins, which he renders thus:—*Dicunt Rabbini nostri, quod Cham filius Noë didicit artes et scientias a filiis Kain, easque scripsit in tabulis aeneis, tradiditque posteris post diluvium*. But the words of this Rabbinical Hebrew, **למד חכמת השמים ומדע, והמנון**, should not be rendered *didicit artes et scientias*, but *didicit sapientiam celorum, et scientiam annuli*. The meaning is obvious: Cham, or Ham, had learned the science of astronomy, and the knowledge of the ring or zodiacal circle, from the descendants of Kain. These authorities may suffice; it would be easy to augment the number.

Josephus tells us, that among the reasons why God gave great length of life to the antediluvians, one was, that they might have sufficient time to cultivate the sciences of geometry and astronomy; for, adds he, they would not have had time to make their predictions, had they not lived 600 years, which is the period of the great year. These predictions were, therefore, probably astronomical predictions, of which it is to be regretted that the Jewish antiquary has said no more. That the antediluvians were the inventors of this cycle of 600 years, afterwards known by the name of *Ner* to the Chaldeans, may be presumed from this passage in Josephus.

In the *Chronicon Paschale* we are told, that a man named *Andoubarios*, a descendant of Arphaxad, was the first who taught astronomy to the Indians. Now the Indians have had from the most remote antiquity a cycle of 60 years, which the Hindoo astronomers call the period of *Vrihaspati*, because it includes five revolutions of the planet Jupiter round the Sun. The Chinese, the Tartars, and the Persians, multiplied this period by 3, and made their cycle of 180 years. But it is in fact very difficult to tell, why the Indians should have chosen five revolutions of the planet Jupiter for the length of a cycle; the more especially, that the calculation is by no means exact. Neither do

the cycles, attributed to Gem-Shid, of 144 and 180 years, answer to any astronomical periods. It would seem then, that the period of 60 years was chosen as a cycle, as making the decimal part of the great year, consisting of six hundred solar years.

The circle has always been divided into 6 times 60, or 360 degrees. The zodiac is divided into 12 partitions—12 multiplied by 5 making 60, and multiplied by 30 making 360. But the Sun takes two hours to pass through a sign in his diurnal course; and it would therefore seem more natural, at first sight, to have divided the zodiac into 24 signs rather than into 12. The zodiacal circle might certainly have been divided into 24 parts, each containing 15 degrees: but besides other reasons which existed for the distribution, and which shall be mentioned presently, 24 will not make an equal portion of 60; and this number was favored for reasons which we have yet to explain, and to an extent which we must now proceed to state. The Chaldeans had a cycle, called the *Saves*, which consisted of 3,600 years, or 60 multiplied by 60. They likewise had the cycle of 60 years, of which we have already spoken, and which they named the *Sosos*. The Chinese and Tartars had periods of 60 days. Bailli asserts that the day was divided into 60 parts. We still divide the hour into 60 minutes, and the minute into 60 seconds. It is even said by Bailli, that the circle was originally divided into 60 degrees; and consequently each sign of the zodiac must have been divided into 5 parts. I think Plato has somewhere said, that the dodecahedron is the symbol of the universe. This is one of those figures which have solid angles; it consists of 12 regular pentagons, and represents the number 60, or 12 multiplied by 5.

But why was the decimal part of the *Neros* chosen as a period, and why was 60 multiplied by 6 taken as the number of degrees into which the circle should be divided? I have already remarked, that 60 years really answer to no astronomical period, and the number 360 corresponds with the days neither of the Solar, nor of the Lunar year. Again, we find the zodiac divided into 12 signs, 36 decans, 72 dodecans, and 360 degrees as marked on the ecliptic. Are we to believe that these divisions were merely accidental? Finally, if we examine the two Oriental *vans* of 144 and of 180 years, we shall soon perceive that they correspond with no astronomical cycle.

It appears to me, that these numbers were chosen, and these divisions made, for the purpose of multiplying certain numbers into one number, which denoted the years in which some great sidereal revolution took place. This number might be expressed, while 60, or 360, was taken for the root, but not when 600 was taken. Again, it might be understood that this number would divide by 360, but not by 365. And lastly, this number might be found by multiplying the *van* into each other.

The zodiac was divided apparently into 12 signs, for the purpose of corresponding with the 12 months of the Solar year, because 30 days were allotted to each month, and the 5 days, which were over, were reckoned apart. But it is a curious fact, that if we multiply the 360 degrees into which the ecliptic was divided, by the 72 dodecans into which the 12 signs were partitioned, we shall have the number of years in which the stars make their entire revolution. Again, the *van* 180, multiplied by the *van* 144, will give precisely the same number, which is 25,920. But the division of the zodiac into 72 dodecans seems to intimate, that its inventors were aware, that the stars move in longitude one degree in 72 years, and that in 72 times 360 years they make a complete revolution of the degrees of the circle. Further, the zodiac appears to have been divided into 12 signs, consisting each of 30 degrees, because 25,920, divided by 12, will give 2,160 years, in which time the stars move 30 degrees in longitude—that is to say, the 12th part of a circle. When I speak of the motion of the stars, I of course mean their apparent motion, caused by the revolution of the pole of the equator round the pole of the ecliptic.

In the cycle of 12,000 years, established by the ancient Persians, we find merely the remains of a calculation which that people had misunderstood. The inventors of the zodiac appear to have reckoned a period, when the stars come at the end of it to the opposite point of the heavens, to which they had been at the beginning. The number of years contained in this period might be obtained by multiplying the degrees of the ecliptic by the decans of the signs—that is 360 by 36, which would give the number 12,960. The Persians appear to have lost altogether the principle on which the calculation was originally made; but they were not ignorant, as is clear from a passage in the fragments of Celsus, of the motion of the stars in longitude.

The Indians possessed the same knowledge, and they computed the great revolution at 24,000 years, according to the report of M. Le Gentil. But in the 2nd volume of the Asiatic Researches, I find a very ingenious calculation of Mr. Paterson, stated by Sir W. Jones, whence it would appear, that they had really known the duration of the great sidereal cycle of 25,920 years. The remarks of the learned President himself are so much to the purpose, that I shall transcribe them here: "The important period of 25,920 years is well known to arise from the multiplication of 360 into 72, the number of years in which a fixed star seems to move through a degree of a great circle; and although M. Le Gentil assures us, that the modern Hindus believe a complete revolution of the stars to be made in 24,000 years, or 54 seconds of a degree to be passed in one year, yet we may have reason to think, that the old Indian astronomers had made a more accurate calculation, but concealed their knowledge from the people under the veil of fourteen *Manwantaras*, 71 divine ages, compound cycles, and years of different sorts, from those of Brahma to those of Patala, or the infernal regions. If we follow the analogy suggested by Menu, and suppose only a day and night to be called a year, we may divide the number of years in a divine age by 360, and the quotient will be 12,000, or the number of his divine years in one age; but, conjecture apart, we need only compare the two periods, 4,320,000 and 25,920, and we shall find that among their common divisors are, 6, 9, 12, &c., 18, 36, 72, 144, &c.; which numbers with their several multiples, especially in a decuple progression, constitute some of the most celebrated periods of the Chaldeans, Greeks, Tartars, and even of the Indians. We cannot fail to observe, that the number 432, which appears to be the basis of the Indian system, is a 60th part of 25,920, and, by continuing the comparison, we might probably solve the whole enigma."

I have elsewhere made some remarks upon the periods of the ancient Persians. It will suffice here to observe, that the *ven* of 180 years, multiplied by 8, gave the Persians their cycle of 1,440 years; and 1,440 years, multiplied by 18, furnish the number of years contained in the great cycle. But it is to be remarked as curious, that I have shown, in the manuscript to which I have alluded, that all the words denoting divisions of time, and employed by the ancient Persians, are Chinese or Tartar. This cir-

cumstance proves that these names and divisions are of a date extremely remote, when probably the nations to the east and to the west of the Oxus spoke the same language, and were perhaps united under the same government.

From the statements which I have now made, and without advancing the claims of the Egyptians, I think it pretty clear, that the length of the great sidereal cycle must have been known in the early ages of the world, and soon after the deluge. But according to the usual duration of human life, it seems very difficult to account for this discovery, unless we suppose the regular establishment of astronomy, and observations made during several ages. To arrive, however, at perfect exactness, these observations must be made with the greatest nicety. The Greeks of Alexandria miscalculated altogether the periods in which the stars move in longitude. They reckoned a degree for their secular progression, and consequently 36,000 years for their complete revolution. This fact shows, that the exact motion of the stars in longitude, can only be determined by observations made with the greatest care and attention, and that in the brief space of human life, it is scarcely possible for any individual to be aware of any change in the positions of the stars. We are obliged to compare the observations of those who have gone before us with our own, to obtain a result. Now the motion of the stars could be very easily noted and determined by the antediluvians. Seth lived 912 years. This Patriarch, to whom the Jews ascribe the invention of astronomy, and who, as we shall find in the sequel, was no other than that celebrated person named Thoth by the Egyptians, may easily have observed the heavens during a period of 720 years. In this period the stars would have moved forwards 10 degrees, or the third part of a sign; and it would be easy for an astronomer, who made observations during this long lapse of time, to ascertain the fact with an accuracy which experience is best able to give.

That the invention of the zodiac ought to be ascribed to the antediluvians, may perhaps appear to some a rash and idle conjecture; but I shall not renounce this conjecture merely because it may startle those who have never thought of it before. Tradition has told several of the Oriental nations, that the antediluvians were eminently skilled in astronomy; and tradition has generally some foundation in truth. When Bailli undertook to write the history of as-

tronomy, he found at the outset certain fragments of science, which proved to him the existence of a system in some remote age, and anterior to all regular history, if we except the brief narrative which is to be found in the Book of Genesis. This able and ingenious writer, aided perhaps by the learning of Olaus Rudbeck, built up a splendid fabric of science for the ancient inhabitants of Iran and Touran, as well as for the nations that dwelt on the shores of the Caspian, and that peopled the regions watered by the streams of the Tanais and the Rha. While I fully agree with Bailli, that extraordinary testimonies of the existence of an ancient system of science may be found in the early annals of Asiatic literature; I do not consider his proofs as sufficient to show, that the first establishments of it since the flood are to be sought in Tartary. The descendants of Noah advanced, no doubt, from a common centre, and in different directions: But during the first ages after the terrible catastrophe of the deluge, the difficulty for men would be rather to retain the knowledge which had been transmitted to them from their ancestors, than to make new discoveries. Circumstances would necessarily determine the degrees of knowledge which they would thus retain; and those who settled in fertile regions, and in temperate climes, would possess the means of cultivating the sciences, while those who fixed their residence in less happy countries would degenerate into lawless robbers and ignorant barbarians. It is not either among the ridges of Mount Caucasus, or in the Scythian deserts, or amidst the Sarmatian snows, or even on the banks of the Gihon, that we can easily suppose postdiluvian learning to have fixed its first abode.

When we look for monuments of ancient science, whether in India, or in Bactria, or in Chaldea, or in Egypt, we find remnants, which seem to have belonged to one common system. Among other examples, the zodiac may be cited. We find all the Oriental nations, with the exception indeed of the Chaldeans, agreeing in their division of the zodiac into 12 signs. It would seem from this circumstance, that they had followed some common model, the more especially, that all the emblems in the Egyptian, Indian, and Arabian zodiacs are nearly, if not exactly similar. To whom then shall we attribute the invention of the zodiac, if not to the common ancestors of the nations which we have named? The Greeks ascribed the invention of

the armillary sphere to Atlas, the son of Japetus, the son of Uranus. But the Japetus of the Greeks was apparently no other than the Japhet, or Japet, of the Hebrew Scripture; and thus even the highly-prized testimony of the Greeks goes to prove, that the immediate descendants of Noah were versant in astronomy, in which it is clear that they must have been instructed by the Patriarch and his sons.

Upon the whole, then, I am inclined to ascribe the divisions of the stars into constellations to the anteluvians, and to assign to them the invention of the zodiac. It does not follow from this, that all the zodiacal emblems remained the same. On the contrary, I should think that some of them were changed soon after the deluge. Cham, or Ham, and his descendants, seem no sooner to have settled on the banks of the Nile, than they applied themselves to the study of the sciences. Branches of the same family established themselves in Phœnice, Ethiopia, and Arabia, whence they passed by sea into India; in which last country they met the descendants of Shem in the line of Arphaxad, who crossed the Indus, after having taken possession of Iran. Cham appears always to have remained in Egypt. That country is denominated the land of Ham, (or rather Cham, for so חם should be written in Roman characters,) in several parts of Scripture. Plutarch mentions that Egypt was anciently named *Chemia*; and *Chemi* is the appellation given, in the Coptic dialect, to the lower Egypt. Cham, according to the traditions, preserved some of the remains of antediluvian science; and there is nothing improbable in the supposition, that this patriarch instructed his descendants in the knowledge which he himself possessed. It would be rash, perhaps, to pronounce that Cham himself became a proselyte to the Tsabeian superstition; but it appears that his posterity, as the learned Maimonides observes, soon fell into this error. The Tsabeans (who are often and improperly called Zabeans, as in the original the word begins with a *tsade*,) commenced, no doubt, by adoring the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, as symbols of the Deity, of his attributes, and also of those spiritual beings, whom the Hebrews called *Melachim*, and whom we call angels. But this worship soon degenerated into polytheism and idolatry; and it may be suspected, that these were the sins of the antediluvian world, and which had likewise originated in the worship of the Hosts of Heaven. The

Egyptians; however, having adopted this religion, if it deserve the name, would naturally choose such names and symbols, for the celestial bodies, as suited their purposes and their situation; and while they retained the ancient divisions of the zodiac, they probably altered some of the emblems by which it was represented.

I have thought that these preliminary observations might not be improperly introduced, before I entered into a particular discussion concerning the zodiacs of Esneh and Dendera. Should this Memoir ever find its way to the press, it may require an apology; as, hitherto at least, it has been written under circumstances little favorable to the researches, about which its author has been employed.

ADVERSARIA LITERARIA.

NO. XXIX.

Epitaphe de Bonaparte.

Cyrnæus, toto semotus ab orbe, Prometheus,
 Quem rigido nimium presserat imperio,
 Heu! rupe in summâ, corrosus viscera cancro,
 Hic jacet: hæc vitæ meta suprema fuit,
 Nobilius nunquam exemplum mage nescia fræni
 Ambitio, ut doceat sæcula sera, dedit.

P. H. MARRON.

Domine salvum.

pour les Grecs insurgés.

Celse terrarum moderator orbis,
 Supplicem serva populum precantis
 Græciæ, et spreto, duce te, periclo
 Exime salvum!
 Dira fac rumpat juga barbarorum:
 Solvat infensæ tibi, Christe, gentis
 Vincla: magnorum vigeat renascens
 Gloria patrum!

Alma Libertas, tua si triumphet
Causa, succumbat fera si tyrannis,
Laus Deo soli veniet, per omne
Debita sæclum !

P. H. MARRON.

*Ludovico XVIII, Gallia Regi, in festis baptismalibus Regii
Burdigala Ducis. Ipsis Kalendis Maiis MDCCCXXII.*

Celso potentem credidimus Deum
Tenere cœlo sceptrâ, nec irritas
Persolvimus grates, avito
Dum solio, LUDOVICE, regnas.

Regnas, subactis seditionibus,
Votis bonorum fortior in dies,
Et lege, liber quam dedisti
Ipse tibi et patriæ, verendus.

Hac luce suetas sollicitudines,
Rex ô ! remittas : improba sit procul
Arthritis, ut, parata cunctis,
Non tibi sint aliena festa.

Perhorret atrum mens memorans scelus,
Quod tota amaris Gallia luctibus
Piavit, et monstrum latebris
Tartarei evomitum barathri.

Cadis nefandâ nocte, cadis miser,
Interque cantus Terpsichoræ et leves
Motus, paternæ gemma stirpis,
O Biturix ! Biturix ! peremte.

Nulla advocatâ ex arte Machaonis
Medela, nulla est spes super aut salus :
Celsam sed adstans quisque mentem
Obstupet, et generosa vota.

Pallentibus cùm decidua a labris
Vox promit omen, quod, mediâ e nece,
Effundit insperata cunctis
Gaudia, de tenebrisque lucis

Accendit almos jam radios novæ :
" Dilecta, casto quem generi o ! sinu,
" Ne negligas fructum, supremo
" Conjugis obsequiosa jusso !"

Nec vana vox, nec consilia irrita.
 Spernit dolores en ! vidua et metus ;
 Metus rennacentes scelestæ.
 Undique ab insidiis catervæ.
 Gangeticis ut quæ volucris plagis,
 Novata, odori de thalamo rogi
 Surgit, sui proles parensque,
 Munere mortis adepta vitam :
 Madente largâ e funere lacrymâ,
 Dias in oras edite luminis,
 Sic publica imples vota, Princeps ;
 Vota tuæ Carolæ precesque.
 Regalis infans, nascere ! nascere !
 Virtute totum te deceat Patrem
 Referre, victuramque famam
 Cui merita in patriam dedere,
 Henrice, Galli, te, pie amor tui !
 Tuum est cadentem, te sine, parvule,
 Firmare stirpem, liliisque
 Reddere luxuriem juventæ.
 Decus Garumnæ nomine te suo
 Insignit urbs, et rite superbiens
 Inter sorores invidendo
 Tollit honore caput coruscum.
 Regalis infans, splendida jam vocant
 Te templa Christi, rosque salutifer !
 Te Pontifex sancto lavacro
 Abluat, eripiatque letho.

P. H. MARRON.

H. Stephens' Reading of a Passage in Euripides.

IN No. XLIV. p. 469. were noticed two passages of Euripides, as cited by H. Stephens in his Thesaurus, in a manner singularly at variance with the received editions. A similar instance occurs in Vol. 1. col. 755. of the old edition, under the word *Βλύω* : " Apud Euripidem metaphorice, *Λέγουσα μύθους ὃ βλύων ἀφικόμην.*" The line alluded to is undoubtedly by Hec. 967. ; but there the reading universally acknowledged is *κλύων*. It is most probable, that H. Stephens (in thus attributing to Euripides a word never used by him, nor indeed by the other Tragedians,

nor even by Aristophanes, all of whom instead of it employ *Bῆμα*) was deceived by a typographical error of his copy. A farther inaccuracy which escaped his notice is, that *βλῶν* would have required *ὀς*, not *ὃν*.

M.

The Arak Atsa Root.

It is remarkable that the root resembling the potato, lately brought to England for cultivation, from *Santa Fé de Bogota*, is an African root which grows near the *Southern Atlas in Lower Susé*,¹ and called in that country, among the Arabs of Woled Abbusebah, by the same name that it bears in South America, viz. *Arak Atsha* or *Atshan*, عرق عطشان, unquestionably true Arabic words, signifying the absorbing or thirsty root: *arak* the root, *atshan* thirsty.

How has this root found its way to South America and there retained its original Arabic name? Were the ancient Arabs possessed of more nautical knowledge than we have on record? did they, at some remote period, (and many centuries before the discovery of America by Columbus,) cross the Western Ocean, and transport their plants to America? or are we to suppose that there has been a continent submerged, which once afforded communication between Africa and South America, now divided by an ocean 30 degrees across from shore to shore?

J. G. JACKSON.

NOTICE OF

A Vindication of 1 John, ch. v. 7. from the objections of M. Griesbach: in which is given a new view of the external evidence, with Greek authorities for the authenticity of the verse, not hitherto adduced in its defence. By the Bishop of St. David's.

WE have had an opportunity, on several occasions, of expressing the high opinion, which we entertain of this pious, ingeni-

¹ See the map in Shiabeny's Account of Timbuctoo, Housa, &c. p. 55.

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out, and learned prelate. Our pages have, in many instances, been adorned and dignified by articles communicated, or recommended, by him. And we feel a particular gratification in announcing a publication, containing sentiments, which correspond with our own, on a most important subject. Our readers will recollect that, although we are obliged to admit articles of different opinions, which do not swerve from a proper regard for Christianity, a leaning has been expressed by us to that side, which the Right Reverend author so ably supports. Such has been the part taken by a majority of our correspondents.¹

Although there has been in many Divines a tendency to subscribe to the opinion entertained by Porson, Griesbach, and the learned translator of Michaelis, that the verse in question is spurious, it is remarkable that later writers, besides Pearson, Stillingfleet, Bull, Grabe, Mill, Bengelius, Ernesti, Horsley, &c. have formed a different conclusion.

"I have taken several opportunities," says the author of the work under our consideration, "to express a different opinion from the opponents of the verse; and I can say with truth, that every renewed examination of the subject has added to my convictions of its authenticity. Among the latest inquirers, Mr. Nolan, in his profound and interesting *Inquiry into the integrity of the Greek Vulgate*,² after stating the internal and external evidence of the verse, and the probability that the verse was suppressed by Eusebius, in the edition which he revised under the sanction of Constantine the Great, adds, 'I trust nothing further can be wanting to convince any ingenuous mind that 1 John, v. 7, really proceeded from St. John the Evangelist.'

"Dr. Hales, in his learned work³ on *Faith in the Holy Trinity*, speaks with equal confidence on the authenticity of the verse:—'To the authority of Griesbach on this question, I shall not hesitate to oppose and prefer the authority of a celebrated German editor and critic, the learned Ernesti; with whose observations I shall close this minute and elaborate survey of the whole external and internal evidence; which, I humbly trust, will be found exhaustive of the subject, and set the controversy at rest in future.'

"Mr. Grier, in his recent 'Reply to Dr. Milner's End of Religious Controversy,'⁴ after noticing the 'invincible arguments' of Mr. Nolan, says, 'I feel compelled to abandon my former prejudices against the verse, and to think that a person should almost as soon doubt the genuineness of the rest of St. John's Epistle, as that of the disputed passage.'

¹ Among many others, we may quote an article in No. IV. by the learned translator of Daniel.

² Page 305.—London, Rivingtons, 1815.

³ Vol. ii. p. 225.—London, Rivingtons, 1818.

⁴ Page 46.—London, Cadell, 1821.

"A late edition of the Greek Testament, by the Rev. Edward Valpy, must not be omitted among the advocates of the received text. The edition is formed very much on the text of Griesbach, but without adopting all his alterations. It retains, among other passages, 1 John, v. 7."

We earnestly recommend the perusal of this tract to all, who wish to examine the evidence with candor and impartiality; and shall only quote the conclusion of the Appendix.

"What, if the fallacies should be all on the side of the opponents of the verse? For, what do their arguments amount to?"

1. That the *external evidence* is decisive against the verse; though there is *no external evidence* whatever against it, during the three first centuries, and in the same period much positive evidence for it.

2. That it is not found in any of the four ancient manuscripts now extant, and therefore it never was read in any of the hundred, or thousand manuscripts, that are lost.

3. That it is first quoted at large by a Latin writer, who lived nearly four hundred years after the death of St. John; and therefore it was never known to the more ancient Greek fathers; though the Spartan decree against Timotheus is found for the first time in a Latin writer at least a thousand years after its promulgation.

4. That it is not found in any Greek manuscript extant, but one; and therefore it never will be; though the hymn to Ceres has been found at Moscow two thousand years after the time of Pausanias, who last quoted it, and of which no other copy is known to be extant.

5. That Augustin knew nothing of the seventh verse, because he interprets the eighth verse mystically of the Trinity; though the sense, which he ascribed to the term *unum*, (*unity of essence*), made it impossible for him to interpret the *aqua* and *sanguis* of the eighth verse literally.

6. That Augustin was generally followed in applying the eighth verse mystically to the Trinity; therefore the seventh verse was unknown to the *generality* of the African fathers; though [Eucherius,] Vigilius Tapsensis, Cassiodorus, and Fulgentius, who constitute the greater part of that *generality*, expressly quote both verses.

7. That Eucherius explained the eighth verse mystically of the Trinity; though he expressly applies it to the *water* and the *blood*, that issued from our Saviour's side on the cross (John xix. 34), and distinguishes his own opinion from those, who apply the eighth verse to the Trinity.

8. That "if Eucherius wrote the allegory in the *Questions*, he could not possibly have the heavenly witnesses in his copy." But it is clear that the allegory quoted by him in the *Questions*, is not the allegory of Eucherius, but of the *Plures*, from whom he differs.

9. That the verse rests chiefly, if not solely, on the authority of Vigilius Tapsensis, according to Griesbach; though Mr. Porson says it rests on the authority of Cyprian, or the ancient Latin version; and though that version is a legitimate evidence of its Greek original.

10. That the Montfort or Dublin manuscript was a forgery of the sixteenth century, and written on purpose to deceive Erasmus; which a competent judge has shown to be a production of the thirteenth century."

¹ After stating the difference of opinion among the learned, in his note on that verse, Mr. Valpy adds: "Istis verbis e textu sublati, nescio quid curti atque inexplati semper mihi apparuit."

**OXFORD ENGLISH PRIZE POEM,
FOR 1821.**

PÆSTUM.

MID the deep silence of the pathless wild,
 Where kindlier nature once profusely smil'd,
 Th' eternal **TEMPLES** stand ;—untold their age,
 Untrac'd their annals in Historic Page ;
 All that around them stood now far away,
 Single in ruin, mighty in decay,
 Between the mountains and the azure main,
 They claim the empire of the lonely plain.
 In solemn beauty, through the clear blue light,
 The Doric columns rear their massive height,
 Emblems of strength untam'd ; yet conquering Time
 Has mellow'd half the sternness of their prime,
 And bade the lichen, 'mid their ruins grown,
 Imbrown with darker tints the vivid stone.
 Each channel'd pillar of the fane appears
 Unspoil'd, yet soften'd by consuming years ;
 So calmly awful, so serenely fair,
 The gazer's heart still mutely worships there.
 Not always thus—when beam'd beneath the day,
 No fairer scene than Pæstum's lovely bay ;
 When her light soil bore plants of ev'ry hue,
 And twice each year her storied roses blew ;
 While Bards her blooming honors lov'd to sing,
 And Tuscan zephyrs fann'd th' eternal Spring.
 Proud in her port the Tyrian moor'd his fleet,
 And Wealth and Commerce fill'd the peopled street ;
 While here the rescued Mariner ador'd
 The Sea's dread sovereign, Posidonia's lord,
 With votive tablets deck'd yon hallow'd walls,
 Or sued for Justice in her crowded halls.
 There stood on high the white-rob'd Flamen—there
 The opening portal pour'd the choral prayer ;
 While to o'er-arching Heaven swell'd full the sound,
 And incense blaz'd, and myriads knelt around.
 'Tis past: the echoes of the plain are mute,
 E'en to the herdsman's call or shepherd's flute ;

The toils of Art, the charms of Nature fail,
And Death triumphant rides the tainted gale.
From the lone spot the trembling peasants haste,
A wild the garden, and the town a waste.
But THEY¹ are still the same; alike they mock
Th' Invader's menace, and the Tempest's shock;
Such ere the world had bow'd at Cæsar's throne,
And ere proud Rome's all-conquering name was known,
They stood, and fleeting Centuries in vain
Have pour'd their fury o'er th' enduring fane;
Such long shall stand—proud relics of a crime,
Where man was glorious, and his works sublime;
While, in the progress of their long decay,
Thrones sink to dust, and Nations pass away.

G. W. F. HOWARD,
CHRIST-CHURCH.

ORIENTAL LITERATURE.

To those who have expressed their approbation of the remarks, occasionally offered in this Journal, on books illustrating the history, geography, and antiquities, the philology, biography, and other branches of Eastern literature, we must now apologise for having too long neglected to indicate, as highly worthy of their attention, three works published within the last twelve years by Major Charles Stewart, Professor of Oriental languages in the East-India Company's College at Haileybury, near Hertford; the recent appearance of a fourth presents to us an opportunity of including under one head some brief notices of all that able Orientalist's publications: such, at least, as have fallen under our inspection.

The first to be mentioned, with reference to its date, is entitled "A descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Library of the late Tippoo Sultan of Mysore"—a large and handsome quarto volume of about 470 pages, printed in 1809, at the University press, Cambridge. From the preface we

¹ The Temples.

learn, that "the month of May, 1799, was rendered memorable in the East by the capture of Seringapatam; and the downfall of its sovereign, the inveterate enemy of the British nation. Nor were the wisdom and valor displayed on that occasion more honorable to the victors; than their liberality and attention to science, in determining that the library of the late Sultan should be preserved entire, (all the other property being sold by public auction for the benefit of the captors) and presented, with the exception only of a few Mss. selected for the Asiatic Society and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, to the Honorable East-India Company."

When we consider how seldom any attention to accuracy is evinced by persons employed in transcribing Arabic and Persian works; how generally they omit or misplace the diacritical points or marks which serve to distinguish some letters from others; and how often it is necessary to peruse several folio or quarto pages of an uninteresting preface, composed in a most turgid and difficult style, before the title or date, or even the subject of a volume, much less the author's name, can be ascertained; it will appear that Major Stewart, (then Junior Professor of the Persian language in the College at Fort William) imposed on himself a task of considerable labor, when he undertook to form a descriptive catalogue of this collection, comprehending nearly eleven hundred articles; for, according to his luminous arrangement, we find that, of Arabic and Persian books there are, on the subject of History and Biography, 118—On *Sufyism* or Mystical Theology, 115—Ethics, 24—Poetry, 190—Fables, 18—Letters, Forms of Epistolary Correspondence, &c., 53—Various Arts and Sciences, 19—Arithmetic and Mathematics, 7—Astronomy, 20—Physic, 62—Philosophy, 54—Philology, 45—Lexicography, 29—Theology, 46—Jurisprudence, 95—Mohammedan Traditions, 46—Korans, 44—Commentaries on the Koran, 41—Prayers, 35—Miscellaneous, 22. Of books in the Hinda and Dekhany languages, 27—Turkish, 2. Persian books presented to the College of Fort William by Major (now Sir John) Malcolm, 4—and Arabic books presented by Mr. Elliot, 23. Of these the respective titles are printed in their proper Arabic or Persian characters, being expressed also in Italics. The size or form of each Ms. is noticed, and a concise but satisfactory account given of each author or work, where it was possible to ascertain any par-

particulars worthy of mention. In the copious Appendix, Major Stewart has collected a variety of entertaining or remarkable passages, extracted as specimens of the most rare and valuable Mss., the original text being printed in the proper character, and on the opposite pages a faithful translation, illustrated with many excellent notes. To the Catalogue are prefixed Historical Memoirs of Hyder Aly Khan, and his son Tippoo Sultan, comprehending by many degrees the best account of those extraordinary personages that we have hitherto perused. Hyder Aly (who died in 1782, aged sixty-four years) "was, doubtless," says our ingenious author, "one of the greatest characters Asia has produced; and if his success cannot be compared with that of Tamerlane or Nadir Shah, it must be attributed more to the competitors with whom he had to contend, than to any want of ability on his part. Without the advantages of education, he acquired an extensive knowledge of the sciences of war and of politics: and by his superior talents raised himself from a private station to the sovereignty of a powerful kingdom. He administered justice with impartiality, and gave great encouragement to agriculture and to commerce. He was indulgent to his subjects, but strict in the discipline of his army; severe in punishing offenders, and cruel to his enemies. His mind was latterly tinctured with superstition; and he is accused by the Mohammedans, not only of putting great faith in astrologers, but also of reverencing the Hindu deities. At the period of Hyder's decease, his dominions, exclusive of his conquests in the Carnatic, comprehended nearly *eighty thousand square miles*; his territorial revenues amounted to two crore of rupees, or about two millions sterling; and, although his army consisted of at least 150,000 men, his treasury contained several millions in bullion and specie."—(p. 42.) From the Memoir concerning Tippoo, our limits will not allow us to extract much, although it is a document no less curious than authentic. The death of that Sultan (on the 4th of May, 1799,) has been related by various writers not always agreeing in certain particulars. That he fought gallantly to the last moment of his existence, all have declared—and from Major Stewart we learn, that when an English column had forced the breach and mounted the ramparts, Tippoo repeatedly fired on the assailants, and that, according to the testimony of his servants, many Europeans fell by his hand. Still the British advanced, and

the Sultan's troops began to desert him; he then mounted his horse and endeavoured to force into the town through a crowd of fugitives; at this moment a volley from his pursuers wounded him in the left breast, and he soon after received a second wound in the right side; his horse sunk under him, and his turban fell to the ground: he was immediately raised by some of his attendants, and placed on a palankin under the gateway. "It was at this time," says our author (p. 89), "proposed to the Sultan by one of his servants, that he should make himself known to the English, from whose general character there could be no doubt he would meet with every attention compatible with his situation, but this he disdainfully refused. After a short interval some European soldiers entered the gateway, and one of them attempting to take off the Sultan's sword-belt, the wounded prince, who still held his sword in the right hand, made a cut at the soldier and wounded him, about the knee; when the latter instantaneously fired his musket and shot him through the temple, which caused immediate death."

The second publication of Major Stewart is so generally known and approved, both in England and on the Continent, that a slight mention of it will here suffice. We allude to the "*Travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan, in Asia, Africa, and Europe, during the years 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803.*" This work was originally composed by Abu Taleb himself, in the Persian language, and the translation is as literal as the different idioms of two languages would admit. The first English edition appeared in 1810, forming two octavo volumes; the second in 1814, three volumes duodécimo. A French translation, made from the first English edition, was published in 1811 at Paris; but the 21st and 22nd chapters, relating chiefly to Buonaparte, the victories gained by the English, and the politics of Europe, were omitted for obvious reasons. Since the publication of Major Stewart's translation, the Persian text has been printed at Calcutta. It appears that Abu Taleb's only object was to inform and improve his countrymen, by a candid and simple narrative of what he saw, heard, and thought, during his travels—"The remarks of such an observer," (says the ingenious translator, in his dedication to the Marchioness of Hertford,) "on the laws, manners, and customs, of the different countries of Europe—particularly on those of our own—can never be without their interest and importance to an enlightened mind." We will add, that those who were personally ac-

quainted with that amiable and intelligent traveller, and their descendants of the rising generation, will derive much pleasure from the frequent mention which he makes, by name, of the numerous individuals, particularly ladies, to whom he was indebted for kindness and acts of hospitality: we are often amused by the *naïveté* with which he notices minute circumstances rendered familiar to us from habit; and we almost pity the Asiatic stranger, when, describing the hackney coaches of Dublin, (which he visited previously to his arrival in London), he says "In this and all the other cities of Europe, there are so many carriages of different kinds, that I may safely aver, from the day I arrived in Dublin till I quitted Paris, the sound of coach wheels was never out of my ears." (Vol. I. p. 142. 2nd edition.) In the Appendix is given "A vindication of the liberties of Asiatic women"—a very interesting tract, composed by Abu Taleb, in consequence of some conversation with an English lady, who had imagined that all wives in the East lived like slaves, without honor or authority. He returned to India, where, having obtained the appointment of Aamil, in a district of Bundelcund, he died in the year 1806. To the first volume is prefixed his portrait, an excellent likeness, engraved from the picture by Northcote.

We now proceed to Major Stewart's third work; entitled "the History of Bengal, from the first Mohammedan invasion until the virtual conquest of that country by the English, A. D. 1757;" a handsome quarto volume of about 570 pages, published in 1813, and illustrated by a very neat and correct map of Bengal, Behar, and part of Orissa. Although our author proves by numerous references, that he had availed himself of all the best European productions, that could yield any authentic information on his subject, yet the original materials from which he has formed a great portion of his work, are no less numerous than rare and valuable; being the Persian Mss. *Tajal Muasir*; *Tabkat Nassiry*; *Tarikh Alufy*; *Tabkat Akbery*; *Tarikh Ferishteh* (of which two sections were translated by Colonel Dow, and one by Dr. Jonathan Scott). The *Akbar Nameh*; *Zubdet al Tuarikh*; *Jehangire Nameh*; *Shah Jehan Nameh*; *Aalungire Nameh*; *Muasir Aalungiry*; *Muntekhub al Lebab*; or *Tarikh Khafy Khan*; *Muasir al Omrah at Timouryeh*; and the *Ryaz Assultaen*. From these and other sources our author has derived a multiplicity of curious and interesting anecdotes. It was not, however, within the compass of his plan, to trace the History of Bengal up to the earliest ages; but in his pre-

liminary discourse, he allows that the inhabitants of that country "have an equal claim to antiquity and early civilisation, with the other nations of India." That distinguished writer Abul Fazil (in his *Ayeen Akbery*) has enumerated sixty-one kings of Bengal, who reigned before the Mohammedan invasion; and if twenty or twenty-five years be allowed for each reign previous to that event, (which occurred A. D. 1203-4,) "it will give the Bengalese sufficient claim to antiquity," as Major Stewart observes (*Prelim. Disc.* p. vi.); indeed according to the ingenious Mr. Wilford, the thirteenth of those sixty-one sovereigns lived about the commencement of the Christian æra. It appears (from p. 4.) that Subuctageen, who reigned at Ghizne, was the first Mohammedan who invaded the frontier provinces of India, in the year of Christ 977. The Hindoo prince who suffered from this attack, was named Jypaal, and possessed a territory extending from Lahore to Lummghan, and from Cashmire to Moultan.

The successors of Subuctageen continued a system of gradual encroachment, until about the year 1204 Mohammed Bukhtyar entered Bengal, and having subdued its Hindoo Sovereign or Raja, named Luchmunyah, established the ancient city of Gour as the capital of his dominions, destroying many idolatrous temples, on the ruins of which he erected, with their materials, mosques, colleges and caravan-serais, (p. 45). Our limits will not allow us to extract, for the entertainment of our readers, all that we might wish, from this interesting volume, in which, by a judicious selection of facts, the author has condensed into a small space whatever is worthy of being recorded concerning each monarch or illustrious personage, whilst his admirable arrangement has prevented that confusion which too frequently arises in works of this nature, from the great variety of difficult and strange-looking proper names. A specimen of his manner may be here given from p. 205, describing the character of Jehangire Kooly Khan, who governed Bengal about the year 1607. "In his disposition were blended the opposite qualities of piety and cruelty; he constantly retained in his service a hundred persons who could repeat the Koran by heart, and who, at the end of every repetition, bestowed on him the merit arising from it. He also attended prayers five times daily, and was much employed in religious offices; but as a judge he was inexorable. While engaged in prayers he frequently, by a motion of his hand, gave the signal for flogging,

hanging, or beheading a culprit. He was at all times attended by a hundred trumpeters, who, whenever the villagers disputed with him respecting their rents, used to make so dreadful a noise as terrified the rustics into submission. He was also constantly accompanied by a hundred Cashmirian archers, who could bring down the smallest bird in its flight, and who were ready to pierce with their arrows any person pointed out in the crowd: in short, he was detested by the inhabitants of Behar; but fortunately for those of Bengal he died in little more than a year after he had assumed that government, and before he had time to make them feel the effects of his cruelty."—The history of this country, from the first settlement of Europeans there, until its final subjugation by the English, will particularly interest not only all who may have occasion to visit that province, but those whom business or professional duty may place in any other part of our Eastern empire. We shall conclude this very inadequate notice of the excellent work before us, by quoting Major Stewart's words in p. vi. of his Preliminary Discourse. "The province of Bengal is one of the most valuable acquisitions that was ever made by any nation. It is situated between the 21st and 27th degrees of northern latitude, and between the 86th and 92nd of eastern longitude; being in breadth about 300 and in length 400 miles; its area contains nearly twenty-one degrees square. On the north and east it is defended by impenetrable mountains; and on the south by a line of inhospitable and dangerous sea-coast, containing but one harbour capable of admitting vessels of any size; and even that one guarded by innumerable shoals. Its western frontier, although exposed to invasion, is, in many places so strongly defended by nature, that fewer troops are requisite to protect it, than any other country of similar extent on the continent of Asia. Its numerous navigable rivers, in the possession of a maritime nation, are also so many sources of defence; that should the English ever be driven from all the other parts of India, they may find in Bengal an asylum where no enemy will venture to follow them. Thus secure from a foreign invader, they are equally safe from any insurrection of the natives, whose mildness of disposition and aversion to war are such, that nothing short of the most atrocious cruelty or of religious persecution, could induce them to draw their swords against their present masters." This concise and perspicuous statement from the pen of

so competent a judge as our ingenious author, may serve to tranquillise the apprehensions of those who have doubted the security of our dominion over the important province of Bengal.

To the fourth work of Major Stewart, we shall call the reader's attention in the next number of our *Journal*, observing only, in this place, that it is entitled "An Introduction to the Anvari Soohly of Hussein Vaiz Kashify"—published early in the present year, 1821; and we recommend it in the strongest manner to students of the Persian and Arabic languages.

CAMBRIDGE PRIZE POEM FOR 1821.

ὈΚΕΑΝΟΣ Ὁ ΤΠΕΡΒΟΡΕΟΣ.

ΣΑΜΕΡΟΝ μὲν χρὴ, κιθάρα, σ' ἐγείρειν,
 ἱερὰ βροτοῖς ἀρετᾶν προφᾶτα,
 ὄφρα σὺν Μούσαισιν ἐρανὸν ὕμνων
 οὔρου ἀέξης,

καλλίνικον, ναυτιλίας ἄποινα
 ἄξιός γάρ οὗτος ἄωτος ἀνδρῶν
 ἀλκίμων, ὃς ἔσχατ' ἐνήλυθ' εἰσω
 τέρματα πόντου,

τὰν τ' ἐμὰν πάτραν προσέθηκε φάμα
 χρυσία.—τῶνδ' οὔτ' ἐφόβησαν ἦτορ
 κυμάτων ριπαί, τὰ τε πρὶν κέλευθ' ἄ-
 γνατα θαλάσσης,

οὐ βέλη δυσχείμερ', ἀνάλιόν τε
 ἄμαρ, οὔτ' εἰ τηλεπόρων ἀπ' ἄντρων
 συλλέγων μένος Βορέας θυελλᾶν
 ἄρμα διάξει.

χαῖρέ μοι, Βρεταννί· τῶν πέφανται
 ἐκγονοί Νίκα πολέων φίλῳ σε,
 δουλίας δέσποιν' ἄλος, ἱζάνεις ὥς
 κύμασι μέσσοις

τιμίου κλεοννὸν ἄγαλμα πλαύτου¹

σοῦ γ' ἀκούει μὲν Φυσίς, ἀ δὲ σεμνὸν

βένθος ἐξέφανεν, ἀναιμάτόν τ' ἔ-

δακε θρίαμβον,

οὐ μὲν ἀκλέ· αἰματέρων γὰρ ἄλλους

φαγέτορας οὐ φαμι πεπλευκенаί πω

πορφυροῦν οἶδμ'· οὐδὲ γλυκύν τιν' Ἀργοῦς²

εἰ πόθον Ἦρα

ναὶς ἔνδαι· αἰμαθόισιν, ὡς ἂν

κῶας, Αἰαίαν τε κόραν λάβοιεν,

ἐκ νέφων δ' αὐτ' εὐχομένοις σφιν ἀντά-

ῦσε πατήρ Ζεὺς

αἰσία βροντᾶν ὀτόβω.—τί δ' ὕμιν

πατριώται, συμμαχικὸν τότ' ἦλθε;

τίς κατ' εὐρείας προέηκεν ὄρνις

κῶδ' ἄλος; οὐ γὰρ

θαύμασιν πεποίηδες ἦτ' αἰοιδῶν

ποικιλοδοῖς, οὔτε κεραύνιον πῦρ

ἥστραπεν πλεύσουσιν· ἀλαθινὰ μὲν

τᾶς Σοφίας ἴς

ἀργυροῦν ἄφηκε σέλας δι' ὄρσταν

φανέν· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ νιφόεντος Ἄρκτου

ἀετίας³ ἔλαμψε λόγος, (κλύοντας δ'

ἔλλαβε θάμβος)

πάντοθεν δέσμ' ὡς λέλυται παλαιοῦ

χειμάτος κρυστάλλιν', ἐλευθέρω τε,

χιλιῶν ἔσαν ζυγὸν ἐκβάλλων, ὡς

ρεύματι πόντος

ναυσὶν εἴη πλώσιμος· ἐν δ' αἰπάντων

ἡμερος στάθεσσι τάχ' ὥρτο· καὶ σῶν,

Ἀγγλία, ναυτᾶν θρασέως ἔβα κάλ-

λιστος αἰώς

πρωτόπλους· οὐ γὰρ φιλοῖς τιν' ἄλλον

Μοῦσα φωνάσει μέλεισι· σφαλέντα

κρυπτέτω σιγᾶς νέφος· οἱ δ' ἄμ' ἀγνᾶ

εἶαρος ὥρα

ἀργύφας ναῶν ὀνόνας ἔτεινάν

πρὸς ζυγόν· δοίαι δ' ἔσαν· ἀ δ' ἐκάστα

πόντον ἱππεύουσα δι' ἀλμυράδῃ

αἶεν ἐς Ἄρκτον

¹ Cf. Ag. 750.

² Cf. Pyth. IV. 327.

³ Cf. Œd. Tyr. 473.

τὰν κίλευθον ἄστυλιν ἱρακῆ
εἴ τιν' εὐροι που πόρον, ἐνθ' ἀπείροις
κυμάτεσσι ζωσάμενος προπάσαν
Ὀκεανὸς γαῖν

ἰγκυκλοῖ τῇ γὰρ βραχὺν ὄμιον εἶπαι
ἐλπίς ἦν πρὸς τὰν πολύχρυσον Ἰνδιᾶν
γαῖαν, αὐθις τ' αὖ παλιννοστοῦν ἔκειτο
ναύτιλον αὐραῖς

πομπίμοις ὕπαι Ζεφύρου γέφυρας
ναύισαι δράκην· λέγουσι πάντα
ἐνχ' αἰὲς τ' αἰμ', ὅσσ' ἐφάνη φύσεως φαν-
τάσματα. πῶς γὰρ

ἄρξομ' ἄδων; ἄρ' ὑπὸ σῶν λεπάδων
αἰόλων, Χεῖμ, ὡς θροσεραῖς θαλάσσαις
σφίγγεται στέγην; ἢ θερινοῖς λυθείσαιν
θάλαπσι πετρεῶν

συνδρόμων κινηθμὸν ἔπεισιν ὑμνῶν;
ἄρα τὸν φθίνοντα κατ' ἄμαρ αἰεὶ
ἄλιον, χάς λευγαλέοις πρὸς αὐγὰν
ὀμμασι λεύσسون

ὕσταταν δὴ δᾶρον; ἐπῆλθε γὰρ νῦξ
οὐκ ἔχουσι· αἰ δροσεραῖν, αἰ δὲ
ἀστέρων τὰν μαρμαρυγὰν ἀτειρῇ,
τᾶς τε Σελάνας

ἀργυροῦν ὄχημα· πεδάρσιοι τε
λαμπάδες,¹ φλογόδε' ἀγάλματ' Ἄρκτου,
ἀστραπᾶς² στίλβουσιν ἀναρίθμους, πάντ'
αἰθέρα δίναις

δαίδαλαις σκιρτηδὸν ἐπιτρεχούσαι.
χαῖρε, ναῦτα, χαῖρε· τίς ἄλλος, ἢ σὺ,
τὸν πόλον κίχας· ἄδαμάντινον γᾶς;
ἄρα βοηθὸν

ἄνδρασιν μάγνητά τις εἶδεν ἄλλος
τᾶς παλαιᾶς λαβόμενον κελεύθου,
κοῦ κυβερνατῆρι δι' εἶδμα πόντου
σύμμαχον ὄντα;

φροῦδα ταῦτ'; οὐ τὰν Σοφίαν τυράννων
ἄλλοτ' ἄλλ' ἐφαμερίων τὰ φέγγη
φαίνεται, καυθις σκοτίαις δαμέντα
οἵχεται αὐτῶς

¹ Cf. Choëph. 588.² Cf. Orest. 473.

ἔργα δ' εὐτόλμας ἀρετᾶν ἄριστα
οὐ τι κοιμᾷ λαβούσας ὁμίχλα,
χρυσεία δέ νιν, διάδημ' ὅπως, παρ-
αμύτχει αἶγλα.

ἥνιδ' οὐ φίλων θάνατοι τέκνον, οὐ
ματίσων δακρύματα· τίμων δὲ
ἄμμιν Εἰρήνα χάρισσα τοῦτ' ἔ-
στασε τροπαῖον.

δεύτερον πλησιέσιος οὖρος ἔχει·
αἰδὺ φοινικάνθεμον εἶαρ ἀκμῶν
νῦν ἔχει· νῦν αὖθις ἀνάρθμον γέ-
λασμα θαλάσσης

ναυτίλους καλεῖ· καθύπερθε μόχθου¹
θυμὸς ἔστω· λειπόμενον δ' ἀθλον,
ναῦτα, τολμαρῶς τέλειον, θεὸς δὲ
σύμμαχος εἴη.

H. N. COLERIDGE,

COL. REGAL ALUMN.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

PREPARING FOR PUBLICATION.

Preparing for the Press, a "*GRADUS AD HELICONEM*, or Greek Gradus, to answer to the *Gradus ad Parnassum*," by the Rev. J. W. Niblock, Master of the Grammar School, Hitchin, Herts.

Professor Hermann will soon publish a "*Programm. Phaëthontis illis, quæ nuper in Diario Classico tractavit Burgesius*."

The Trachinæ of Sophocles, by the same, is nearly ready.

At Bonn, the University lately established in Russia, they are reprinting *Eustathius on Homer*.

Gulielmus Dindorf has in the press *Scholia Græca in Aristophan.*, which are to appear in 2 Vols.; the first, containing the Scholia; the second, the Annotations of himself and others.

We are authorised to state that a Catalogue will soon be laid

¹ μόχθου καθύπερθε νεάνις
ἤτορ ἔχουσα. Pyth. IX. 55-6.

before the public, describing one of the most ample and valuable collections of Sanscrit Mss. ever brought to Europe; having been formed at the expense of many thousand pounds, under circumstances peculiarly favorable, by the late Sir Robert CHAMBERS, Lord Chief Justice in Bengal. This collection comprehends the four *Vaids* with the *Openishuds*, or Commentaries on them, besides a multiplicity of works on History, Astronomy, Geography, Medicine, &c. with the most celebrated, rare and ancient poetical compositions. Considerable sums have been offered to the present proprietor, for portions of this noble collection, but it is determined that the whole shall be sold together. The Mss. in number amount to about *seven hundred and twenty* articles.

A Bibliographical Dictionary of English Literature, from the year 1700, to the end of the year 1820, containing the title of every principal work, which has appeared in Great Britain during that period, together with the date of publication, its price, and the Publisher's name, as far as they can possibly be ascertained; alphabetically arranged under the names of their respective Authors, and under the subject matter of each anonymous publication, by J. H. Glover.

This work will be printed with a fine new type, on good demy paper; it will form 2 vols. 4to. price in extra boards, 5*l.* 5*s.*, or to Subscribers 4*l.* 4*s.*, to be paid on delivery.

To those Subscribers who intend patronising this expensive undertaking, and will please to communicate their name to the Publisher in writing, on or before the 1st of January, 1822, the price will be 3*l.* 3*s.* to be paid on delivery; an advantage which will however positively close on the above date.

The work will appear in the year 1822.—A list of Subscribers will be inserted. Names received by J. H. BOUTE.

Shortly will be published, by subscription, *The Elements of Anglo-Saxon Grammar*, with copious philological Notes, from Horne Tooke, &c. illustrating the formation and structure of the English, as well as the Anglo-Saxon language.

A Praxis on the Anglo-Saxon will be added, as an easy introduction to reading the language.

By J. Bosworth, Vicar of Little Horwood, Bucks.

When it is recollected, that nearly 8 words out of 10 in English are of Anglo-Saxon origin, the utility of a work like the present will not be doubted. Take the following example from Locke's Essay, b. xi. c. 1.

Every man being conscious to himself that he thinks, and

that, which his mind is applied about whilst thinking; being the ideas that are there; it is past doubt, that men have in their minds several ideas.

The words in Italics are from the Saxon.

LATELY PUBLISHED.

STEPHENS' GREEK THESAURUS, No. XIII., to which are added Titles, to enable the Subscribers to bind Vols. I. and II.

DELPHIN CLASSICS, Nos. XXXI. and XXXII.

The *Iliad of Homer*, translated into English Prose, as literally as the different Idioms of the Greek and English languages will allow. By a Graduate of the University of Oxford. In 2 Vols. Price 1l. 4s.

A *Reply* to Samuel Lee, Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, refuting his erroneous remarks on the New Translation of the Bible from the Hebrew Text. By J. BEL-LAMY, Author of the History of all Religions—the Anti-deist, &c.

Two Works, on subjects of antiquity, have lately appeared, which have been seldom equalled in judgment of selection, diligence of research, interest of matter, extent of learning, liveliness of narration, and ability of execution,—Mr. DIBDIN's *Bibliographical, Antiquarian and Picturesque Tour in France and Germany*; and MR. DAWSON TURNER's *Account of a Tour in Normandy*.

The former first attracts our notice. It is a work, so stored with classical, bibliographical, historical and descriptive lore, that it is difficult to shut the book, when once it is opened. Although the beautiful engravings of Mr. Lewis, who accompanied the author, have necessarily raised the price, the copies, particularly those on large paper, have considerably risen in value since the publication. Such is the variety and extent of the curious matter which it contains; that it is not easy to know where to begin, or where to cease, extracting. We shall, however, present our readers in future Nos. with some extracts, chiefly in Classical Bibliography. For the present we shall, for an obvious reason, select a visit of Mr. Dibdin to the celebrated classical scholar and critic, SCHWEIGHÆUSER, at Baden:

"I was not long in finding out the learned and venerable SCHWEIGHÆUSER, who had retired here for the benefit of the waters. I was made most welcome. In this celebrated Greek Scholar, and Editor of some of the most difficult Greek authors,

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I beheld a figure advanced in years, about seventy-three, tall, slim, but upright; with a thin, and, at first view, severe countenance; but when animated by conversation, and accompanied by a clear and melodious voice, agreeable and inviting to discourse. — I told him that my *principal* object in visiting Baden was to pay my respects to HIMSELF; one, to whom every country, where ancient classical literature was cultivated, was ready to acknowledge its obligations, and my own was most forward in that number. But now, that I found him here, he must allow me to carry him away with me. He was startled at this proposition; but laughed heartily when I told him that my companion was an excellent artist, and that it was absolutely necessary for the comfort of mind of all classical virtuosos in England, that he should permit his likeness to be taken. ‘You have been at much pains,’ replied he, ‘for an insignificant object; and I should betray great affectation in refusing so harmless a request. Do as you please.’ — Mr. Lewis, on his return, showed me the fruits of a close and long-continued sitting of three hours. The resemblance was perfect; you have it here enclosed,¹ for the gratification not only of all true Roxburghers, but of all genuine lovers and cultivators of the literature of Greece and Rome in either of our Universities. — ‘I love,’ said the Professor, ‘to read your favorite Thomson.’ He then mentioned Pope, and quoted some verses from the opening of his *Essay on Man*, and declared his particular attachment to Young and Akenside. ‘But our Shakespeare and Milton, Sir, what think you of these?’ ‘They are doubtless very great, and superior to either; but if I were to say that I understand them as well, I should say what would be an untruth: and nothing is more disgusting than an affectation of knowing what you have comparatively little knowledge of.’ — I was anxious to obtain from our venerable companion an account of his early studies, and partialities for the text of such Greek authors as he had edited. He told me that he was first put upon collations of Greek Mss. by our DR. MUSGRAVE, for his edition of Euripides; and he dated from that circumstance his first and early love of classical research. This attachment had increased on him as he became older, had ‘grown with his growth, and strengthened with his strength,’ — and had induced him to grapple with the unsettled, and in parts difficult, texts of *Appian*, *Epictetus*, and *Athenæus*. He spoke with a modest confidence of his *Herodotus*; said that he was even then meditating a *second* Latin version of it: and ob-

¹ Vol. III. p. 110.

served, that, for the more perfect execution of the one now before the public, he had prepared himself by a diligent perusal of the texts of the purer Latin Historians. I knew his assistance had been solicited for the new *Greek Thesaurus*, publishing by Mr. Valpy, and I asked him how he liked the execution of that work?—~~Upon the whole, very well: it might have been less diffuse,~~ but it was perhaps better to do too much than too little; in undertakings of this kind. He wished it every imaginable success.—I took leave of our amiable and venerable host, accompanied with mutual regrets at the shortness of the visit, and with a resolution to cultivate an acquaintance so heartily begun. As we got into the carriage I held up his portrait, and told him he would be neither out of sight nor out of mind. He smiled graciously, and waved his right hand from the balcony.”

Dzieje Starożytne Indji ze Szczególnem zastanowieniem się nad wpływem jaki mieć mogła na stropy zachodnie. (by Mr. Lelewel Joachim). Warszawa, 1820. 8vo.

J. D. Fuss ad C. B. Hase Epistola, in qua Jo. Laurentii Lydi de Magistratibus Reip. Rom. opusculi textus et versio emendantur, loci difficiliores illustrantur. Leodii. 1820. 8vo.

Les villes de la Gaule rasées par M. Dulaure et rebâties par P. A. de Golbéry, Conseiller, etc. Paris. 1821.

Oratio de insigni honore quo habiti fuerunt, cum Philosophi apud Græcos, tum Romæ Jurisconsulti; quam habuit Cornelius Anne Den Tex a. d. 9 Oct. 1820. quum in Illustri Athenæo Amstelædamensis Juris profess. auspicaretur. Amst. 1820. 4to.

Specimen inaugurale exhibens Demosthenis Orationem de Symmeriis, variis lectionibus et annotatione perpetua instructam, &c. &c. publico examini submittit H. Amersfordt, Amstelodamensis. 1821. Amstelodami.

Procli Opera ed. V. Cousin; Tomus III. continens partem posteriorem Commentarū in Primum Platonis Alcibiadem. Paris. 1821. 8vo.

De l'écriture Hiéroglyphique des Anciens, Egyptiens, par M. T. F. Champollion le jeune, &c. Grenoble. 1821. folio.

Ἡ συνταγματικὴ χάρις μεταφρασθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ Γάλλου Φίλικος Δεαίχου. Paris. 1821.

Diatribè Literaria inauguralis in Theopysidem et Ciceronis de eo sententiam quam pro gradu doctoratus in Academia Rheno-

trajectina publico examini submittit P. Camper. Traj. ad Rhen. 1821. 8vo.

Frid. Traug. Friedemann Oratio de Ludis Literariis regundis, muneris adeundi causa habita. Wittenbergæ, 1820. 8vo.

Bibliotheca Hultmanniana, sive catalogus librorum inter quos sæculi xv. editiones eminent, &c. &c., quos conguessit Car. Ger. Hultmann., J. U. D. &c. quorum auctio Sibræducis, Jul. 1821. &c.

NOTES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The second part of the Notice of Mr. R. P. Knight's *Carmina Homerica* was received too late for insertion in our present No.; but will appear in our next.

Epitaphia in our next.

If *D. L.* will be more fair and candid in his criticisms, and civil in his expressions, we shall willingly insert his article.

Vectis shall have a place, with some other Latin poems.

Attention shall be paid to several communications.

This Day is published, 8vo. 15s.

THE COMEDIES OF ARISTOPHANES,

By T. MITCHELL, A. M.

LATE FELLOW OF SIDNEY-SUSSEX COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

Printed for JOHN MURRAY, Albemarle-Street.

END OF NO. XLVII.

THE
CLASSICAL JOURNAL.

Nº. XLVIII.

DECEMBER, 1821.

OXFORD ENGLISH PRIZE ESSAY
for 1809.

THE LOVE OF OUR COUNTRY.

THE love of society is an instinctive principle in the constitution of man, capable of numberless modifications from external causes, and under all of them conducing to ends the most important and most beneficial. From his very birth, he, without any effort of volition, or any guidance from reflection, is in fact a social being; and in a family may be traced the outline of the great structure of civil society. To his parents the first tribute of affection is paid; and the impression, which their kindness has stamped on his youthful feelings, is rendered permanent by the experience of succeeding years. By an easy transition his fondness is communicated to all, who are allied to him either by blood, or by affinity; they are the companions or the protectors of his childhood, and to them he looks up in a spirit of conscious dependence, in which attachment is mingled with awe, and gratitude with confidence. As time progressively develops his character, the circle of a family becomes too confined for the range of the social principle, and his mind, with quickened perceptions and enlarged views, embraces a more extensive prospect of life, its pains and its pleasures, its duties and its relations.

But the alliance and union of mankind must not be considered as mere acts of obedience to the benevolent dictates of nature; they are moreover prompted by the vicissitudes of human affairs; they are upheld by congeniality of dispositions, and similitude of manners; they are strengthened and perpetuated by all the advantages, which promote, and all the refinements, which adorn, the varied commerce of life.

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O

Benevolence, as it respects our conduct towards individuals, is generally weak, unless on occasions, which excite strong commiseration, or demand immediate relief. Benevolence, according to various circumstances, will be sometimes enfeebled, and sometimes invigorated, by the multitude of the objects, to which it is dilated. It is enfeebled, when they are separated into numerous parts; and it is invigorated, when our imagination combines them into a whole. Hence arises the force of that sentiment, which we experience towards all, who have been born in our own country, and whom we contemplate as standing with ourselves in the same common relation to the aggregate interests of a community. When natives of the same town, or even of the same country, have been accidentally thrown together in a foreign land, the previous, but latent affection, which subsisted between them, is instantaneously called into action. The existence of this feeling may also be discerned in the eager preference of mankind for their fellow citizens; in their suspicion and dislike of strangers; in their disposition to overvalue in the one, those qualities of personal merit, which they depreciate in the other; and, above all, in the enthusiasm, with which men of different classes, different pursuits, and different tempers, spontaneously unite in the hour of peril or distress.

By a well-known faculty of our minds, individuals, who singly are disregarded, may be embodied into one complex object, which attracts and fixes our attention by its apparent magnitude and uniformity. We are thus led to survey our country, our civil and our religious establishments, with the liveliest sensations, though the particulars, which compose each group, when separately considered, are either too minute, or too distant, to force themselves on our notice. Age, condition, and the numerous connexions of family and neighbourhood, lose at the moment the differences, by which they were formerly distinguished, and are blended into one large and bright form, which captivates our fancy, and engages our affections under the general name of our country. Accumulation ennobles the assemblage, and our regard is bestowed, not according to the interest, which each of its constituent parts might simply inspire, but with an energy, proportioned to its collective dignity and importance.¹

It is wisely ordained by Providence, that this predilection for our country should be more forcible and more constant than our love for mankind at large. An active principle is thus created,

¹ Lord Kames's *Sketches of the History of Man*, ii. 269. 4to. edition.

which directly tends to promote the greatest possible measure of general happiness; for every commonwealth consults its own advancement, and zealously maintains its own privileges against foreign encroachment.

Thus society, as the natural condition of man, is the result of his affections, and of his helplessness on his entrance into life; while civil society is the necessary consequence of those mischiefs, which inevitably arise, where men are left without subordination, or without some control upon their selfish and malignant passions.

As members of a political body, we are subject to restraints, and guided by views, to which in a more simple state we are wholly strangers. From this character we derive new and more powerful incitements to the performance of moral duties, and our connexion with that confederacy, of which we form a part, gives us other possessions to defend, and other rights to preserve. The lives, the liberties, the fortunes of ourselves and of all around us, the peaceful exercise of the social charities, the undisturbed worship of our God, are all inseparably involved in the well-being of our respective communities. If public prosperity then should require a sacrifice, are we not bound most cheerfully to contribute our assistance? If the cry of public danger summon us, should not our arm be ready to repel aggression? should not our life be at the call of that country, to which we are linked by the united ties of honor and interest, of nature and religion?

The love, which we bear to our country, quickens our sense of those political obligations, on the efficacy of which not only the renown, but the safety also of every nation must depend. If it be natural, that the images of childhood should be deeply imprinted, when the fancy is vivid, and observation is alive to every passing occurrence, or that the prepossessions of youth should ripen into the confirmed sentiments of manhood; if it be natural, that we should desire the security of ourselves and of our property, that we should prize our hearths and our altars, that we should venerate that government, under which we have enjoyed all the benefits of life; shall it be denied, that in thus loving and thus honoring our country, we are obeying the simple and hallowed commands of Nature herself? Let it be remembered also, that it is the land of our fathers, the scene of our earliest pleasures; where all our habits have been formed, and all our affections exercised: that it is inhabited by men, who use the same language, and are protected by the same laws; men, who are partakers in the same blessings, and sufferers in

the same hardships—men, whose manners, whose prejudices, whose hopes and whose fears are reflected in our own bosoms.

Some superficial thinkers have considered the love of our country as a predilection merely for a particular district, or for the immediate place of our birth. But such a restriction derogates from the dignity of the passion, and leaves to it no higher merit than may be found in the attachment of a savage to his cabin, or of a beast of prey to its den. It cannot surely be supposed that the movements of the heart are to be measured like space, or that the extent of human affections is to be determined solely by the slight peculiarities of place and situation. Let us appeal to those, who are doomed to tread in the most humble paths of life; to the manufacturer, who toils at his loom, or to the peasant, who has rarely wandered from the hamlet, in which he was born. The idea of a country is recalled to his imagination by the bare mention of a capital, which he never beheld, of a sovereign, whom he never approached. He has, however, been accustomed to admire that capital, he has been taught to reverence that sovereign, and, in the splendor of the one and the majesty of the other, he discerns a symbol of that wide and endearing relation, which he bears to places seen and unseen, but forming a part of his country, to persons known and unknown, but connected with him as fellow-subjects, and to the collective body of those public interests, which never have been, nor ever will be, spread before his reason with the distinctness and formality of minute calculation.

We may learn from the earlier periods of our own history, that men may transfer the idea of a country to another soil; nor are we ignorant, that the ambition of chieftains, and the lust of gain, have at various times assembled bands of adventurers, who have deserted their native shores, and established colonies, which have equalled and even surpassed the dominion of the mother-state. Tyranny, likewise, has but too often applied the axe of destruction to the very root of social happiness, and extirpated all those endearments, by which a country can be rendered the object either of regard or of veneration.

When the Hollanders,¹ after many fruitless attempts to obstruct the victorious progress of Louis the Fourteenth, had made preparations for removing with their families to their settlements in the East Indies, they were willing, indeed, to abandon the precise spot, on which they were born; but, had their intention been realised, the vital part of their country

¹ Hume's *England*, vii, 498.

would still have been preserved in all its vigor. Local property would have been foregone, and accidental distinctions annihilated; but the glorious birthright of freedom would still have been theirs, and the noble inheritance of justice, of civil order, and of regular government, would have descended to their children pure and undiminished. For with them they would have transported all that gallant spirit, which had stood undismayed amid defeat and desolation; that virtuous pride and indignant sense of honor, which had impelled them to assert their independence; all that love of their country, which had rendered the nation great, and made the people happy.

It must not then be urged, that the affection, which we feel for our native land, owes its existence entirely to local circumstances,¹ though it cannot be doubted, that a love for the place of our birth contributes to heighten and support that more elevated sentiment. Kindred as the feelings may appear, they are distinct in their origins; but if we are disposed to pursue the enquiry by an examination of the reasons of our becoming attached, and, as it were, rooted, to a particular spot, the cause must be sought in that faculty, by which we are enabled to accommodate ourselves to external circumstances, and which, in common with other intellectual and moral energies, results from the operation of the two principles of Habit and Association.

Habit² enhances the value even of inanimate objects, and imparts to them an interest, of which we are scarcely conscious, till by degrees they have grown so familiarised, as to seem almost essential to those enjoyments, with which our calmer and more vivid sensations of happiness are alike connected. By the laws of Association, the idea of that happiness is inseparably connected with the place of our residence, with our mode of living, with the persons and actions of those, who are dear to us, with every pursuit, which engages our attention, and every gratification, which warms our heart.

The same principles are likewise the source of that fond adherence to national customs and manners, by which the prejudices of each people are kept alive, and the peculiarities of their national character preserved. Edward I. when he issued his orders for the destruction of the Bards,³ after his conquest of Wales, adopted a policy, unjust, indeed, and inhuman, but

¹ Burke's Works, iii. p. 475. 4to. edit.

² Stewart's Philosophy of the Human Mind, pp. 278, 279.

³ Hume's England, ii. 243. The force of this feeling extends even to national dress; and the Act of Parliament, by which the Highlanders,

such as tended eventually to quell the animosity of the vanquished. Their resistance was no longer roused by the recital of those deeds of ancient prowess, with which the idea of their country's glory had been formerly associated, and subjection gradually became less burdensome, as the retrospect of liberty was more remote.

Association and Habit never perhaps so effectually co-operated with the moral feelings and social disposition of mankind, in advancing civil union and happiness, as in Switzerland. In the strange and troubled aspect, however, which the condition of the European world now presents to our view, little more remains than the remembrance of her freedom and greatness. For the proof, then, of our assertion, we must recal those days of prosperity, in which her hardy sons, enamoured of their native mountains, could look on milder climates and more fruitful plains without one envious emotion. Their implements of industry and art,¹ their fields, their cottages, and all the scenery once comprised within the magic circle of their home, were justly regarded with affection; but the general love, which they bore to their country, was more dignified in its nature, more vigorous in its operation: it was allied to all persons and all things, which make life itself desirable; it was diffused through friends, kindred, and neighbours; it inspired them with reverence for the upright officer of justice, and the hallowed minister of religion; it bade them defy every danger, and brave even death itself, in support of that system of polity, to which they were indebted for personal security and national independence.

The instincts, on which the love of our country is founded, are, as it were, inscribed on our minds by the hand of nature. How can we otherwise account for its universal ascendancy? what cause can we assign for that activity, with which it is endowed, which absence cannot weaken, which old age itself serves only to invigorate, which may be suspended, but not destroyed, by the allurements of gain, which is animated but not depressed even by the terrors of persecution? Dreadful were

after the rebellion in 1745, were prohibited from wearing the military dress of their ancestors, had its origin in the same policy.

¹ The well-known effects of the celebrated national air, entitled the "*Ranz-des-Vaches*," on the Swiss soldiers, when absent on foreign service, afford a convincing proof of their passionate fondness for their country, as well as an excellent illustration of the influence of association. Beattie's *Essays*, 4to. 475. Rousseau, *Diction. de Musique*, ii. p. 500. ed. Amsterd.

the cruelties, to which the Portuguese Jews¹ were exposed in the fifteenth century, and which terminated in their final expulsion from Portugal. Still, however, did they retain so obstinate a partiality for that country, which had been the scene of all their sufferings, that they devised means of importing earth from Lisbon, which they preserved almost with the fondness of a miner for his treasures, and which on their death-beds they solemnly conjured their surviving friends to place, as a sacred deposit, in their graves.

Thus we see, that at that period, when all objects are divested of the superfluous additions of custom and prejudice, when they appear in the simple colors of reason and truth, when every trifling thought is engrossed in reflections of far higher moment, even then do we feel solicitous about the dust, with which our own remains are destined to mingle, and with a last effort of our imaginations cling fondly to our native soil.

The superstitious veneration of the natives of savage regions for the sepulchres of their forefathers is only a different shade of the same feeling, giving force and animation to their local attachments.² The reply of a chief of one of the Canadian tribes, on being pressed to emigrate, is memorable from the natural turn of the sentiment, and noble simplicity of the expression. "We were born," answered he, "in this land; here are our fathers buried: can we then say to the bones of our fathers, Arise, and come with us into a foreign land?"³

In all these instances the agency of the same principles is observable, displaying themselves certainly under different modifications, but springing from one source, and directed to one common end. Referrible then as they are to the primary and established laws of our constitution, it might reasonably be supposed, that they should prevail in all ages and in all countries, diversified, perhaps, in their external features, but not intrinsically changed by any of the various causes, which affect the manners and morals of a nation.

It has, however, been supposed, that the very name, and with that name all the affectionate impressions connected with the idea, of "Country," are totally unknown among the Tartar hordes and wandering Arabs. The exception is futile; for among a people, who have no settled habitations, it were absurd to expect the same customs and sentiments, which we found in a

¹ Murphy's Travels in Portugal, p. 231.

² "Magnum est enim eadem habere monumenta majorum, eisdem ut sacris, sepulcra habere communia."—Cicer. Off. i. 17.

³ Baynal, Histoire des Indes, iv. 14. 4to.

more regular form of society. Yet the general principle even among them does not lie dormant. In every change of place they acknowledge the relations of a family and a tribe, they defend and are defended, they are jealous of strangers, and fierce against enemies; and the length of time, through which they have retained the singularity of their character, evinces the force of that principle, by which other men in other situations are brought and kept together in social union. Let them once become stationary,¹ and they will cultivate the arts of peace; they will make some progress in civilisation, they will concentrate on one spot all those benevolent affections, which they experienced and cherished, when convenience induced or necessity compelled them to wander, and they will gladly surrender a portion of rude liberty for the advantages of established government.

An answer no less conclusive may be given to the weak objection of a celebrated writer,² who, not confining his scepticism to religious topics, has asked, Whether the Jews can possibly feel any love for their country? As a nation, indeed, they have no country; but like their ancestors, who, in their captivity, remembered Zion, the Jews of modern days look to the promised land as an inheritance, from which they are not excluded for ever. They still keep in view the import of those prophecies, which hold up to them the restoration of their own worship and their own power in the country of their forefathers. The ideal anticipation of the holy city reconciles them to the aggravated hardships of their lot; it endears to them the very religion, for which they suffer, and prepares them for transplanting the whole stock of their social feelings and social interests to that place, which a happier posterity will be enabled to describe as the land of their nativity.

Hitherto the love of our country has been considered principally in the light of an affection, grounded on the social propensity of man; consonant to his uncorrupted feelings, approved by his matured reason, and indispensable to his personal happiness. Its effects on individual enjoyment and the general well-being of society have been at large unfolded; but our view of the subject must necessarily be confined and imperfect, without some investigation of the influence, which belongs to Patriotism as an *active political principle*.

Patriotism is the love of our country, wrought into a great and noble sentiment, which summons to its aid every better portion of human excellence. If it be not, strictly speaking, a

¹ Gilbert Stuart's *View of Society in Europe*, pp. 25, 26.

² Voltaire, *Diction. Philosophique*, art. "Patrie."

moral feeling, it is at least an exalted passion, which gives vigor and efficacy to our exertions as citizens; which strengthens our constancy and animates our valor, which heightens our contempt of danger, and inflames our impatience of oppression. In its nature it is so far political, as generally to presuppose a government regularly instituted, or at least a community, subsisting under some mutual compact, and consolidated by some common interest. In the rudiments of society few traces of its existence can be found; but they distinctly appear, when settlements have been formed, and when agriculture, by opening an avenue to national wealth, has induced the necessity of civil authority.

Among barbarous nations, patriotism operates rather as a momentary impulse than as a fixed principle, and is characterised chiefly by personal acts of bravery, or by a savage spirit of self-defence. Its ferocity is softened by the progressive refinement of manners, while the sentiment derives fresh strength from the customs and institutions of civilised society. It is then that men begin to survey their country with mingled reverence and affection; their valor kindles at the records of former victories; their pride is awakened by the monuments of national magnificence. Laws become venerable from age, and property more valuable by hereditary tenure. The sense of the present is associated with the recollections of the past, and the hopes of the future: and in the bosoms of the great and good, their passions, their prejudices, their regard for their natural and social interests, are but so many assisting streams to swell that tide of patriotism, which sweeps before it every partial wish, and overwhelms every inferior consideration.

It has not unfrequently been imagined, that some particular forms of government were more immediately conducive than others to the spontaneous and habitual growth of this sentiment; and, from a general view of the effects, which have arisen from its influence, much theoretical reasoning has been deduced. That enthusiastic ardor, which the Greeks and Romans evinced for their country, was probably derived in part from the nature of their political institutions; but a part also must be attributed to their superstitious tenets, and to the force of early education. Patriotism too, it may be remarked, has always been more intense in small and infant states, where union for the purposes of self-preservation is more indispensably necessary.¹ The renown likewise of the heroes of ancient story is indebted for no incon-

¹ Hume's Essays, ii, p. 11.

siderable portion of its brightness to their mode of warfare, which, by rendering personal courage more effective, rendered it at the same time the object of higher estimation. Prodiges of valor, by which the fate of a kingdom is decided, are now rarely performed; and victory inclines much more to the side of skill, than either of physical strength or individual prowess.¹

It seems probable, that the judgment of Montesquieu² was dazzled by the splendid effects of this passion in Greece and in Rome, when he assigned to monarchies the principle of honor, and limited patriotism, or *virtue*, as he terms it, exclusively to republics. A distinction is thus proposed, which history does not warrant; for a public sense of honor is no more effectual without a passionate love for our country, than patriotism is genuine, when deficient in a watchful jealousy of national character. It is an opinion, from which Englishmen may well be excused for withholding their assent, since it is confuted by their own preeminence in arts and in arms, by the power and stability of their empire, and the prolonged duration of their laws and constitution.

Whatever may be the determination of theorists on the question started by Montesquieu, it cannot be denied, that a *despotic state* must be injurious to the proper efficacy of patriotism, since it is subversive of the very basis, on which social order is constructed. No country can either be loved, or be worthy of love, where the citizens are slaves, or where their rights and property are not respected. Liberty and patriotism are, in truth, congenial; nor is there a safer criterion of the virtue or happiness of a people than the height, to which their attachment for their country is raised, and the difficulties, which they are prepared to encounter in rescuing it from danger or exalting it to glory.

It may, indeed, be easier to bring forward kings and heroes, who have graced the theatre of the world, than to explore the

¹ Playfair on the Causes of the Decline of Nations, pp. 4, 5.

² *Esprit des Loix*, I. ch. iii. v. vii. The instance of Britain may, perhaps, not be considered as a full refutation of Montesquieu's assertion, since the mixed nature of its government, in which many of the principles of a republic are visible, must always have exerted a powerful effect on the manners and morals of its inhabitants. We may ask, however, with confidence, whether it was not patriotism which animated Louis IX. and Henry IV. of France, when they studied the real honor of their crowns; which induced Peter to forego the pomp of a court, and submit to manual labor; which filled the breast of Gustavus Vasa of Sweden; and which is evident in many of the struggles for liberty and independence, which are recorded in the pages of modern history.

humbler scenes of life, and draw from their obscurity those persons, who have benefited their country by means less brilliant, but equally meritorious; yet let it not be hence inferred, that patriotism is confined to elevated stations, or useful only on pressing emergencies. Wisdom may be as salutary in the cabinet as valor is needful in the field; public duties may be no less momentous in the repose of peace, than in the tumult of war; skill and industry may increase the treasures of a country, talents and learning may add to its celebrity, and every faculty, with which man is gifted, may be directed to the public advantage.¹

It should never be forgotten, that the corruption of morality is the parent of political evil: but while the bulk of a people are untainted with vice, little need be dreaded from external violence, or intestine commotion. Private life, it has been well said,² is the nursery of the commonwealth; and though nature may have denied us ability to become conspicuous, she has at least left us the power of being innocent. Even if we occupy no prominent station in society, we still may show the sincerity of our patriotism; we may be obedient to laws, and respectful to magistrates; we may relieve the needy, and encourage the diligent; by our precepts, as well as by our example, we may enforce the exercise of piety, of justice, and of loyalty, and consult the true prosperity of our country, by making some addition to the stock of national virtue.

Little, indeed, would patriotism merit our approbation, were its utility restricted to military services; yet much of the censure, to which it has been exposed, has arisen from such an error. Its object is assuredly the welfare of our own community; but this object ceases to be praiseworthy, when it is pursued through blood and havoc, or attained by ruining the happiness or disturbing the tranquillity of the world. In this state of moral imperfection, wars may be ranked in the catalogue of evils almost unavoidable; yet they spring from the outrages and vices of mankind, not from their love of their country. That love would rather teach them to bless their fellow-citizens than to destroy them; to consult their peace than to hazard their security; to augment their wealth than to exhaust their resour-

¹ Non is solus reipublicæ prodest, qui tuetur res, et de pace belloque censet: sed qui juventutem exhortatur, qui, in tanta bonorum præceptorum inopia, virtute instruit animas, qui ad pecuniam luxuriamque cursu ruentes prensat ac reprehendit, is in privato publicum negotium agit.—Cicero.

² Burke's Works, i. p. 400.

ces: The selfish and ambitious also, while they conceal their partial projects under the mask of a love for their country, do homage to the dignity and purity of that principle, which they practically violate. No human institutions can be faultless; but let them not all be censured indiscriminately, because they sometimes from accident have fallen short of their proper use, and sometimes from design have been perverted to mischievous purposes. Patriotism may diminish the evils, which it cannot entirely prevent; and, by putting us in present possession of partial good, it affords aid and encouragement to the future labors of men, who are ambitious to be distinguished as the friends of the human race.

It remains for me to notice one objection,¹ which neither the moralist nor the patriot will presume to treat with indifference. It is said, that the love of our country is not recommended by the authority of Scripture, and that the passions, which it excites, are directly at variance with the spirit of Christian charity. One plain reply to the former part of the objection is, that, though this love is not positively commanded, it is neither expressly nor virtually forbidden. It is, moreover, as we have proved, not only included within the doctrine of universal philanthropy, but is in fact the only practicable method, by which we can hope to fulfil the benevolent intentions of the Gospel. The history of the Jews, who lived under the special government of the Deity, affords illustrious instances of this very patriotism, which is condemned; and the great Author of our religion shed tears of pity and anguish, when he contemplated and predicted the approaching desolation of Jerusalem.

The weight of the second part of the objection is wholly removed by the discrimination, which we have made between real and pretended patriotism. We grant, that, from intemperate zeal, or misguided views, the love of our country has sometimes impelled men to the commission of flagrant and pernicious enormities; but has not the same love been productive of actions eminently and permanently favorable to the happiness of individuals, and the safety of communities? Has it not lifted its avenging arm against cruelty and impiety? Has it not protected our coasts from invasion, our hearths from violence, and our altars from profanation? In the dreadful and protracted calamities of war, the meek and the helpless may have been op-

¹ Shaftesbury's *Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humor*. Soame Jenyns's *View of the Internal Evidence of Christianity*, p. 46.

pressed, the wise and the virtuous may have been sacrificed; but, if the heart of man were utterly callous to the feelings of genuine patriotism, there would have been no safeguard for civil liberty, no vestige of social union, no scope for those arduous and exalted duties, which are prompted by benevolence and enjoined by religion: our tribunals would be thrown down, our temples would be forsaken, and in the sequestered village, and in the crowded city, the sweet voice of peace would be heard no more.

Patriotism then, inspired by nature and authorised by reason, is thus hallowed by the sanction of Christianity. The present situation of Europe, however, will of itself be sufficient to furnish practical conviction, that the existence of the sentiment is incompatible with a state of national subjugation. In the real, or even in the apprehended privation of independence, the glory of a country, or the well-being of its inhabitants, must be equally delusive and visionary. Commerce and the elegant arts would be neglected, nor could we expect either opportunities or incentives for the calm pursuits of science and philosophy; the mind, by continual irritation, would grow insensible to every charm of domestic virtue, or, by debasement, would be unfitted for every manly enterprise. Such a state, in short, is absolutely hostile to the diffusion, if not to the attainment, of that moral and intellectual improvement among individuals, which facilitates and ensures the general amelioration of society. Political freedom, therefore, should be the aim both of the philanthropist and of the patriot; nor even can the Christian indulge an hope, that those mild and benevolent virtues, which peculiarly characterise his religion, and which are so admirably calculated to bless the human species, should ever reach their full perfection in any country, which is subjected to the dictates of tyranny, or where the free energies of action are overawed by the dread of arbitrary force, or controlled by the encroaching influence of some powerful neighbour.

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CLASSICAL CRITICISM.

An attempt to emend a passage in Catullus,

CARM. VI.—*Ad Flaviū.*

Flavi, *delicias tuas* Catullo,
 Nī sint illepidæ atque inelegantes,
Velles dicere, nec tacere posses.
Verum nescio quid febriculosi
Scorti diligis : hoc pudet fateri. 5
Nam, te non viduas jacere noctes
Nequidquam tacitum cubile clamat,
Sertis ac Syrio fragrans olivo,
Pulvinusque peræque et hic et illic
Attritus, tremulique quæssa lecti 10
Argutatio inambulatioque.
Nam, nī ista prævalet nīhī tacere,
Cur non tam latera exfututa pandas,
Nec tu quid facias ineptiarum.
Quare, quicquid habes boni matique, 15
Dic nobis. Volo te ac tuos amores
Ad cœlum lepido vocare versu.

Thus is this poem found in the Mss. of Muretus, Statius, Scaliger and Vossius, with this exception; that, ver. 12., Stat. for *nī* has *in*; Muretus for *tacere, taceres*.—Ver. 13. Stat. has *et futura panda*, and Voss. *pandas*. Of this passage no sense can be made as it stands. Numerous as the attempts have been to correct or explain it, no emendation, as yet, appears sufficiently satisfactory. In Doëring's edit. it stands thus,

Nam mī prævalet ista nil tacere.
Cur nunc tam latera exfututa pandas,
Nī tu quid facias ineptiarum?

Muretus and Statius first attempted to alter it: the former proposed making two verses of the three; thus,

Nam cur tam latera exfututa pandas,
Nī tu quid, &c.

and the latter, despairing of being able to discover the genuine language of Catullus, corrected it in this manner;

Nam, ni est turpe, volens nihil taceres,
Cui nunc tam latera exfututa pandas
Ni tu quid facias ineptiarum.

Shortly after Scaliger corrected it thus in his first edition,

Nam, ni stupra, valet nihil tacere
Curvantem latera exfututa panda,
Noctu quid facias ineptiarum.

But in his third, and last, edition it stands thus,

Nam, ni stupra, valet nihil tacere,
(Cur? non tam latera exfututa pandant?)
Nec tu quid facias ineptiarum.

The emendation of Vossius is still closer to the characters of the Mss.

Nam ni istapte, valet nihil tacere,
Cui non jam latera exfututa pandant
Noctu quid facias ineptiarum?

and this Vulpus has adopted. But the syllable *pte* is never added except to ablatives. None of all these are any thing to the purpose. *Nam* in the first instance is wrong; and if it were not, the whole might be set to rights by a very trifling alteration,

Nam mī stupra valet nihil tacere.
Cur nou tam latera effututa pandam,
Nec tu quid facias ineptiarum?

For it is in vain to conceal your amours from me. Why should I not descant on your emaciated frame, and on all your ridiculous foolery?

Here the only deviation from the Mss. is in the words *mī stupra*, which is closer to the characters of the original than that of Scaliger, who first conjectured *stupra*. *Nec* for *et*, after *non*, is frequent enough.

Of the three following attempts which I made at different times, the latter seems preferable :

Num vis ipse loqui, et nihil tacere?
Cur non? cum latera effututa pandant
Noctu quid, &c.

Ipse in opposition to *cubile*, to *pulvinus peraque*, to *quassa lectu*, &c.—and,

Nomen fare! valet nihil tacere!

or,

Num mi effare ? valet nihil tacere !
Cui non tam latera effututa pendent
Noctu quid, &c.

Horace, Ode I. 27, may throw some light on this subject.

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P. S. In reply to *J. W. of Liverpool*, on my proposed emendation of the passage in Livy, I beg leave to remark, that *cum* and *tum* are so nearly alike in ancient *Mss.* that sometimes they cannot be distinguished; *n, u* and *v*, are also similar; *i* and *j*, are always alike; and *in, ni, vi, ui* and *m*, are written alike; and this I have learned from seven years experience in decyphering the most obliterate parchments. I only refer him to Heinsius on Ovid, *Met.* viii. 703. and xv. 705.—“*Inveteratum scribendi vitium mihi videtur, cum litt. c et t in codd., minusculis literis exaratis, tanta sit similitudo, ut oculis vix possint discerni.*” *Bach’s Tibullus*, p. 21. He objects to the omission of *cum* before the verb *obsiderentur*. I refer him to Sallust, *B. C.* cap. 7. 18. and 20. I need not remind him that he differs from Mr. John Walker, late of Trin. Col. Dublin, whose note on the passage in question runs thus, “*Vel transponendæ sunt voces hoc modo, cum peregrinis, &c. vel dicendum has voces cum L. H. exercitu esse glossema librorum.*” But I will translate the passage. Then the Romans, driven back into their camp, *should have been* besieged a second time, devoid of hope, and inferior in strength to the enemy, and perilous *had been*, &c.—*Suis* joined with *peregrinis copiis*, he says, is nugatory and unworthy of the historian: is it nugatory and unworthy of the historian in the preceding chap. but two, “*cum in fines suos, &c.*?” We find *suus* frequently used by the best writers, where it might, as far as we know, be better omitted. See Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. speaking of Lucretius and Catullus; and again lib. ii. cap. 120. I shall only observe, notwithstanding what *J. W.* says in the last Number, that, teste se ipso, Dublinii, 1797. the passage is corrupt in all the present editions of Livy.

D. B. H.

AN INQUIRY
into the Symbolical Language of Ancient Art and
Mythology.

BY R. P. KNIGHT.

PART IV.—[Continued from No. XLVII. p. 49.]

85. WHILE the temples of the Hindoos possessed their establishments, most of them had bands of consecrated prostitutes, called the Women of the Idol, selected in their infancy by the Bramins for the beauty of their persons, and trained up with every elegant accomplishment that could render them attractive, and ensure success in the profession; which they exercised at once for the pleasure and profit of the priesthood. They were never allowed to desert the temple; and the offspring of their promiscuous embraces were, if males, consecrated to the service of the Deity in the ceremonies of his worship; and, if females, educated in the profession of their mothers.¹

86. Night being the appropriate season for these mysteries, and being also supposed to have some genial and nutritive influence in itself,² was personified, as the source of all things, the passive productive principle of the universe,³ which the Egyptians called by a name, that signified Night.⁴ Hesiod says, that the nights belong to the blessed gods; as it is then that dreams descend from Heaven to forewarn and instruct

¹ Maurice Antiq. Ind. vol. i. pt. 1. p. 341.

A devout Mohammedan, who in the ixth. century travelled through India, solemnly thanks the Almighty that he and his nation were delivered from the errors of infidelity, and unstained by the horrible enormities of so criminal a system of superstition.

The devout Bramin might, perhaps, have offered up more acceptable thanks, that he and his nation were free from the errors of a sanguinary fanaticism, and unstained by the more horrible enormities of massacre, pillage, and persecution; which had been consecrated by the religion of Mohammed; and which every where attended the progress of his followers, spreading slavery, misery, darkness, and desolation, over the finest regions of the earth; of which the then happy Indians soon after felt the dire effects:—effects, which, whether considered as moral, religious, or political evils, are of a magnitude and atrocity, which make all the licentious abuses of luxury, veiled by hypocrisy, appear trifling indeed!

² Diodor. Sic. l. i. c. vii.

³ Νύξ γενεσις πάντων ἦν καὶ Κυβριν καλεσώμεν.

Orph. Hymn. ii. 2.

⁴ Αθωρ or Αθωρ, called Athorh still in the Coptic. Jablonski Pauth. Ægypt. lib. i. c. 1. s. 7.

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men.¹ Hence night is called *εὐφρονη*, good, or benevolent, by the ancient poets; and to perform any unseemly act or gesture in the face of night; as well as in the face of the sun, was accounted a heinous offence.² This may seem, indeed, a contradiction to their practice: but it must be remembered that a free communication between the sexes was never reckoned criminal by the ancients, unless when injurious to the peace or pride of families; and as to the foul and unnatural debaucheries imputed to the Bacchanalian societies suppressed by the Romans, they were either mere calumnies, or abuses introduced by private persons, and never countenanced by public authority in any part of the world. Had the Christian societies sunk under the first storms of persecution, posterity might have believed them guilty of similar crimes; of which they were equally accused by witnesses as numerous.³ We do, indeed, sometimes find indications of unnatural lusts in ancient sculptures: but they were undoubtedly the works of private caprice; or similar compositions would have been found upon coins; which they never are, except upon the *Spinthriæ* of Tiberius, which were merely tickets of admission to the scenes of his private amusement. Such preposterous appetites, though but too observable in all the later ages of Greece, appear to have been wholly unknown to the simplicity of the early times; they never being once noticed either in the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, or the genuine poem of Hesiod; for as to the lines in the former poem alluding to the rape of Ganymede, they are manifestly spurious.⁴

87. The Greeks personified night under the title of *ΑΗΤΩ*, or Latona, and *ΒΑΤΩ*; the one signifying oblivion, and the other sleep, or quietude;⁵ both of which were meant to express the unmoved tranquillity prevailing through the infinite variety of unknown darkness, that preceded the Creation, or first emanation of light. Hence she was said to have been the first wife of Jupiter,⁶ the mother of Apollo and Diana, or the Sun and Moon, and the nurse of the Earth and the stars.⁷ The

¹ Μακάρων τοι νυκτες εασιν.

Hesiod. *Erg.* 730.

² Hesiod. *Erg.* 727.

³ Liv. Hist. l. xxxix. c. 9. &c. Mosheim, &c.

⁴ Il. E. 265, &c. T. 230, &c.

⁵ Νύξ δὲ ἡ Ἀητώ, ληθὼ τις οὐσα εἰς ὄπνον τρεπομένην.

Plutarch. apud Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. iii. c. 1.

⁶ βαυβᾶ κοιμίζει. βαυβᾶν καθευθεν. Hesych. It is the same word as *λανειν*, in a different dialect.

⁷ Odyss. A. 579.

⁸ ΒΑΤΩ· τίθηνη Δημήτρος. Hesych.

Ω νύξ μελαινα χρυσεων αστρων τροφε. Euripid. *Electra*.

Egyptians differed a little from the Greeks, and supposed her to be the nurse and grandmother of Horus and Bubastis, their Apollo and Diana;¹ in which they agreed more exactly with the ancient naturalists, who held that heat was nourished by the humidity of night.² Her symbol was the Mygalè, or Mus Araneus, anciently supposed to be blind;³ but she is usually represented, upon the monuments of ancient art, under the form of a large and comely woman, with a veil upon her head.⁴ This veil, in painting, was always black; and in gems, the artists generally avail themselves of a dark-colored vein in the stone to express it; it being the same as that which was usually thrown over the symbol of the generative attribute, to signify the nutritive power of Night, fostering the productive power of the pervading Spirit; whence Priapus is called, by the poets, black-cloaked.⁵ The veil is often stellated, or marked with asterisks,⁶ and is occasionally given to all the personifications of the generative attribute, whether male or female;⁷ and likewise to portraits of persons consecrated, or represented in a sacred or sacerdotal character, which, in such cases, it invariably signifies.⁸

88. The Egyptian Horus is said to have been the son of Osiris and Isis, and to have been born while both his parents were in the womb of their mother Rhea;⁹ a fable which means no more than that the active and passive powers of production joined in the general concretion of substance, and caused the separation or delivery of the elements from each other: for the name Apollo is evidently a title derived from a Greek verb,

¹ Herodot. lib. ii. 156.

² Omnium autem physicorum assertione constat calorem humore nutiri. Macrobi. Sat. i. c. 23.

³ Plutarch. Symposiac. lib. iv. q. v. p. 670. Anton. Liberal. Fab. xxviii.

⁴ See medals of the Brettii, Siciliotæ, King Pyrrhus, &c.

The animal symbol rarely occurs; but upon a beautifully-engraved gem, belonging to R. P. Knight, is the head of a Boar, the symbol of Mars the destroyer, joined to the head of a Ram, the symbol of Bacchus or Ammon the generator; upon which repose a Dog, the symbol of Mercury, or presiding Mind; and upon the back of the dog is the Mygalè, the symbol of Latona, or Night.

⁵ Μελαγχλαυροί τε Πριηποί. Mosch. Epitaph. Bion. 27.

⁶ See medals of Syracuse.

⁷ See heads of Venus on the gold coins of Tarentum, silver of Corinth—of Bacchus on those of Lampsacus, &c.

⁸ See medals of Julius Cæsar, Livia, the Queens of Syria and Egypt, bust of Marcus Aurelius in the Townley collection, &c.

⁹ Ἡ μὲν γὰρ, ἐπὶ τῶν θεῶν ἐν γαστρὶ τῆς Ῥέας ὄντων, εἰς ἰσίδος καὶ Ὀσίριδος γενόμενη γενέσθαι Ἀπολλωνος, &c. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 373. We only quote Plutarch's facts, his explanations and etymologies being oftener from the School of Plato, than from ancient Egypt.

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signifying to deliver from;¹ and it is probable that Horus (or whatever was the Ægyptian name of this deity) had a similar meaning, it being manifestly intended to signify a personified mode of action of Osiris;² in the same manner as Liber, the corresponding title in the Latin tongue, signified a personified mode of action of the generator Bacchus.³ His statue at Coptos had the symbol of the generative attribute in his hand, said to be taken from Typhon, the destroying power;⁴ and there are small statues of him now extant, holding the circle and cross, which seems to have been the symbol meant. Typhon is said to have struck out and swallowed one of his eyes;⁵ whence the itinerant priests and priestesses of the Egyptian religion, under the Roman emperors, always appeared with this deformity:⁶ but the meaning of the fable cannot now be ascertained, any more than that of the single lock of hair, worn on the right side of the head, both by Horus and his priests.

89. According to Manethos, the Ægyptians called the loadstone, the bone of Osiris:⁷ by which it should seem that he represented the attractive principle; which is by no means incompatible with his character of separator and deliverer of the elements; for this separation was supposed to be produced by attraction. The Sun, according to the ancient system, learnt by Pythagoras from the Orphic, and other mystic traditions, being placed in the centre of the universe, with the planets moving round,⁸ was, by its attractive force, the cause of all union

¹ Ἀπολυω, anciently written ΑΠΟΛΥΩ.

² Ἔστι δ' οὗτος (Ὁρος) ὁ περιγειος κόσμος, οὐτε φθορας ἀπαλλασσόμενος πάντας, οὐτε γενέσεως. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 371.

Plutarch, in this explanation, has only mistaken the effect for the cause.

³ The Latin adjective liber comes from the Greek verb ἄλφω; by a well-known variation of dialect, from the T to the L, and from the F to the B.

⁴ Ἐν Κοπτῷ το ἀγάλμα του Ὁρου ἐν ἑτέρῃ χειρὶ Τυφῶνος αὐτοῖα κατέχει. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 470.

⁵ Καὶ λεγούσιν ὅτι του Ὁρου νυν μὲν ἐκαταξε, νυν δ' ἐξελὼν κατέκειν ὁ Τυφῶν τὸν ὀφθαλμόν. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir.

⁶ Lusca sacerdos, Juv. A bronze head of an Agyrtes, with this deformity, belongs to R. P. Knight.

⁷ Ἐπὶ τὴν σιδηρίτιν λίθον οὐστων Ὁρου, (καλούσι)—ὡς ἰστορεῖ Μανέθης. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 376.

⁸ Ἐναντίως οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καλούμενοι δὲ Πυθαγόρειοι, λεγούσιν· ἐπὶ γὰρ του μέσου πυρ εἶναι φασί, τὴν δὲ γῆν ἐν τῶν ἀστρῶν οὐσάν κυκλῶ φερομένην περὶ το μέσον, νύκτα τε καὶ ἡμέραν ποιεῖν. Aristot. de Cæl. lib. ii. c. 13.

The author of the trifling book on the tenets of the Philosophers, falsely attributed to Plutarch, understands the central fire, round which the Earth and planets were supposed to move, not to be the Sun; in which he has been followed by Adam Smith and others: but Aristotle clearly understands it to be the Sun, or he could not suppose it to be the cause of day and night; neither could the Pythagoreans have been so ignorant as to attribute that cause to any other fire. This system

and harmony in the whole, and, by the emanation of its beams, the cause of all motion and activity in the parts. This system, so remote from all that is taught by common sense and observation, but now so fully proved to be true, was taught secretly by Pythagoras; who was rather the founder of a religious order for the purposes of ambition, than of a philosophical sect for the extension of science. After a premature discovery had caused the ruin of him and his society, Philolaus, one of his disciples, published this part of his doctrines, and Aristarchus of Samos openly attempted to prove the truth of it;¹ for which he was censured by Cleanthes, as being guilty of impiety:² but speculative theories were never thought impious by the Greeks, unless they tended to reveal the mystic doctrines, or disprove the existence of a Deity. That of Aristarchus could not have been of the latter class, and therefore must have been of the former; though his accuser could not specify it without participating in the imputed criminality. The crimes of Socrates and Diagoras appear to have been, as before observed, of the same kind: whence Aristophanes represents them attributing the order and variety of the universe to circular motion, called ΔΙΝΟΣ; and then humorously introduces Strepsiades mistaking this Dinos for a new god, who had expelled Jupiter.³ Among the symbols carried in the mystic processions was a wheel;⁴ which is also represented on coins,⁵ probably to signify the same meaning as was expressed by this word.

90. The great system to which it alluded was, however, rather believed than known; it having been derived from ancient tradition, and not discovered by study and observation. It was therefore supported by no proof; nor had it any other credit than what it derived from the mystic veneration paid to a vague notion, in some degree connected with religion, but still not sufficiently so to become an article of faith, even in the lax and

is alluded to in an Orphic Fragment: Το απειρεσιον κατα κυκλον Ατρυτως εφορειτο, No. xxxiii. ed. Gesner; and by Galen: 'Ηρακλειδης δε και οί Πυθαγορειοί έκαστον των αστερων κοσμον ειναι νομιζουσι, γην παρεχοντα και αιθερα εν τω απειρω αερι. ταυτα δε τα δογματα εν εποις Ορφικοις φερεσθαι λεγουσι. Hist. Phil. c. xiii.

¹ Dutens, Découvertes attribuées aux Modernes; and authorities there cited.

² Plutarch. de Fac. in orbe Lunæ, p. 922-3. The words of Plutarch are here decisive of the sense of those of Aristotle above cited. Αρισταρχον φετο δειν Κλεανθης τον Χαμιον ασεβειας προκαλεισθαι τους Έλληνας, ως κινουντα τον κοσμον την εστιαν, οτι φαινομενα σωζειν αυτη επειρατα, μενειν τον ουρανον υποτιθεμενος, εξελιττεσθαι δε κατα λοξου κυκλου την γην, ιμα και περι τον αήτης αξονα δινουμενην.

³ Nub. 826.

⁴ Epiphan. p. 1092.

⁵ See medals of Philiassus, Cyrene, Luceria, Vetulonia, &c.

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comprehensive creed of Polytheism. Common observation might have produced the idea of a central cause of motion in the universe, and of a circular distribution of its parts; which might have led some more acute and discerning minds to imagine a solar system, without their having been led to it by any accurate or regular progress of discovery; and this we conceive to be a more easy and natural way of accounting for it, than supposing it to be a wreck or fragment of more universal science that had once existed among some lost and unknown people.¹

91. Of this central cause, and circular distribution, the primitive temples, of which we almost every where find vestiges, appear to have been emblems: for they universally consist of circles of rude stones; in the centre of which seems to have been the symbol of the Deity. Such were the *pyrætheia* of the Persians,² the Celtic temples of the North, and the most ancient recorded of the Greeks; one of which, built by Adrastus, a generation before the Trojan war, remained at Sicyon in the time of Pausanias.³ It seems that most of the places of worship known in the Homeric times were of this kind; for though temples and even statues are mentioned in Troy, the places of worship of the Greeks consisted generally of an area and altar only.⁴

92. The Persians, who were the primitists, or puritans of Heathenism, thought it impious or foolish to employ any more complicated structures in the service of the Deity;⁵ whence they destroyed, with unrelenting bigotry, the magnificent temples of Egypt and Greece.⁶ Their places of worship were circles of stones, in the centre of which they kindled the sacred fire, the only symbol of their god: for they abhorred statues, as well as temples and altars; ⁷ thinking it unworthy of the majesty of the Deity to be represented by any definite form, or to be circumscribed in any determinate space. The universe was his temple, and the all-pervading element of fire his only representative; whence their most solemn act of devotion was, kindling an immense fire on the top of a high mountain, and offering up, in it, quantities of wine, honey, oil, and all kinds of perfumes; as Mithradates did, with great expense and magnificence, according to the rites of his Persian ancestors, when about to

¹ See Bailly *Hist. de l'Astronomie Ancienne*.

² Pausan. lib. vii. c. xxii. and lib. ix.

³ Ibid. p. 747.

⁴ *Τεμενος καὶ Βωμὸς*.

⁶ Ib.

⁷ Strabo, lib. xv. p. 1064, &c.

⁵ Herodot. lib. i. 131.

engage in his second war with the Romans; the event of which was to make him lord of all, or of nothing.¹

93. These offerings were made to the all-pervading Spirit of the universe, (which Herodotus calls by the Greek name of Jupiter), and to his subordinate emanations, diffused through the Sun and Moon, and the terrestrial elements, fire, air, earth, and water. They afterwards learned of the Syrians to worship their Astartè, or celestial Venus;² and by degrees adopted other superstitions from the Phœnicians and other neighbouring nations; who probably furnished them with the symbolical figures observable in the ruins of Persepolis, and the devices of their coins. We must not, however, as Hyde and Anquetil have done, confound the Persians of the first with those of the second dynasty, that succeeded the Parthians; nor place any reliance upon the pretended Zendavesta, which the latter produced as the work of Zoroaster; but which is in reality nothing more than the ritual of the modern Guebers or Parsees. That it should have imposed upon Mr. Gibbon, is astonishing; as it is manifestly a compilation of no earlier date than the eighth or ninth century of Christianity, and probably much later.

94. The Greeks seem originally to have performed their acts of devotion to the ætherial Spirit upon high mountains; from which new titles, and consequently new personifications, were derived; such as those of Olympian, Dodonæan, Idæan, and Casian Jupiter.³ They were also long without statues;⁴ which were always considered, by the learned among them, as mere symbols, or the invention of human error to console human weakness.⁵ Numa, who was deeply skilled in mystic lore, forbade the Romans to represent the gods under any forms either of men or beasts;⁶ and they adhered to his instructions during the first hundred and seventy years of the republic:⁷ nor had the Germans, even in the age of Tacitus, renounced their primitive prejudices, or adopted any of the refinements of their neighbours on this subject.

¹ Appian. de Bello Mithrad. p. 361.

² Herodot. l. i. 131.

³ See Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. viii.

⁴ Pausan. lib. viii. c. xxii. and lib. ix.

⁵ ὅτιοι δὲ πολλοὶ καρδίᾳ πλανώμενοι,
Ἰδρυσάμεσθα, πημάτων παραψυχὴν
θεῶν ἀγάλμῳ· ἐκ λίθου τε καὶ ξύλου.

Sophocl. apud Justin. Martyr. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 10.

There is another line, but it is a scholion on the preceding one. See Toup. Emend. in Suid. vol. ii. p. 526. The whole may possibly be the production of an Alexandrine Jew.

⁶ Plutarch. in Numa.

⁷ Varro apud Augustin. de Civ. Dei. lib. iv. c. vi.

95. In some instances, the circular area above mentioned is inclosed in a square one; and we are told that a square stone was the primitive symbol of several deities, more especially of the celestial Venus, or passive productive power, both among the ancient Greeks and ancient Arabians.¹ Upon most of the very early Greek coins, too, we find an inverse or indented square, sometimes divided into four, and sometimes into a greater number of compartments; and latterly, with merely the symbol of the Deity forming the device, in the centre. Antiquaries have supposed this incuse to be merely the impression of something put under the coin to make it receive the stroke of the die more steadily:² but in all that we have seen of this kind, amounting to some hundreds, the coin has been driven into the die, and not struck with it, and the incuse impression been made either before or after the other, the edges of it being always beaten in or out. Similar impressions also occur on some of the little Egyptian amulets of paste, found in mummies, which were never struck, or marked with any impression on the reverse.

96. In these square areas, upon different coins almost every different symbol of the Deity is to be found: whence, probably, the goddess, represented by this form, acquired the singular titles of the Place of the Gods,³ and the mundane House of Horus.⁴ These titles are both Egyptian: but the latter is signified very clearly upon Greek coins, by an asterisk placed in the centre of an incuse square:⁵ for the asterisk being composed of obelisks, or rays diverging from a globe or common centre, was the natural representation of the Sun; and pre-

¹ Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. xxxviii. Clem. Alex. Protrept.

² Ἐσθηκασι δὲ ἐργυράτα του ἀγάλματος τετραγωνοὶ λίθοι τριακοντα μάλιστα ἀριθμῶν τούτους. σεβούσιν οἱ Φαρεῖς ἕκαστῳ θεοῦ τινος ὄνομα ἐπιλεγόντες: τα δὲ ἐτι παλαιότερα καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσι τιμας θεῶν αὐτὶ ἀγαλμάτων εἶχον ἀργοὶ λίθοι. Pausan. in Achaic. c. xxii. s. 3.

³ Ταῦτης (τῆς Ἀφροδίτης) γὰρ σχῆμα μὲν τετραγώνον κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς τὸ δὲ ἐπιγράμμα σημαίνει τὴν Οὐρανίαν Ἀφροδίτην τῶν καλούμενων Μοιρῶν εἶναι πρεσβυτάτην. Pausan. in Att. c. xix. s. 2.

⁴ Abbé Barthelemi Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscr. t. xxiv. p. 30. D'Ancarville Recherches sur les Arts, lib. i. c. iv. p. 412.

⁵ Διὸ καὶ τὴν Συρίαν Ἀταργατὴν τοκὸν θεῶν καλοῦσιν, καὶ τὴν Ἰσιν οἱ Ἀγυπτῖοι, ὡς πολλῶν θεῶν ιδιότητας περιέχουσας. Simplic. in Aristot. lib. iv. Auscult. Phys. p. 150. ed. Ald. Hence Plutarch says that Osiris was the beginning, Isis the receptacle, and Orus the completion. De Is. et Osir. p. 374.

⁶ Ἡ δ' Ἰσις, ἐστὶν δτε καὶ Μοῦθ, καὶ πάλιν Ἀθυρί, καὶ Μεθυερ προσαγορεύουσι. Σημαίνουσι δὲ τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ὀνομάτων μητέρα, τῇ δὲ δευτέρῃ οἶκον Ἰφρου κόσμον. Plutarch. ibid.

⁷ See small brass coins of Syracuse, which are very common.

cisely the same as the radiated head of Apollo, except that, in the latter, the globe or centre was humanised. Upon the ancient medals of Corinth and Cnossus, the square is a little varied, by having the angles drawn out and inverted ;¹ particularly upon those of the latter city, which show a progressive variation of this form from a few simple lines, which, becoming more complicated and inverted, produce at length the celebrated Labyrinth² which Dædalus is said by the mythologists to have built for Minos; as a prison to confine a monster begotten upon his wife Pasiphaë, by a bull, and therefore called the Minotaur. Pasiphaë is said to have been the daughter of the Sun; and her name, signifying all-splendid, is evidently an ancient epithet of that luminary. The bull is said to have been sent by Neptune, or the Sea ;³ and the title which distinguished the offspring is, in an ancient inscription, applied to Attis, the Phrygian Bacchus ;⁴ whence the meaning of the whole allegory distinctly appears ; the Minotaur being only the ancient symbol of the bull, partly humanised ; to whom Minos may have sacrificed his tributary slaves, or, more probably, employed them in the service of the Deity.

97. In the centre of one of the more simple and primitive labyrinths on the Grecian coins above cited, is the head of a bull ;⁵ and in others of a more recent style, the more complicated labyrinth is round.⁶ On some of those of Camarina in Sicily, the head of the god, more humanised than the Minotaur, yet still with the horns and features of the bull, is represented in the centre of an indented scroll,⁷ which other coins show to have been meant to represent the waters, by a transverse section of waves.⁸ On the coins, too, of Magnesia upon the Meander, the figure of Apollo is represented as leaning upon the tripod, and standing upon some crossed and inverted square lines, similar to the primitive form of the labyrinth on the coins of Corinth above cited.⁹ These have been supposed to signify the river Meander ; but they more probably signify the waters in general ; as we find similar crossed and inverted lines upon coins struck in Sicily, both Greek and Punic ;¹⁰ and also upon rings

¹ See Mus. Hunterian.

² Ibid.

³ Apollodor. lib. iii. c. i.

⁴ ATTIDI MINOTAURO. Gruter. vol. i. p. xxviii, No. 6.

⁵ In the cabinet of R. P. Knight.

⁶ In the same. Also in the British Museum.

⁷ Mus. Hunter. tab. 14. No. ix.

⁸ Ib. tab. 56. No. iii.

⁹ Ib. tab. 35. No. ix.

¹⁰ See a specimen of them on the reverse of a small coin, Mus. Hunter. tab. 67. No. v.

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and *fibulae*, which are frequently adorned with symbolical devices, meant to serve as amulets or charms. The bull, however, both in its natural form, and humanised in various degrees, so as in some instances to leave only the horns of the animal symbol, is perpetually employed upon coins to signify particular rivers or streams; which being all derived from the Bacchus Hyes, as the Nile was from Osiris, were all represented under the same form.¹

98. It appears, therefore, that the asterisk, bull, or Minotaur, in the centre of the square or labyrinth, equally mean the same as the Indian lingam—that is, the male personification of the productive attribute placed in the female, or heat acting upon humidity. Sometimes the bull is placed between two dolphins,² and sometimes upon a dolphin or other fish;³ and in other instances the goat or the ram occupy the same situation;⁴ which are all different modes of expressing different modifications of the same meaning in symbolical or mystical writing. The female personifications frequently occupy the same place: in which case the male personification is always upon the reverse of the coin, of which numerous instances occur in those of Syracuse, Naples, Tarentum, and other cities.

99. Ariadne, the fabled wife of Bacchus, is a personage concerning whom there has been more confusion of history and allegory than concerning almost any other. Neither she, nor Bacchus, nor Theseus, appear to have been known to the author of the *Iliad*; the lines concerning them all three being manifestly spurious: but in the *Odyssey*, she is said to have been the daughter of Minos, and to have been carried away from Crete by Theseus to Athens, where she was killed by Diana—that is, died suddenly, before he enjoyed her.⁵ Such appears to have been the plain sense of the passage, according to its true and original reading: but Theseus having become a deified and symbolical personage, in a manner hereafter to be explained, Ariadne became so likewise; and was therefore fabled to have been deserted by him in the island of Naxos; where Bacchus

¹ See coins of Catania, Selinus, Gela, Sybaris, &c.

² See brass coins of Syracuse.

³ On a gold coin of Eretria in the cabinet of R. P. Knight. Hence the curious hymn or invocation of the women of Elis to Bacchus:—*ἔχει δ' οὐτως ὁ ὕμνος (τῶν Ἠλείων γυναικῶν) "Ἐλθειν ἡρῶ, Διονυσέ, ἄλιον ἐς ναὸν ἄγνον, συν χαριτεῶσιν ἐς ναὸν τῷ βοεφ' ποδὶ θύων."* *Εἶτα δὲς ἐπαδουσιν* "Ἀξίε ταυρε." Plutarch. *Quæst. Græc.*

⁴ On gold coins of Ægæ and Clazomenæ, in the same collection.

⁵ A. 320.

found and married her; in consequence of which she became the female personification of the attribute which he represented; and as such constantly appears in the symbolical monuments of art, with all the accessory and characteristic emblems. Some pious heathen, too, made a bungling alteration, and still more bungling interpolation, in the passage of the *Odyssey*, to reconcile historical tradition with religious mythology.¹

100. In many instances, the two personifications are united in one; and Bacchus, who on other occasions is represented as a bearded venerable figure,² appears with the limbs, features, and character of a beautiful young woman;³ sometimes distinguished by the sprouting horns of the bull,⁴ and sometimes without any other distinction than the crown or garland of vine or ivy.⁵ Such were the Phrygian Attis, and Syrian Adonis; whose history, like that of Bacchus, is disguised by poetical and allegorical fable; but who, as usually represented in monuments of ancient art, are androgynous personifications of the same attribute,⁶ accompanied, in different instances, by different accessory symbols. Considered as the pervading and fertilizing spirit of the waters, Bacchus differs from Neptune in being a general emanation, instead of a local division, of the productive power;⁷ and also in being a personification derived from a more refined and philosophical system of religion, engrafted upon the old elementary worship, to which Neptune belonged.

101. It is observed by Dionysius the geographer, that Bacchus was worshipped with peculiar zeal and devotion by the ancient inhabitants of some of the smaller British islands;⁸

¹ Εσχέ for εκτα (which is preserved in some Mss. and Scholia), and by adding the following line, v. 324; a most manifest interpolation.

² See Silver coins of Naxos, and pl. xvi. and xxxix. of Vol. i. of the *Select Specimens*. ³ See coins of Camarina, &c.

⁴ See gold coins of Lampsacus in Mus. Hunter. and silver of Maronea.

⁵ See gold medals of Lampsacus, brass ditto of Rhodes, and pl. xxxix. of Vol. i. of the *Select Specimens*.

⁶ Αμφοτεροι γαρ οί θεοί (Ποσειδων και Διονυσος) της υγρας και γονιμου κυριοι δοκουσιν αρχης ειναι. Plutarch. *Symposiac*. lib. v. qu. 3.

Ποσειδων δε εστιν ή απεργαστικη εν τη γη και περι την γην υγρου δυναμις. Phurmut. de Nat. Deor. c. iv.

⁷ 'Οτι δ' ου μόνον του οινου Διονυσον, αλλα και πασης υγρας φυσικης Έλληνες ήγουνται κυριον και αρχηγγον, αρκει Πιδαρος μαρτυς ειναι, κ. τ. λ. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir.

⁸ Αγχί δε ηησιαδων έτερος πορος, ενθα γυναικες

Ανδρων αντιπαρηθεν αγαων αμνιτων

Ορνυμεναι τελευσοι κατα νομον Ιερα Βακχην,

Στεφανεμναι κισσοιο μελαμφυλλοιο κορυμβοις,

Εννυχιαι παταγης δε λιγυθροος ορνυται ηχη. κ. τ. λ. V. 570.

What islands are meant is uncertain; but probably the Hebrides or Orcades.

where the women, crowned with ivy, celebrated his clamorous nocturnal rites upon the shores of the Northern Ocean, in the same manner as the Thracians did upon the banks of the Apsinthus, or the Indians upon those of the Ganges.¹ In Stukeley's Itinerary is the ground plan of an ancient Celtic or Scandinavian temple, found in Zealand, consisting of a circle of rude stones within a square; and it is probable that many others of these circles were originally enclosed in square areas. Stonehenge is the most important monument of this kind now extant; and from a passage of Hecataeus, preserved by Diodorus Siculus, it seems to have been not wholly unknown to that ancient historian; who might have collected some vague accounts of the British islands from the Phœnician and Carthaginian merchants, who traded there for tin. "The Hyperboreans," said he, "inhabit an island beyond Gaul, in which Apollo is worshipped in a circular temple considerable for its size and riches." This island can be no other than Britain; in which we know of no traces of any other circular temple, which could have appeared considerable to a Greek or Phœnician of that age. That the account should be imperfect and obscure is not surprising; since even the most inquisitive and credulous travellers among the Greeks could scarcely obtain sufficient information concerning the British islands to satisfy them of their existence.² A temple of the same form was situated upon Mount Zilmissus in Thrace, and dedicated to the Sun under the title of Bacchus Sebazius;³ and another is mentioned by Apollonius Rhodius, which was dedicated to Mars upon an island in the Euxine Sea near the coast of the Amazons.⁴

102. The large obelisks of stone found in many parts of the North, such as those at Rudstone and near Boroughbridge in Yorkshire, belonged to the same religion: obelisks, as Pliny observes, being sacred to the Sun; whose rays they signified both by their form and name.⁵ They were therefore the em-

¹ Ἐκαταῖος καὶ τινες ἕτεροι φασιν, ἐν τοῖς ἀντίπεραν τῆς Κελτικῆς τοποῖς κατὰ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν εἶναι νῆσον οὐκ ἐλαττω τῆς Σικελίας———ὕπαρχεν δὲ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον τέμενος τε Ἀπολλωνὸς μεγαλοπρεπές, καὶ ναὸν ἀξιολογὸν ἀναθημασί πολλοῖς κεκοσμημένον σφαιροειδῇ τῷ σχήματι. Diodor. Sic. lib. ii. c. xiii. The whole passage is extremely curious.

² Οὐτε νήσους οἶδα Κασσιτερίδας εὐσας, ἐκ τῶν δὲ Κασσιτερος ἡμῖν φοιτᾷ. Herodot. lib. iii. 115.

³ Macrobian. Sat. i. c. 18. ⁴ Argonaut. lib. ii. 1169. ⁵ Lib. xxxvi. l. 14. το φως γενέσεως ἐστὶ σημεῖον. Plutarch. Q. R.

blems of light, the primary and essential emanation of the Deity; whence radiating the head, or surrounding it with a diadem of small obelisks, was a mode of consecration or deification, which flattery often employed in the portraits both of the Macedonian kings and Roman emperors.¹ The mystagogues and poets expressed the same meaning by the epithet *ΑΤΚΕΙΟΣ* or *ΑΤΚΑΙΟΣ*; which is occasionally applied to almost every personification of the Deity, and more especially to Apollo; who is likewise called *ΑΤΚΗΓΕΝΕΤΗΣ*, or as contracted *ΑΤΚΗΓΕΝΗΣ*;² which mythologists have explained by an absurd fable of his having been born in Lycia; whereas it signifies the Author or Generator of Light; being derived from *ΑΤΚΗ* otherwise *ΑΤΚΟΣ*, of which the Latin word *LUX* is a contraction.

103. The titles *LUCETIUS* and *DIESPITER* applied to Jupiter are expressive of the same attribute; the one signifying luminous, and the other the Father of Day, which the Cretans called by the name of the Supreme God.³ In symbolical writing the same meaning was signified by the appropriate emblems in various countries; whence the *ΖΕΥΣ ΜΕΛΙΧΙΟΣ* at Sicyon, and the Apollo Carinas at Megara in Attica were represented by stones of the above-mentioned form;⁴ as was also the Apollo Agvies in various places;⁵ and both Apollo and Diana by simple columns pointed at the top; or, as the symbol began to be humanised, with the addition of a head, hands, and feet.⁶ On a Lapland drum the goddess Isa or Disa is represented by a pyramid surmounted with the emblem so frequently observed in the hands of the Ægyptian deities;⁷ and the pyramid has likewise been observed among the religious symbols of the savages of North America.⁸ The most sacred

¹ See Plin. Panegy. s. lii. and the coins of Antiochus IV. and VI. of Syria, Philip IV. of Macedonia, several of the Ptolemies, Augustus, &c.

² Il. Δ. 101. Schol. Didym. et Ven. Heraclid. Pant. p. 417. ed. Gale.

³ Macrob. Sat. i. c. 16.

⁴ Εστι δε Ζεὺς Μελίχιος καὶ Ἀρτεμὶς ὀνομαζομένη Πάτρηα συν τεχνῇ πεποιημένα οὐδεμὴ πυραμίδι δ' ὁ Μελίχιος, ἥ δὲ κιων ἐστὶν εὐκασμένη. Pausan. in Cor. c. 9. s. 6. Λίθος παρεχόμενος πυραμίδος σχῆμα οὐ μεγάλης· τούτων Ἀπολλωνία ὀνομαζοῦσι Κερίαν. Id. in Att. c. 44. s. 3.

⁵ Ἀγνίους δε ἐστὶ κιων· εἰς οὗ λήγων, ὃν ἴσταισι προ τῶν θυρῶν ἰδίους δε φασὶν αὐτοὺς εἶναι Ἀπολλωνίους· οἱ δε Διονυσίου· οἱ δε ἀμφίου.

Ἀγνίους, ὁ προ τῶν αὐλῶν θυρῶν ἰωνοειδὴς κιων, ἱερός Ἀπολλωνος, καὶ αὐτὸς θεός. Suidas in voce Ἀγνίας. Vide et Schol. in Aristoph. Vesp. et Schol. in Eurip. Phœniss. 634. et Eustath. in Hom. p. 166.

⁶ Ὅτι μὴ πρόσωπον αὐτῶ καὶ πόδες εἰσὶν ἀκροὶ καὶ χεῖρες, τὸ λοιπὸν χαλκῶ κιων ἐστὶν εὐκασμενόν· ἐχει δε ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κράνος, λογχὴν δε ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ τόξον. Pausan. in Lacon. c. 19. s. 2.

⁷ Ol. Rudbeck. Atlant. p. 11. c. v. p. 277. and c. xi. p. 261.

⁸ Lafitan Mœurs des Sauvages. t. 1. p. 146 and 8.

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idol, too, of the Hindoos in the great temple of Jaggernaut, in the province of Orissa, is a pyramidal stone;¹ and the altar in the temple of Mexico, upon which human victims were sacrificed to the deity of the Sun, was a pointed pyramid, on which the unhappy captive was extended upon his back, in order to have his heart taken out by the priest.²

104. The spires and pinnacles, with which our old churches are decorated, come from these ancient symbols; and the weather-cocks, with which they are surmounted, though now only employed to show the direction of the wind, were originally emblems of the Sun: for the cock is the natural herald of the day; and therefore sacred to the fountain of light.³ In the symbolical writing of the Chinese, the Sun is still represented by a cock in a circle;⁴ and a modern Parsee would suffer death, rather than be guilty of the crime of killing one. It appears on many ancient coins, with some symbol of the passive productive power on the reverse;⁵ and in other instances it is united with priapic and other emblems and devices, signifying different attributes combined.⁷

105. The Ægyptians, among whom the obelisk and pyramid were most frequently employed, held that there were two opposite powers in the world perpetually acting against each other; the one generating and the other destroying; the former of whom they called Osiris, and the latter Typhon. By the contention of these two, that mixture of good and evil, of procreation and dissolution, which was thought to constitute the harmony of the world, was supposed to be produced;⁸ and the notion of such a necessary mixture, or reciprocal operation,

¹ Hamilton's Travels in India.

² Acosta's History of the Indies. p. 382.

³ 'Ἡλιον δε ἱερὸν φασιν εἶναι τὸν ὀρνίθα, καὶ ἀγγελεῖν ἀνίστασθαι μελλόντος τοῦ ἡλίου. Pausan. lib. v. p. 444.

⁴ Pour peindre le Soleil, ils (les Chinois) mettent un Coq dans un Cercle. Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 252.

⁵ Hyde de Relig. vet. Persarum.

⁶ See coins of Himera, Samothrace, Suessa, &c.

⁷ Ib. and Selinus.

⁸ Οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο χωρὶς εὐθρα καὶ κακῆ, ἀλλ' ἐστὶ τις συγκρασις, ὥστ' εἶχει καλῶς.

Eurip. apud Plutarch. de Is. et Osir.

Γαῖα μεγίστη καὶ Δίος αἰὲρ,
ὃ μὲν ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν γενέτωρ,
ἡ δ' ὄμβρολους σταγόνας νοτίους
παράδεξιμένη τιτκεῖ θανάτους,
τιτκεῖ δε βόραν, φύλα τε θηρῶν·
χωρεῖ δ' οἴσω τὰ μὲν ἐκ γαίας
φυτ' εἰς γαίαν· τὰ δ' ἀπ' αἰθερίου
βλαστοντὰ γόνυ εἰς οὐρανίον
πολὺν ἦλθε παλιν. κ. τ. λ.

Ejusd. in Grotii excerpt. p. 417.

was, according to Plutarch, of immemorial antiquity, derived from the earliest theologists and legislators, not only in traditions and reports, but also in mysteries and sacred rites both Greek and Barbarian.¹ Fire was held to be the efficient principle of both; and, according to some of the later Egyptians, that ætherial fire supposed to be concentrated in the Sun; but Plutarch controverts this opinion, and asserts that Typhon, the evil or destroying power, was a terrestrial or material fire, essentially different from the ætherial; although he, as well as other Greek writers, admits him to have been the brother of Osiris, equally sprung from *KRONOS* and *PEA*, or Time and Matter.² In this however, as in other instances, he was seduced, partly by his own prejudices, and partly by the new system of the Ægyptian Platonics; according to which there was an original evil principle in nature, co-eternal with the good, and acting in perpetual opposition to it.

106. This opinion owes its origin to a false notion, which we are apt to form, of good and evil, by considering them as self-existing inherent properties, instead of relative modifications dependent upon circumstances, causes, and events: but, though patronised by very learned and distinguished individuals, it does not appear ever to have formed a part of the religious system of any people or established sect. The beautiful allegory of the two casks in the *Iliad*, makes Jupiter the distributor of both good and evil;³ which Hesiod also deduces from the same gods.⁴ The statue of Olympian Jupiter at Megara, begun by Phidias and Theocosmus, but never finished, the work having been interrupted by the Peloponnesian war, had the Seasons and Fates over his head, to show, as Pausanias says, that the former were regulated by him, and the latter obedient to his will.⁵ In the citadel of Argos was preserved an ancient statue of him in wood, said to have belonged to king Priam, which had three eyes (as the Scandinavian deity Thor sometimes had,⁶) to show the triple extent of his power and providence,

¹ Διο και παμπάλαιος αὐτῇ κατείσιν ἐκ θεολογῶν καὶ νομοθετῶν εἰς ποιήτας καὶ φιλοσοφοὺς δοξα, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀδεσποτον ἔχουσα, τὴν δὲ πίστιν ἰσχυρὰν καὶ δυσῆζαλειπτον, οὐκ ἐν λόγοις μόνον, οὐδὲ ἐν φήμαις, ἀλλὰ ἐν τε τελεταῖς, ἐν τε θυσίαις καὶ βαρβαροῖς καὶ Ἑλλήσι πολλὰ κού περιφερομένην, κ. τ. λ. de Is. et Osir. p. 369.

γενεσθαι, συμμιγῆναι, τάντο. ἀπολεσθαι, μειωθῆναι, διακριθῆναι, τάντο. Hippocr. Διατρ. l. 6.

² Ibid. p. 355: Diodor. Sic. lib. i. p. 13.

³ Ω. 527.

⁴ Ery. 60.

⁵ Pausan. in Attic. c. 40.

⁶ Ol. Rudbeck. Atlant. p. ii. c. v. p. 518.

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over Heaven, Earth, and Hell;¹ and, in the Orphic hymns or mystic invocations, he is addressed as the giver of life, and the destroyer.²

107. The third eye of this ancient statue was in the forehead; and it seems that the Hindoos have a symbolical figure of the same kind:³ whence we may venture to infer that the Cyclops, concerning whom there are so many inconsistent fables, owed their fictitious being to some such enigmatical compositions. According to the ancient theogony attributed to Hesiod, they were the sons of Heaven and Earth, and brothers of Saturn or Time;⁴ signifying, according to the Scholiast, the circular or central powers,⁵ the principles of the general motion of the universe above noticed. The Cyclops of the *Odyssey* is a totally different personage: but as he is said to be the son of Neptune or the Sea, it is probable that he equally sprang from some emblematical figure, or allegorical tale. Whether the poet meant him to be a giant of a one-eyed race, or to have lost his other eye by accident, is uncertain; but the former is most probable, or he would have told what the accident was.—In an ancient piece of sculpture, however, found in Sicily, the artist has supposed the latter, as have also some learned moderns.⁶

108. The Ægyptians represented Typhon by the Hippopotamos, the most fierce and savage animal known to them; and, upon his back they put a hawk fighting with a serpent, to signify the direction of his power; for the hawk was the emblem of power,⁷ as the serpent was of life; whence it was employed as the symbol of Osiris, as well as of Typhon.⁸ Among the Greeks it was sacred to Apollo;⁹ but we do not recollect to have seen it on any monuments of their art, though other birds of prey, such as the eagle and cormorant, frequently occur.¹⁰

¹ Zeus ἑοανον, δυο μεν, ἡ πεφυκεν, εχον οφθαλμους, τριτον δε επι του μεταπον-
τουτον του Δια Πριαμφ φασιν ειναι τῷ Λαοδαμαντος πατρων. Pausan. Cor. c.
24. s. 5. ² Hymn. lxxii. ed. Gesner. ³ Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 248.

⁴ V. 139, &c.

⁵ Κυκλωπας τας εγκυκλιους δυναμεις. Schol. vet. in vers. 139.

The two lines 144-5 in the text, containing the etymology of the name, appear to be spurious; the licentious extended form *ἑεις* being incompatible with the language of the old poets.

⁶ See Houel Voyage en Sicile, pl. cxxxvii., et Damm. Lex.

⁷ Εν Ἐρμιοπολει δε Τυφῶνος ἀγάλμα δεικνυουσι ἵππον ποταμιον ἐφ' οὗ βεβηκε
ἱεραξ οφει μαχομενος τῷ μεν ἵππῳ τον Τυφῶνα δεικνυντες, τῷ δε ἱερακι δυνάμιν και
αρχην. Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 371. fol.

⁸ Γραφουσι και ἱερακι τον θεον τουτον (Οσιριν) πολλακις. Ibid.

⁹ Aristoph. *Ornith.* v. 514.

¹⁰ The latter on the coins of Agrigentum, as the symbol of Hercules: the former, as the symbol of Jupiter, is the most common of all devices.

The eagle is sometimes represented fighting with a serpent, and sometimes destroying a hare;¹ which, being the most prolific of all quadrupeds, was probably the emblem of fertility.² In these compositions the eagle must have represented the destroying attribute: but, when alone, it probably meant the same as the Egyptian hawk: whence it was the usual symbol of the supreme God, in whom the Greeks united the three great attributes of creation, preservation, and destruction. The ancient Scandinavians placed it upon the head of their god Thor, as they did the bull upon his breast,³ to signify the same union of attributes; which we sometimes find in subordinate personifications among the Greeks. On the ancient Phœnician coins above cited, an eagle perches on the sceptre, and the head of a bull projects from the chair of a sitting figure of Jupiter, similar in all respects to that on the coins of the Macedonian kings, supposed to be copied from the statue by Phidias at Olympia, the composition of which appears to be of earlier date.

ON THE
**ORIGIN, PROGRESS, PREVALENCE, AND
 DECLINE OF IDOLATRY.**

BY THE REV. G. TOWNSEND.

PART VI.—[Continued from No. XLVII. p. 10.]

SECTION X.—*Origin of Tsabaism.*

FROM considering the state of mankind in the earlier post-diluvian ages, and the origin and meaning of the emblems universally adopted among them, we are led to the very interesting questions, of the Origin of their Erroneous Religious Opinions.

The first question that here demands attention is, whether the worship of the heavenly host, or of the spirits of their ancestors, originally prevailed among mankind. Dr. Hugh Farmer

¹ See coins of Chalcis in Eubœa, of Ellis, Agrigentum, Croto, &c.

² See coins of Messena, Rhegium, &c. It was also deemed aphrodisiac and androgynous. See Philostrat. Imag.

³ Ol. Rudbeck. Atlantic. p. ii. c. v. p. 300. and 321.

published a very learned and celebrated treatise on the general prevalence of the worship of human spirits, in which he endeavours to prove that hero-worship preceded tsabaism. Mr. Faber, with many others, is of the same opinion. After the most impartial, and careful examination of the contending evidence, I cannot but differ from this laborious writer, and agree with Mr. Bryant, and other authorities of no less weight than those who have advocated the opposite side of the question, that the first idolatry was the undue veneration, and subsequent homage, of the heavenly host. This opinion seems confirmed, not only by the testimony of Maimonides and Sanchoniathon, but by the consideration of the very early prevalence of the general knowledge of astronomy after the flood; by the peculiar circumstance, not only that the worship of the heavenly host was punishable by the civil magistrate in the time of Job, as an idolatrous ceremony, but from the total omission of the notice of any other species of idolatry at that time; by the assumption by Nahor of one of the titles of the Sun; by the universal tradition of the oriental nations on the one hand, and the actual assertion of scripture on the other, that idolatry existed in the family of Abraham; added to the many arguments adduced in support of that traditional notion, that the idolatry of his family was tsabaistical; by the antiquity of the Indian and other oriental zodiacs; by the opinion of a large proportion of the most learned men; by the researches of Mr. Bryant, and the valuable authority of Dr. Hales. From all these, and many other considerations, I am compelled to believe, in opposition to Mr. Faber, that the original idolatry of mankind was the worship of the heavenly host, and that it began and proceeded in the most gradual and insensible manner. Some of the authorities here referred to have supposed that the worship of the heavenly host was antediluvian; if so, it was handed down by tradition through the sons of Ham to the primitive postdiluvians. Though this supposition seems to be confirmed by the antiquity of the zodiacs, (which, if their claims to such an early origin are really well-founded, might have been preserved by the sons of Noah,) it is by no means necessary to be received. Some knowledge of astronomy must have existed before the flood, or the earth could not have been cultivated; and whatever was the extent of that antediluvian astronomy, it must have been known to the early postdiluvians.

The evidence, however, is incomplete, and I shall not insist on any point which appears so dubious; I shall merely, as I cannot but think upon the most satisfactory evidence, assume, that the

worship of the heavenly host was the first corruption of the primitive truth; and of that corruption shall proceed to trace the origin. All other false notions of the Pagans we shall find were easily deducible from this original perversion; and each, however gross, is founded on, or apparently connected with, and defended by, its similarity to the peculiar doctrine of uncorrupted patriarchism, from which it will be no less easy to show that they were originally respectively derived.

The sole principle upon which our present enquiry is conducted is this, that the Scriptures are true; therefore man never, as our pretended philosophers assert, has been, or could have been, in a savage state. He was never left to the unassisted use of his own reason: he was constantly guided, directed, and controlled by the commands and dictates of continued revelation; imparted according to his wants, and never entirely deserting him. We may utterly reject, therefore, as too absurd and contemptible, all those theories which represent man as ignorant of a Deity, and frequently gazing upon the Sun and Moon, and gradually admiring them more and more for their utility, beauty, and splendor, till he at length began to consider them either as the actual rulers of mankind, or the best visible representations of the Deity. Neither ought we to be contented with that class of reasoners which represents man as gradually forgetting God, and directing his attention to the heavenly host, till they alone became the objects of his adoration. Against these hypotheses, however ingeniously they may be defended, we have evidence to prove that revelation was bestowed on man from the beginning, and that when Tsabaism began to prevail in the time of Job, and of Nahor, the knowledge of the true God was so universal, and the influence of the uncorrupted patriarchal polity so great, that idolatry was punishable by the civil magistrate. Tsabaism, therefore, we may justly conclude, though the supposition is contradictory to the theory of many learned men, originated neither in ignorance nor stupid wonder. It was the offspring neither of poetical admiration, perverted science, nor wilful apostacy, though all these causes contributed to increase the attachment of the primitive idolaters to this favorite error, and to perpetuate its dominion. The origin of Tsabaism must be sought in some more reasonable source. It must have been derived from some imperceptible innovation on the patriarchal faith; adapted to the opinions of the faithful worshippers of the true God; recommended by the appearance of wisdom, by plausible arguments, and an apparent identity with the uncorrupted faith. I argue from the nature of the human mind.

Religious opinions are never altered, either violently, suddenly, needlessly, unnaturally, or without some good reason. The first postdiluvians were for a long time unanimous in their worship of the true God; their faith was guarded and preserved by the observances, the ritual, and the arkite ceremonies above-mentioned. They had much knowledge among them, and there can be no greater absurdity, than to imagine that men thus circumstanced would suddenly worship the Sun, because they observed his brightness, his beauty, or his majesty. They must have connected these ideas with their own pre-formed religion, and have permitted the new homage to begin, and continue, with the idea that they were pleasing their Maker, and offering greater homage to Him; though they departed in some minute innovations from the practice of their ancestors.

I thought it necessary to make these remarks, as I believe that I have the misfortune to be entirely unsupported by the various learned authors who have treated upon these subjects, in the opinion I have formed respecting the probable origin of the worship of the Sun. It is briefly this :

In the early ages of the world, the Deity was pleased to convince mankind of his continued superintendence and presence, by the visible appearance of a bright and splendid flame. This manifestation of his actual providence was known by the name of the Shechinah. Before the flood, it is said to have been constantly stationed at the entrance of Paradise, to direct the attention of the antediluvians to the tree of life, and the future heaven, which was typified by the garden their father had lost; it marked also the place where the true worshippers were to offer their sacrifices. Thus Cain went out from the presence of the Lord; that is, he departed from the presence of the Shechinah, from the assembly of the true worshippers; for no man can hide himself from God. After the deluge, the Shechinah, or sudden flame from above, appearing miraculously, suddenly, on important occasions, and so brightly, splendidly, and supernaturally, that it could neither be imitated, nor suspected to be of earthly origin, was the signal of acceptance with the Deity. Thus the sacrifice of Noah was honored by the visible symbol of a present God. In the same manner was dignified the sacrifice of Abraham. By this undoubted token of acceptance the missions of Moses, Gideon, and Elijah were confirmed. The chapter in the book of Kings, in which Elijah is described as appealing to the idolaters, and demonstrating his divine legation, is one of the most beautiful and splendid compositions, if considered only in a literary point of view, ever read. The same glory proved

to Solomon and the Israelites, in the most solemn and magnificent manner, the approbation of the giver of revelation at the dedication of the temple. The same glory too appeared to Isaiah, to the shepherds, at the transfiguration, to St. Paul on his journey to Damascus. Other instances might have been adduced; but these are sufficient to prove that the same symbol of the divinity has uniformly appeared in all ages of the Church, and that it was well known to the first race of man, from the time when they were few in number. It was always universally known. It was by the appointment of God himself presented to the attention of man, and it is the opinion of the learned Joseph Mede and other divines, that the same Shechinah will be again manifested at that period, when the second advent of our Messiah shall announce the second destruction of the world.

Now as all error is a perversion of truth, either by new combinations of its component doctrines by adding to, subtracting from, or altering by imperceptible innovations, and apparently immaterial glosses, the purer creed; and as it was impossible to deny that the Shechinah was a proof of the presence and continued power of the one true God; it is but natural to suppose that the incipient corruption would begin at the most evident and undoubted truth: and I have no doubt that the collected evidence of facts will prove the accuracy of this hypothesis—That the Sun was first venerated as the symbol of the continued influence and presence of the Deity; and that the first cause of that veneration, which afterwards degenerated into actual worship, was its similarity to the Shechinah, which was well known to all the primitive nations.

Maimonides declares most expressly, that in their first departure from pure religion, men worshipped the host of heaven; among other reasons, because God had divided with them his brightness: *חלק להם כבוד* are the original words. Now the word *כבוד*, is the very word used in Exodus xxiv. 16, 17, and in many other passages of scripture, to express the glory of that visible supernatural fire, which manifested the presence of Jehovah. He imparted, therefore, (the words may be translated), the glory of the Shechinah to the stars; or, "He made the Shechinah permanent in the heavens;" though its casual appearance for wise purposes was permitted in the usual manner upon earth. And because, Maimonides proceeds, the host of heaven thus partook of the glory of Jehovah, they were venerated among mankind; that is, they were originally venerated as the symbols of God's presence; and in after ages,

when the primary object of their veneration was forgotten, they were worshipped as the dispensers of blessings, and the givers of all good to mankind.

This idea derives additional confirmation from the account given us by Sanchoniathon, who lived 163 years before the reputed destruction of Troy, of the idolatry and apostacy of the second generation of men. From the names and circumstances recorded, it is well argued by Dr. Hales, that Cain and his wife are there meant. They are said to have been the offspring of the first pair, and in seasons of drought to have stretched out their hands towards the Sun, as the Lord of the heavens.

Unless the worship of the Sun originated in some such manner as I have now intimated, Cain, or whoever is meant by Sanchoniathon, would not have petitioned the Sun for rain. He had been accustomed to the Shechinah: he went out from its presence; and when in distress, he looked to the Sun, as the permanent Shechinah. He addressed his God as Baal Samen, the Lord of the heavens. The inspired writers call the true God "Jehovah Tsabaoth," Lord of the host of heaven, including the Sun, which was absurdly dignified with the divine titles. Cain remembered the period when he bowed down before the true Shechinah, and unwilling even in his affliction to return to the visible Church, whose communion he had forsaken, he offered up his useless repentance and rejected petitions to another supposed visible emblem of the Deity.

The Sun was considered as a permanent Shechinah: admiration soon changed into veneration and homage. From the worship of the Sun the progress was easy to that of the heavenly host; and as God himself had permitted the appearance of fire to be the symbol of his presence, the incipient veneration of that element and of the Sun, would be, as we find it was, at one time, universally prevalent.

This we believe to have been the case among the several branches of that family which settled at Shinar.

SECTION XI.—*Origin of Demonolatry.*

We now come to the difficulty—by what means, or on what account, the idolaters attributed to mortals the titles of their solar Deity; and from what source the worship of their deified ancestors originated?

Not only had the will of the Deity permitted the Shechinah to appear to man, to manifest his continued presence; he had

condescended to control, and guide, and counsel the heads of families, or the several individuals to whom it appeared good, by communicating his will by a super-human Being, in human form; which Being is called in Scripture the angel, or the messenger Jehovah. In support of this opinion we have the indisputable, and the undisputed testimony of the Jewish Church, the Christian Church, particularly in its primitive and purer periods; we have the whole weight of unauthorised tradition, and the literal interpretation of Scripture. This was the word of the Lord God, walking in the garden in the cool of the day. This was the great Being which appeared to the principal individuals of the Jewish Church, and after the lapse of the destined time, tabernacled among the Jews, fulfilled the predictions of his servants the prophets, and was sacrificed on the cross as the long-announced propitiation for the sins of man.

On the appearances of this divine personage to the early antediluvian, and postdiluvian patriarchs, was founded the doctrine of the Avatars of the Hindoos. An Avatar among the Hindoos means a descent of the Deity: and man had been encouraged since the fall to expect a permanent incarnation of the bruiser of the serpent's head. The appearances, however, of which we are now speaking, were all transitory. When the object for which they had been permitted was accomplished, the miraculous appearance was withdrawn. The form which had been presented to an individual was seldom presented a second time: and thus, as Mr. Faber has justly observed, the precise aspect of the human form that served as a vehicle to the divinity in one, could not have been known to another, age. The doctrine of the incarnation of the promised Messiah was known from the beginning, but it was misunderstood even by Eve; who, when Cain was born, exclaimed, I have gotten a man from the Lord; or, as it should be translated, I have obtained the man, even Jehovah himself. It was wisely intended that the attention of mankind should be constantly directed to their great deliverer; but as there had now been several manifestations of the divine presence, and it was not known when there might be another, an opening presented itself to an ambitious and daring man, to assume the title of the incarnate Son; to call himself the benefactor and guardian of mankind; to originate castes by denominating his own family sacred; and, when he had secured to one class the sacerdotal and military influence, to impose those opinions by the sword, which he had at the

beginning recommended, and extended by mildness and persuasion. Such was the policy, and such the apostasy of Nimrod, as it may be almost demonstrated from the united testimony of the traditions of the East, the scattered remarks of ancient writers, the exact agreement of this theory with all the remaining authenticated history of this remote age, and its perfect harmony with the subsequent narrative of Scripture.

As this incarnate Being was considered as a divine person, and the Son of God, and as Nimrod claimed the authority and titles of the incarnate, it is evident that his father or his ancestor must from some cause have been also considered as divine. Nimrod was descended in a right line from Ham, who was the elder born of Noah. To the line of the eldest was attached the right of primogeniture, and the honor of becoming the human parent of the Messiah, unless that right of primogeniture was forfeited; as it was by Ham. Assuming to himself the title of the incarnate, as a divine person, Nimrod taught the people that not only himself but his family were sacred, as the continued, permanent incarnations of the promised Son; and therefore that his ancestors, who had borne this character, and had been benefactors to mankind, were entitled to their homage and veneration; therefore Noah, and Ham, and Chus, were worshipped. But as the Sun in the heavens was the visible symbol of the Deity, their veneration of the Sun was just; and as their ancestors were divine, and therefore entitled to their homage, therefore it was that the Sun and their ancestors were identified; the actions of men were attributed to the Sun, and the powers of the Sun in turn were attributed to mortals. Thus the heathen Gods all bear the titles of the Sun, though they act and speak as men. Nimrod was the son of Chus, who gave name to the family of the Cuthim, or Scythi, or Cuthites, who in all ages have controlled their brethren: he was known by the name Belus, or Baal, a common name for the Sun: he was called also Ninus, or the incarnate; the union of the two names in one person accurately describes the nature and source of the idolatry.

Thus were the appearing of the Shechinah, and of the angel Jehovah, perverted to an incipient, and imperceptibly innovating and corrupting idolatry. Nimrod claimed to be considered as the expected permanently incarnate and divine son; his deceased father was venerated as the solar Deity, from whom, as a God, that divine Being was to descend. The effects of their union of policy, usurpation, and violence, are related in Scripture: War and all its evils began with a false religion; and the earth

has not even yet recovered from the contaminations and consequences of the idolatries of Babylon, the mother and first cause of apostacy from God.

SECTION XII.

Causes of the dissensions at Shinar, and origin of the two great sects among the ancient idolaters.

From the histories of Nimrod still preserved in the East, more particularly from a rare tract entitled the Dabistan, discovered among some refugee Persians in India, by Sir William Jones, which celebrates Nimrod under the title of Maha Beli, or the great Belus: from the testimony of Justin, and Strabo and others, we learn that Nimrod established a powerful empire. The laws by which he governed this empire, and the means by which he obtained and secured the power, are preserved in that ancient work the Institutes of Menu, which is the same as the Desatir of the Iranian Mahabad or Nimrod. From these sources of information we learn, that the institution of castes began at Shinar, by securing to the sacred family of the incarnate One the whole military and sacerdotal power, and subjugating by this means his more unguarded and unsuspecting brethren.

The manner in which the doctrine of frequent incarnations prevailed among the pagans, may be clearly illustrated by that passage of Homer, in which Neptune is represented as coming to the assistance of the Greeks. The Trojans were beginning to be successful, when the Greeks suddenly recovered themselves, being rallied by Calchas, a chieftain whose influence among them was great, from his possessing the three usual characteristics of the heads of families in those early ages; being at once the prophet, the priest, and leader of a tribe. The sudden assistance of Calchas, who came from the ships to which the Greeks were retiring, was ascribed to the power of a Deity; and the chieftain himself was supposed to be not the very individual with whom they were acquainted, but an incarnation of Neptune in a mortal form. In this way, when the doctrine of the incarnation was once perverted, gods were multiplied for ever: the attributes of Deity were ascribed to men; to heroes, lawgivers, statesmen, and particularly to heads of families. The several advantages deduced from the change of seasons, the pleasures arising from scenery, the glories of the ocean, and the sun; every thing in short which delighted the

eye, and gladdened the heart, was attributed to the immediate agency of a present Deity; who multiplied himself in every form, and in infinite variety. Hence the genius of mythology gave satyrs to woods—naiads to fountains—nymphs to groves—and gods and goddesses to every place and event; to every imagination, and every metaphysical notion.

We now have arrived at that very difficult question which has embarrassed all inquirers into this interesting subject. Mr. Faber has not shown his usual discrimination in his investigation of the point: he has "indented and dovetailed" the collected traditions and facts into his system; but his hypothesis seems to fail at this most important and essential part of his discussion. The pagans were divided into two great heresies. "In many countries these have been long, completely, and amicably blended together; in others they severally subsist in a state of well-marked distinction: and in one, at least, they are separated by the bitterest hostility, though with an apparent inconsistency the objects of their worship confessedly melt into each other, and the same deity is in effect venerated by both. It is difficult to fix upon the proper appellations by which the two kindred theological systems of these two predominating sects may be best designated. From their supposed founders, adopting the phraseology with which Epiphanius has been furnished by certain ancient records, we may call one Scythism, and the other Ionism: or from the deities who were especially venerated, we may call the one Buddhism, or Hermetism, or Tautism; and the other Scythism, or Osirism, or Dionuism; or lastly, from the officiating ministers of religion, we may call the one Samanianism, or Sarmanianism, and the other Brahmanism, or Druidism." Thus far Mr. Faber, and with him I shall use the terms Buddhism, and Brahmanism; not as being in any way peculiarly apposite, but as the more well known and familiar appellation.

Mr. Faber supposes that both these sects originated at Shinar. It seems more probable that Buddhism, or the simpler form of apostacy, preceded Brahmanism, which alone originated at Shinar: and when the several tribes, who hitherto had been united under Nimrod as the supposed incarnate deliverer who should raise them to greatness, and which tribes had already forsaken the worship of Jehovah, in professing Buddhism, refused to accede to the further innovations of Nimrod, then began those violent dissensions, and fierce wars, which are celebrated in ancient traditional history as the wars of the Titans, or the giants, with the immortal gods.

It will here be necessary to explain the characteristic differences between Buddhism and Brahmanism.

Buddhism is idolatry in its more simple and incipient state: Brahmanism is idolatry in its more matured, regular, and complicated form. Buddhism was the worship of the Sun as the visible emblem of deity, united with the veneration of their first deified ancestor, whether Adam, or Noah, or Ham, or Chus, under the form of the graven image of a man, who was uniformly considered as an incarnation of the deity. Though the ritual of both was the same, there was this wide, and remarkable difference, that the Buddhists erected no temple to the honor of their God, as they considered the whole world to be his temple: they did not venerate a variety of images; their homage was paid but to one, although they believed in repeated incarnations of the divine Being. Buddhism in short was the union of theism and morality, with the perverted doctrine of the belief in the Shechinah as a visible symbol of God's presence, and the doctrine of the incarnation. It must have differed but little at the beginning from the worship of the Patriarchs: and its votaries would have been induced in great numbers to give credence to the bold pretensions of Nimrod when he assumed the title of the promised Incarnate, the divine Sovereign announced to the world from the fall of man. Epiphanius expressly asserts that this heresy existed from the flood to the building of the tower; that is, the corruption began, and made progress so imperceptibly, that it was impossible to ascertain when or where it originated. It was in great measure the natural consequence of the appointed dispersion from Nachshevan; and it no where openly opposed, or disturbed, much less attacked or persecuted, the unperturbed worshippers of Jehovah, among the pristine patriarchial families.

In this state of things Nimrod assumed the name of the incarnate Son, and attracted to his standard, not only the dependants and branches of the family of Ham, but thousands of the corrupted votaries of the kindred heresy. At Shinar began the dominion of Brahmanism; of that system of faith and practice which, in after times, degenerated into the most abandoned and atrocious infamy. As the corruption was gradual, we can scarcely imagine that the usurper would venture to encourage the profligate lives and creed, which afterwards disgraced his tribe; and it is most probable that some ages elapsed before the abominable code was matured to that excess and loathsomeness, which established murder and prostitution as religious ceremonies; and which debauches the imagination of the most cautious and

virtuous, who attempt to trace the details of its unutterable corruptions. Brahmanism is the worship of the host of heaven; of the various heads of the tribes of Chus, or of the eminent primitive ancestors of mankind, who were all said to have been incarnations of a benevolent deity. It perverted to lust the doctrine of the incarnation, and to cruelty and murder the doctrine of the atonement. It subsequently taught a variety of mingled, philosophical, astronomical, and inconsistent theories; which by the general conquests, and sometimes by the mild influence of the arts and knowledge of the Cuthites, who were dispersed from Shinar, were gradually incorporated in the creed of their more regular, quiet, peaceable, and less informed brethren. Yet many ages must have elapsed before the lineaments of this portrait were matured. The human mind cannot tolerate any sudden, abrupt or violent innovation in religion. We are justified therefore in supposing that Nimrod made at first but that one attempt recorded in the Scripture, to innovate; by additional errors, upon the simple heresy of the Buddhists. We shall see with what success his design was crowned, and endeavour to trace the origin of the more flagitious, and (I grieve to say) still permanent corruptions of the primitive truth.

Between these two sects began civil and religious dissensions, which terminated in fierce and cruel wars, in the dispersion of the Cuthite followers of Nimrod, and, according to the oriental traditions, in the destruction of the pretended incarnate. The question is, from what cause did these wars originate, when both parties were agreed in essentials? Mr. Faber has collected a vast mass of proof that the institution of castes commenced at Shinar, and I have not met sufficient reason to differ with him on this point, though this circumstance seems to add at first sight some difficulty to the question, from what cause the dissensions originated at Shinar among the apostates from the true religion. On closer examination, however, this very institution of castes affords a complete solution to the difficulty.

Mr. Faber has shown that a large body of the unmixed Cuthim of the military caste, being peculiarly attached to the Buddhic superstition, left their brethren, and retired to that high country which extends from the Buxine to Upper India; these were afterwards known by the name of Scythians, and were the ancestors of the Germans, the Goths, the Chinese, and Birman nations; now Mr. Bryant has shown that great dissensions took place at the dispersion between the two parties, and there must have been some adequate cause to induce not merely the inferior tribes, but even a large part of the more privileged and envied

caste to secede from the dominion of Nimrod. The provocation must have been proportionably great: the innovation in their religion must have been of the most offensive nature, though by no means so glaringly odious as the subsequent gradations of vice and error. The first cause will appear to have been the building of the tower, and the second, the introduction of actual immorality into the corrupted religion of the patriarchs.

"They found a plain in the land of Shinar," says the inspired narrative, "and they dwelt there, and they said one to another, let us build us a city and a tower whose top may reach to heaven, and let us make a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth. And the Lord came down to see the city, and the tower which the children of men built. And the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth, and they left off to build the city."

I have omitted the clauses which relate the confusion of languages, as this was the result and not the cause of the divisions to which we refer. To save time, I shall paraphrase the words instead of entering into a long discussion on their meaning; premising only that, as I have already observed in the 37th number of the *Classical Journal*, the Cuthites only, though with an immense proportion of the whole of the human race then existing, were concerned in the building of the tower, and the settlement at Shinar; the rest had retired to their respective settlements, appointed by their ancestor Noah. The passage may be thus paraphrased:

They found a plain in the land of Shinar, and they dwelt there many years, without attempting any farther innovation in the already much corrupted patriarchal religion; although Chus and Nimrod were incessantly engaged in extending the influence of their family, in employing a certain number of the most eminent in hunting, and in securing to themselves and their partizans, the whole civil, military, and sacerdotal power.—At length, when Nimrod had gradually obtained, and permanently secured considerable influence, he, and the chieftains of the several families attached to him, proposed that some bond of union be established to prevent their dispersion. Let us build a city, capable of receiving all our followers, and let us build a tower in preservation of the ancient religion, that we may still commemorate the arkite rites, and maintain the honor of those ancestors who were incarnations of the deity: this tower shall be lofty as Ararat. Let us make a name, of distinction for ourselves; we will adopt the dove as our banner, (*vide Bryant*) and by thus forming ourselves into one united family, we shall prevent our

dispersion over the earth, as our other brethren of Japhet and Shem have been dispersed from Nachshevan. The Cuthim began to build; but because it was the appointment of the Almighty that the several regions of the globe should be occupied according to his own decree, and not as man chose, the conduct of these apostates was overruled to the accomplishment of the divine purpose, partly by miraculous means, and partly by those consequences, which are ever the result of a violation of the known commands of God. Their language was confounded that they did not understand one another's speech: it was confounded by destroying their uniformity of language; but in what manner this was done cannot be accurately ascertained: and, in consequence of the numerous innovations of Nimrod in the ancient religion, which were as steadily resisted by one party as they were attempted to be imposed by the other, the whole collected tribes divided, quarrelled, fought, and dispersed.

Such seems to be the full meaning of this passage of Genesis. Now if we can ascertain from external or internal evidence the nature of these intended, and in many respects these effected, innovations of Nimrod, we shall at once solve the remaining difficulties connected with the origin of idolatry. We here see two separate parties; each of whom had apostatised from the worship of Jehovah; each retained a common ritual; each celebrated the arkite worship; each venerated the host of heaven, and exalted their deceased ancestors to the stars; each had thought their interest, their happiness, or their fame, would be promoted by their union at Shinar; yet tradition has commemorated the most cruel wars, and Scripture has related the sudden dispersion of the assembled multitude. They had already continued many years in one spot, and some overwhelming resistless cause must have compelled their separation. We cannot imagine that the mere erection of a high tower could have produced this effect: although it is well known that the Buddhists at the very earliest periods had the utmost aversion to the worship of God within temples, and Æschylus expresses the general reason when he calls the sky the temple of the sun; as if that majestic emblem of deity could not be confined within walls. The innovations of Nimrod, then, which offended his Buddhite brethren, were the introduction for the first time of that fearful compound of lust and cruelty, which degraded and characterised the abominable idolatries of Paganism. It was not the building of the tower, which of itself would have either incurred the interposition of providence, or the opposition of their brethren; it was that shameful union of murder and ob-

scenity which is implied in scripture in the history of the dispersion. Moses wrote to a people who were well acquainted with the rites and ceremonies of the temple-worship of the heathens; and they as much understood that these enormities, to which we are alluding, formed a part of the religion of Paganism, as we should infer that the liturgy was read to the people, when we were informed of the erection of a cathedral.

AFRICAN FRAGMENTS.

BY JAMES GREY JACKSON.

No. II.—[Continued from No. XLVI. p. 286.]

“The inattention of men in general to the fulfilment of the divine predictions, does not proceed so commonly from principles of infidelity, as from ignorance of *facts*;—pure ignorance of historical facts.”—Dr. Buchanan’s *Christian Researches in Asia*, 11th Ed. p. 196.

THE following prophecy concerning the Jews is remarkably verified in the several regencies of Barbary, and particularly in the empire of Marocco.

“Thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverb, and a by-word, among all the nations whither the Lord shall lead thee; among these nations shalt thou find no ease, *neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest.*” Deut. xxviii. 37, 65.

The Jews were to become an astonishment and a proverb, and a reproach among all the nations, because they shed the blood of the Saviour of the world, and called down the vengeance of heaven upon their heads by exclaiming, “His blood be upon us and upon our children.” Now, it is not surprising, as Dr. Buchanan observes,¹ that Christians should reproach them for such a crime, but we behold the Mùhamedan at this day (who does not believe in our Saviour, *as the Saviour*, but as a prophet only) punishing the Jew without any other cause or motive, than, *because he is a Jew!*

In the cities, towns, and provinces of the empire of Marocco, the life of the Jew can be compared to nothing so aptly as to Egyptian bondage. The greatest, the richest Jew in the country, is liable to be, and often is, insulted and buffeted by the meanest Muselman with impunity; they are obliged to carry a distinguish-

¹ Vide his *Christian Researches*, p. 214. 11th Ed.

ing mark of their own degradation, by walking barefooted even in wet and cold weather, whenever they pass any mosque, sanctuary, cemetery, or even the house or residence of the Alkaid or Governor. Nay, in the city of (Fas el Bály) Old Fas, even this toleration of wearing their sandals occasionally, is not permitted, but they are, high and low, rich and poor, obliged immediately on passing the threshold of their own door, to walk through the unpaved streets of Old Fas, which, in the rainy season, are notorious, and even proverbial, for dirt and mud, *naked and barefooted!* so that without any metaphor, but literally, *the sole of their feet hath no rest.* I have frequently been quite astonished to witness the indignities and stripes which these debased people suffer from their unrelenting task-masters; and when I have inquired for the motive for this cruel treatment, the answer is uniformly, *Wâsh mâ houâ lehudy, ash brightly muzzel.* Is he not a Jew? what would you more? or what further reason would you have? Thus is this extraordinary prophecy literally accomplished, and accomplishing daily, in Africa!

Daniel foretels that the Christian church shall be oppressed by the persecuting powers, until *a time, times, and the dividing of a time.* Dan. vii. 25.

The same period he assigns for the accomplishment of the indignation against the holy people Israel.

"One said, how long shall it be to these wonders? and I heard the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, when he held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and swore by him that liveth for ever, that it shall be for a time, times, and a half, and when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be fulfilled." Dan. xii. 7. Now the same form of words is used by St. John in the Revelations, to express the duration of the Papal and Muhamedan powers; oppressed by them, the church of Christ was to remain desolate in the wilderness, "*for a time, times, and half a time.*" Rev. xii. 14.

Every one who is erudite in sacred prophecy will understand that the great period of Daniel and St. John commences at the same æra, viz. the rise of the persecuting powers, and that its duration is 1260 years. See this prophecy also in Rev. xi. 2. "The holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months," which, at a day for a year, calculating 30 days to a month, is 1260 days, which means 1260 years: this marks the period of the Muhamedan power. See a full discussion of this subject in Dr. Buchanan's *Christian Researches in Asia*, 11th Ed. p. 216, 194, 195. &c.

Here then, as the learned doctor observes, are three great events hastening to their period.

1st. The extinction of the Papal dominion.

2d. The subversion of the Muhamedan power.

3d. The accomplishment of the Divine indignation against the Jews.

It is a great mistake to suppose that the Muhamedans are not acquainted with this prophecy; it is perhaps more generally known and anticipated among them than it is in Christian countries. They believe that their country will be invaded and conquered by the Christians, and that that event is not far distant: they add also, that the attack will be simultaneous in many places, and that it will be made on a Friday (the Muselman Sabbath), and during the *Dohor* service of prayer; that is to say, between half-past one and two o'clock P. M. They are so generally impressed with the truth of this prophecy, that at that time and on that day the gates of all the towns on the coast are shut and bolted, for fear of an attack when unarmed and occupied at their devotions. I have often inquired the origin of this prophecy, which has never been doubted by any one of them; but I never could obtain any satisfactory answer, further than that it has been transmitted by their forefathers from time immemorial! Perhaps their forefathers, being themselves convinced of the truth of this prophecy of Daniel, were unwilling to give it in that prophet's name, he having been a prophet of the Jews, a people execrated by the Muhamedans as a debased race.

When our late ambassador, His Excellency I. M. Matra, performed his last embassy to the court of Morocco at the city of Fas, a strong apprehension prevailed throughout that country that this prophecy was about to be accomplished, and that the French were contemplating an invasion of their country under Bonaparte, with a powerful army. Whatever might have been their conduct, if such an invasion had been actually attempted, I presume not to say; but they certainly were not alarmed at the apprehension, but each man boasted how many Frenchmen he would kill, and what a fine supper they would make of the French army. At this period I was travelling through the country. I was known to be a friend of the ambassador, and was considered as one of his Kaffila (Caravan). Being in the neighbourhood of the renowned sanctuary of Muley Driss Zerone, on the western declivity of the northern Atlas mountains, I ordered my attendants to proceed and pitch the tents at this sanctuary, where the Muhamedan religion was first planted in West Barbary

by an ancestor of the celebrated Sherar Driss, Edris or Idrisi, the Mograbien geographer, but generally called the Nubian geographer. Here I was received in the true spirit of Arabian hospitality, and with a distinction that effaced all that animosity which is such a bar to familiar intercourse between the Maisselman and the Christian. This favorable reception by the conclave of Marabts, some of whom were members of the Diwan, enabled me to ascertain their feelings and sentiments respecting the threatened invasion; and I was informed that one of the Marabts, a confidential servant of the emperor, had been dispatched a few days before to Tafilet, where the treasure is kept, to receive and apply a large sum of mouby, which had been there accumulating for ages, as a fund to be appropriated exclusively to the repelling of an invasion of the country by the Christians: this money was to be distributed to the troops to encourage their ardor, and to excite their expectation of a further reward, for vanquishing the Christians composing the army of the expected invasion!

Sentiments similar to these were entertained by the Arabs of the mountains, and by the people of Algiers, during the celebrated attack by Lord Exmouth against the city of Algiers; and there can be no doubt that the Turks, conjointly with the three regencies of Barbary and that of Egypt, will now again entertain similar sentiments, during the contest between the Ottomans and the Greeks.

The present year 1821 answers to the 1236th of the Hejra, so that the 1260 years mentioned by the prophet Daniel and by St. John, will be completed in 22 years, unless these years, being lunar, require to be converted into solar years: in that case the extinction of the Muhamedan power, and the conversion of the Jews, may be expected to take place 36 or 37 years later, or about 58 years from the present time.

Many customs and expressions of the Arabs of the present day serve to illustrate passages of Holy Writ. The Arabic language is cognate with the Hebrew: it has the same idioms and the same expressions, particularly where it is necessary to refer to any thing belonging to the Jews. Some Christians in the East, particularly the Syrian Christians, believe that the gospels were all originally written in Syriac; and this opinion they support on the fact, that the Syriac was the language of the Holy Land at the time of our Saviour; and because our Saviour spoke in this language from the Cross, (see St. Matthew, xxvii. 46.) they admit that the gospels were afterwards translated into Greek. The Syriac language resembles the

Arabic even more than the Hebrew; and Sir William Drummond, in his dissertation on the Punic inscription, thinks the Homeric Arabic, the Phœnician, and the Punic, are one and the same language: this will account for the frequent Arabic quotations introduced in the illustration of these customs and expressions. With respect to the originality or antiquity of the Arabic language, they dispute this point with the Egyptians and the Hebrews, and adduce the following circumstance, which they have on record, as a proof of their presumptuous assertion, that the Arabic was the language of Paradise, and that *only that* will be spoken on the day of judgment. About 12 centuries before (Kneby) Muhamed they relate, that high disputes arose in Egypt concerning the antiquity of nations and languages; and Psammeticus, king of Egypt, imagining that the Egyptians were the most antient nation upon earth, attempted to prove it by the following device.

He commanded two infants to be brought up in [Elkef] a cave, which was to be kept continually closed: they were committed to the care of two nurses, whose tongues were first cut out, who were to feed them with goats' milk: they were commanded not to suffer any person to approach the cave, but themselves, and the mates who accompanied them to the entrance gate. At the expiration of two years from their birth, when the nurses were coming out of the cave, these children cried out to their foster mothers, *Khubbos, Khubbos*. Surprised to hear this language, they immediately represented to the king that the children had spoken: the king, in order that he might himself be a witness to the words uttered, ordered the children to be brought before him, when they both again uttered the same words, *خببوس Khubbos, Khubbos*. It was ascertained that this word was used by the Arabs for bread. From this time the Arabs were allowed, notwithstanding the jealousy of the Egyptians, to be the most antient nation, and the Egyptians resigned, though reluctantly, the palm of antiquity to the Arabs.

The Arabs are at this day what they were thirty centuries ago: they have the same customs and language which they had in the days of Abraham: they, like the Jews, have never, during all the various revolutions of empires in the East or in Africa, relinquished any of their customs: nay, even when they have

This appears to be the same story that is related by Herodotus, who probably heard it in Egypt. Herod. ii. 2, 3.

been obliged, by demiciliated encampments in the territory of other powers, to conform to *their* laws and regulations, yet we see that they still retain unsophisticated their own unique customs and manners to this day!

Matt. v. 13. "Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted; it is thenceforth good for nothing."

Salt is a figurative expression, much used at this day in the East. Salt is called in Arabic *Millah*. The Arabs figuratively call *seasoned food* *Tāam Mill'h*, which, *literally* translated, is salt provisions. A woman who possesses physiognomical character is called *Zin Mill'h*, which figuratively means an animated beauty, but *literally*, a salt beauty. Pepper, cloves, cinnamon, nutmeg, or other condiment, when mixed with food, are called *Millah*, which evidently means seasoned, and not salt. Thus it is evident, in this instance, as in many others, that it is almost impossible to translate *literally* the Oriental expressions into the dialects of the West, and retain, at the same time, their spirit and meaning. The French have an idiomatical expression which conveys the same meaning with the *Zin Mill'h* of the Arabs: they call this animated beauty "*une femme piquante*."

Psalm xcii. 13. "Those that be planted in the house of the Lord, shall flourish in the courts of our God."—"In a wide obuse," Prov. xxi. 9.

The custom of planting trees in the interior square or courtyard of the houses in the East, is still practised. The exterior walls of the house describe a square or oblong form, in the inside of which is built another quadrangular wall, leaving an opening in the centre: the apartments which are between the two walls above described, are generally long and narrow, having a flat roof or terrace to cover them: the interior square is often surrounded, but sometimes one side only is covered, forming a piazza. This interior quadrangle is often converted into a garden, planted with cypress, cedars of Lebanon, orange, lemon, citron, and other trees. In the city of Fas some of the houses have delightful gardens of this description, with fountains of water in the centre. The Jews also, in Africa, when they inhabit spacious houses in which such gardens can be made, celebrate the Feast of the Tabernacles for seven days in them, living during that period under the canopy of heaven. A whole family sometimes occupy a single room in these wide houses, having the end partitioned off for a bed-place, which being elevated, the part beneath is used as a closet."

St. Luke xxiv. 36. "Peace be unto you."

This ancient Oriental salutation is used to this day throughout all countries where the Arabic or Syriac languages are spoken. *Salamu Alikame* are the terms used since the days of Abraham; in Syria, in Arabia, in Egypt, in many parts of our Indian empire, in several countries on the eastern coast of Africa, in Barca, Tanis, Tripoli, Algiers, Marocco, and Bled-el-jereede; and in many countries of Sudan this is the universal salutation. Is it not preferable to the modern expression of the West, How do you do?

Joshua xviii. 17. "The border went up to the stone of Bohan."

The custom of placing border stones at the corners of fields and plantations, to ascertain the property of each individual, is practised to this day among the domiciliated Arabs of Africa: these boundary stones are placed at each corner of a *fedan*,¹ or field; they are held, in a manner, sacred; inasmuch, that he that should presume to move one of them, would be excommunicated as a disturber of order in the community. According to this mode for the separation of property, no ground whatever is lost, as is the case with hedges and ditches, and the boundary stones are discovered only when the corn is reaped; a line is then drawn from stone to stone, by which the respective property of each individual is ascertained.

Deut. xv. 8. The Jews in Africa have not the Bible translated into Arabic, (a language which is, in Africa, what the Latin is in Europe: it is also the vernacular language of many countries of that continent,) as the Jews of England, France, Holland, and other European countries, have it translated into the language of those countries respectively: in consequence of this deprivation, the Jew of Barbary or Africa must either understand Hebrew, or remain ignorant of the contents of his Bible. This circumstance acts as a stimulus upon that curious and investigating people; and accordingly, the Hebrew tongue is there studied and understood much more generally than it is in Europe, and most of the Jewish Rabbis converse together in Hebrew, when they do not wish their persecutors, the

¹ Those who have superintended the translation of the Arabic words and sentences in the lately published and interesting travels of Louis Burkhart in Nubia, have translated this word *Faden*, *acre*; but they have been incorrect; the word *fedan* does not denote a definite extent of surface of ground; it is an indefinite term as to extent, and is aptly, as I conceive, translated by the word *field*, which may be great or small, and determined by boundary stones instead of hedge or ditch.

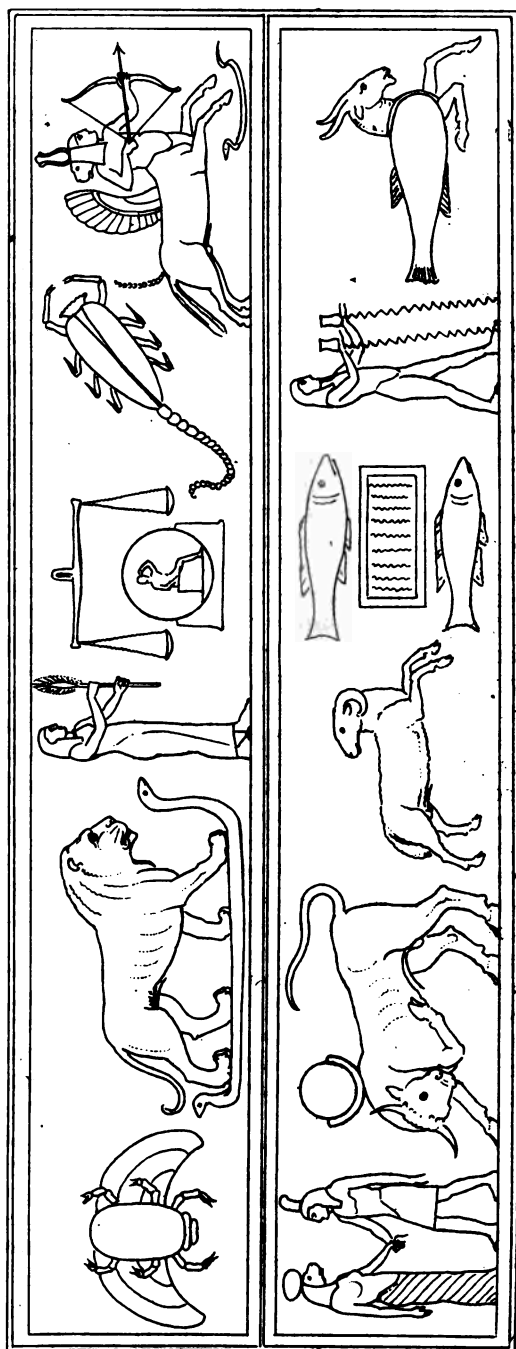
Muselmén, to know the subject of their discourse. A well-educated person, who had leisure and time to spare, might occasionally collect much valuable information among the most learned Rabbis of this people, respecting various passages in the Bible, which appear to have been either loosely or inaccurately translated by the Septuagint or the spurious copies of that translation. For the purpose of elucidation I will relate a case in point. The African Jews in discussing passages in the Bible, which they never object to do, speak of a man unloosing or opening his girdle or sash to give money to those who are in want of it. In describing this unloosing of the girdle, in which they carry their money as we do ours in our pockets or purses, they refer to Deut. xv. 8, wherein our authorised version does not mention the money as being in the girdle. But when we contemplate the costume of the Jews, which in that country is the same that it was in the days of Abraham and Moses, and that the girdle or sash has been during so many ages the place of deposit for their money for daily use, common sense will scarcely allow us to think that this circumstance (demonstrative of a Hebrew custom) has not been omitted in our authorised version, which runs thus: "But thou shalt open thine hand wide unto thy brother, and shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need in that which he wanteth." Here is no mention of the purse or of the girdle, which latter to this day is used as the deposit of their money; and we know that travellers do not carry their money in their hands, as we might, from the above translation, be disposed to think they did in those remote times. This being premised, there is reason to suppose that the late translation of the Pentateuch, from the original Hebrew, by John Bellamy, is the true one as far as regards this passage, or at least a manifest improvement on this passage in the authorised version. It is as follows: "When ungirding, thou shalt open thine hand for him, likewise," &c.

JAMES G. JACKSON.

the first of these is the fact that the word "the" is used in the title of the paper. This is a very common mistake, and it is one which should be avoided. The second mistake is the use of the word "the" in the title of the paper. This is also a very common mistake, and it is one which should be avoided. The third mistake is the use of the word "the" in the title of the paper. This is also a very common mistake, and it is one which should be avoided. The fourth mistake is the use of the word "the" in the title of the paper. This is also a very common mistake, and it is one which should be avoided. The fifth mistake is the use of the word "the" in the title of the paper. This is also a very common mistake, and it is one which should be avoided. The sixth mistake is the use of the word "the" in the title of the paper. This is also a very common mistake, and it is one which should be avoided. The seventh mistake is the use of the word "the" in the title of the paper. This is also a very common mistake, and it is one which should be avoided. The eighth mistake is the use of the word "the" in the title of the paper. This is also a very common mistake, and it is one which should be avoided. The ninth mistake is the use of the word "the" in the title of the paper. This is also a very common mistake, and it is one which should be avoided. The tenth mistake is the use of the word "the" in the title of the paper. This is also a very common mistake, and it is one which should be avoided.

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*On the Antiquity of the Zodiacs of ESNEH and
DENDERA.*

PART II.—[Continued from No. XLVII. p. 174.]

THOSE who are of opinion that the zodiacs of Esneh and Dendera have been constructed since the commencement of the Christian æra, either have, or may have, employed the following arguments:—*First*, it may be proved from the architecture of the temples, as well as from some inscriptions found by Mr. Bankes, that these buildings, with their planispheres and hieroglyphics, are not much, if at all, more ancient than the time of Antoninus Pius. *Secondly*, the temple of Esneh, which is generally supposed to be the most ancient, was dedicated to Ammon; and as Strabo says, that the inhabitants adored Minerva and the *latus-fish*, it may be suspected that the temple was not yet built in the time of that writer. *Thirdly*, if we suppose the zodiacs to have been formed for the purpose of representing the state of the heavens at any particular epoch, we may naturally conclude that they were constructed for the time when the temples were built. *Fourthly*, the date of the oblong zodiac of Dendera, may be decided by this circumstance—that the sign of Cancer is there represented by two beetles of different sizes, one of which indicates the ascending, and the other the descending part of the sign. *Fifthly*, it is not possible, that the summer solstice could be intended to be represented in any of these zodiacs, as corresponding with any other sign than Cancer, because the Balance is found in its proper place.

1. It is not essential to my inquiry to ascertain the exact date, when the temples of Esneh and Dendera were built, since the zodiacs on the roofs might have been copied from more ancient monuments. The evidence of Mr. Bankes seems to prove that these temples were built in the time of Adrian and Antoninus Pius. In a letter addressed by this distinguished traveller to my learned friend Mr. David Baillie, he has made various observations, which denote at once his acuteness, and the accuracy with which he had examined the architecture, sculpture, and masonry, of these celebrated ruins; and as it appears to

be his decided opinion, that the whole of the workmanship was of a much later date than I had supposed, I am rather inclined to relinquish my former opinions upon this part of the subject. Still, however, some remarks may be made on the statements of Mr. Bankes. He observes that the capitals of the most ancient columns to be found at Thebes, and in Nubia, have the form only of the simple bell, and one or two other forms; and he adds, that these capitals are placed either upon polygonal or fluted shafts. The capitals of the columns at Esneh and Dendera, more particularly at the latter place, are of much more laborious workmanship, and exhibit clusters of lotus-flowers, intermixed with foliage, and even with grape and date branches. Now it may be remarked, *first*, that peculiar flowers, plants, and trees, were dedicated to different deities; and that therefore there might have been considerable differences in the architectural ornaments of different temples. The palm-tree was sacred to Isis, the vine to Osiris, the lotus to Horus and Harpocrates; *secondly*, that the temples of Esneh and Dendera may have been of much later date than those of Thebes, and yet may have been built long before the times of the Cæsars, or even of the Ptolemies; and *thirdly*, that if these temples had been built under the auspices either of the Ptolemies or of the Cæsars, we might have expected them to have borne more resemblance to the models of architecture to be found in Greece and Italy.

There is another statement, on which some observations may be made. The hieroglyphics on the columns are not of ancient Egyptian workmanship; but, as it appears from the inscriptions found by Mr. Bankes, are of the time of Antoninus Pius—the style of workmanship on the columns and on the ceiling, is the same; and therefore the zodiacs, which are in relief painted over, are of the same date with the hieroglyphics carved on the columns. But is it impossible that the zodiacs should have been traced on the roofs before the hieroglyphics were cut in the columns? Might not the temples have existed for ages, before the Greeks engraved the hieroglyphics? Is the identity of style, between the engravings on the columns and the reliefs on the ceilings, such that no imitation of manner can account for the resemblance? Does it appear that the style of workmanship at Esneh and Dendera is so clearly of the same age, that no doubt can well exist on the subject?

2. Mr. Bankes observes, "that the temple of Esneh was:

dedicated to Ammon, and that he should be sorry to maintain that it did not exist in Strabo's time, but that this writer expressly says, that the inhabitants of Latopolis adored Minerva and the *latus-fish*." On turning to Strabo I find Mr. Bankes's reference to that author to be perfectly correct; but Mr. Bankes does not mention in his letter, why he affirms that the temple was dedicated to Ammon; and I can only conclude, that he has made this affirmation from the symbols and images which adorn the building; as I can find nothing in the zodiac to authorise the assertion. But the Egyptian Neitha, who was *Ἐρεσθῆλος*, was a very different deity from the *Ἄθηνά* of the Greeks, or the Minerva of the Latins, and was in many respects the same with Pthas, or Ptha, whose name is often improperly written Pthias, and Pthas. This God, who was likewise *ἄγροδόχμος*, is also identified with Ammon, (or Amoun, as the name should be written,) by Iamblichus; and thus it becomes very difficult to distinguish Neitha from Ptha, and Ptha from Amoun. Neither is it less to our purpose to observe, that both Amoun and Neitha presided in the constellation of Aries—Hear Proclus *ἔχοντες ἐκείνοι (οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι) διαφερόντως ἐτίμων, διὰ τὴν Ἀμμωνα (λέγω Ἀμωνα) κριω πρόβατον καθιδρυμένον, καὶ οὗ γε γενέσεαι ὁ κριὸς ἀρχή, καὶ ταχυκίνητος αὐτὸς ἔσται ὡς καὶ τὸν ἰσημερινὸν καθεστρεφόμενον*.—Again, in speaking of Neitha;—*καὶ γὰρ τῶν ζωδίων, ὁ κριὸς ἀναίται τῇ θεῷ, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἰσημερινὸς κύκλος*. Besides this, we are to remember that the sheep was sacred to Amoun at Thebes, and to Neitha at Sais. It may have happened, that Amoun and Neitha were worshipped conjointly at Esneh; but from what I have already stated, it seems very possible, that Neitha may have been represented *κρητάρωτος*; and that this deity may consequently have been easily mistaken for Amoun.

3. The observations which I have made on Mr. Bankes's letter may not, perhaps, be altogether unworthy of his attention. But Mr. Baillie, a ripe scholar, and an acute observer, who has visited Egypt, is better able to speak of its architectural remains than I am; and as this memoir is chiefly written for his perusal, he will judge how far the remarks, which I have been making, may be just. I must however contend, that the antiquity of the temples does not affect the antiquity of the zodiacs, which might have been copied from monuments of much remoter times. I shall allow then, that the temples were built in the age of

Antoninus Pius, whilst I maintain, that the zodiacs represented on the ceilings, like the hieroglyphics engraved on the columns, were copied by Greek artists, who knew very little of the meaning of either, from examples which they had before them:

The emblems and figures, which are crowded round the signs, especially in the zodiacs of Dendera, have very little appearance of being of Greek origin. Neither does it appear that the signs themselves were copied from a Greek model. The Balance is distinctly represented in all these zodiacs; and the Alexandrian Greeks, the only astronomers in Egypt in the time of Antoninus, always, as far as can be now known, represented the sign in question by the claws of the Scorpion; and when, or where, it may be asked, have the Greeks ever designated the sign of Cancer by a scarabæus? The division of the zodiac into decans, was at least not usual among the Greeks; and they knew little or nothing of the mythology connected with this division. All the figures wear the Egyptian costume. Some of these are human figures represented with the heads of the sacred animals of Egypt. There is nothing Greek in the designs. What Greek artists would have imagined, though they might have condescended to copy, the two long disproportionate figures, which are made by hideous contortions to embrace the great zodiac of Dendera?

In addition to these remarks it may be observed, that it would be difficult to conceive a reason, why the Greek artists should have constructed an astronomical monument calculated for the Egyptians only, and that at a time when the Egyptians were become incapable of either constructing it for themselves, or of understanding it when constructed by others. More than a century before the reign of Antoninus Pius, Strabo had mourned over the desolation of the city, where Plato and Eudoxus had gleaned those remnants of science, which had escaped the destructive vigilance of Persian tyranny. Besides, what could the Greeks, who are supposed to have built the temples of Esneh and Dendera, have known of the mythological symbols of the Egyptians—of the *Thoths* of their religious and rural years—of the Gods with the heads of bulls, and rams, and dogs, and hawks, that presided over certain constellations? What could it have signified to them, whether the heliacal rising of Sirius coincided, or not, with the *Thoth*

of the vague year of the Egyptians? Why were they to calculate, that this could happen only once in 1460 years? But it may be said, that these zodiacs were traced from patterns furnished by the astronomers of Alexandria. Would Ptolemy, or his disciples, have taken the trouble of making calculations for periods by which they never reckoned? The use of the old civil year of the Egyptians had been long abolished; and the use of the Julian year had been established by the laws of Julius Cæsar and Augustus. Would the Greek astronomers, in the face of these laws, have set about composing a zodiac, which should harmonise with the first year of a Sothic period? But it may be said there were astronomers, or at least astrologers, in Egypt, who would have done all this. Vettius Valens, who lived in the time of Adrian and Antoninus, wrote on the subject of Egyptian astrology, reckoned by the Egyptian months, and was accustomed to cite the books of King Necepsos. It is a little unlucky for Vettius Valens, that he clearly did not understand the Egyptian language; for in a passage cited by Selden from his unpublished work, which is now I believe in the King's library at Paris, he says, that the Egyptians called the planet Mars *Ἀρτην*, ἐκεί τῶν ἀγαθοποιῶν, καὶ τῆς ζωῆς παραίρετης ἐστίν. Cedrenus gives us a very different account; and tells us that the Egyptians called the planet Mars *Ἐρτωσι*, and that this word signifies, παντὸς γένους ζωογονίαν, καὶ πάσης οὐσίας καὶ ὅλης φύσιν καὶ δύναμιν διατακτικὴν καὶ ζωογονικὴν. Thus according to Vettius, Mars was called *Artes*, which name indicates that he removes and destroys all that is productive of good, and conducive to life; while, according to Cedrenus, the same planet was called *Ertosi*, which signifies vivification, or the generation of life of every sort, and the nature and power of all substance and matter ordinating and generating life. Now the word *Artes* seems utterly inconsistent with any etymology to be found for it; and it is obvious that Vettius meant the very word *Ertosi*, which Cedrenus has written; for *Ertosi* bears a sense not remote from that which Vettius affixes to *Artes*, a name which he must have coined. Nam EP, er, est facere, says Jablonski; TOCI vero, tosi ζημιαν, damnum significat—erit igitur er-tosi damnum inferens. This is nearly, but not quite accurate. Jablonski seems to have taken the T before OCI for the feminine article; but this is not the case.

The analogy of the Coptic language shows, that nouns coalescing with verbs admit not the article between them. The word before us ought to be written EP-T-OCI, *er-t-osi*. There are two verbs here, EP, *facere*, and T, *dare*; T being a common abbreviation of THI, *dare*. The literal sense, therefore, of the word *ertosi*, is *faciens dare damnum*. The explanation given by Cedrenus is nothing to the purpose, and the defence set up for it by Jablonski is not very happily imagined.

Thus we see that the authority of Vettius Valens cannot be very great. A man, who pretended to quote Necepsos, ought to have known the name of the planet Mars in Egyptian, and not to have written *Artes* for *Ertosi*. But whatever might have been the knowledge of this astrologer, it is hardly to be believed that he, or any other disciple of Necepsos and Petosiris, would have been permitted to place a zodiac of his own construction in a temple built under the auspices of a Roman emperor, especially when such a zodiac must have recalled to the minds of the Egyptians the use of that year, which had been abrogated by the Roman laws. It is remarked of this Vettius Valens, that he reckoned by the Egyptian months. The remark shows that he was singular in doing so, and that the practice was in disuse. I mean not to deny that the Copts in after times counted by these months: but this signifies nothing, since the use of the vague year, which Vettius seems to have observed, had been abolished, at least with respect to all public arts, in the time of Augustus. The Egyptians, however, may have continued to regulate some of their festivals by the vague years. It cannot indeed be supposed that they were ignorant, that a new Sothic period commenced in the year which answers to the 138th of our æra. Tradition would point out to them the monuments which had formerly represented the state of the heavens on similar occasions; and it might very naturally have happened, that the Greeks, who built and adorned the temples of Esneh and Dendera, should copy symbols, hieroglyphics, and zodiacs, which they were told, though they might not know how, were suited to the epoch, when their labors were going on.

4. Mr. Hamilton has justly remarked, that the Sun's place at the summer solstice appears to be indicated, in the oblong zodiac of Dendera, at the division of the two

scarabæi; but I cannot possibly agree with him, when he states, that the smaller scarabæus marks, that the Sun at this time was $\frac{400}{2225}$ parts of the sign of Cancer removed from that of Leo—in other words, that Leo had ceased to be solstitial about 400 years. Thus then, in plain terms, when the zodiac of Dendera was constructed, the Sun, at the summer solstice, was in the 24th degree of Cancer, which, in reckoning by the fixed zodiac, happened between 17 and 18 centuries ago. But on what principles did Mr. Hamilton make this calculation? Clearly on the relative sizes and positions of the two scarabæi. The relative sizes he must have reckoned as 24 to 6;—the great scarabæus stands for 24 degrees, and the small one for 6 degrees. Now it surely escaped Mr. Hamilton's usual acuteness, that since the small scarabæus is next to *Gemini*, and the large scarabæus next to *Leo*, the former must have represented the ascending part of the sign of Cancer, and the latter must have represented the descending part of the same sign. If, therefore, Mr. Hamilton's reckoning be right about the relative sizes of the two scarabæi, it necessarily follows, that this zodiac represents the Sun's place, not at the 24th, but at the 6th degree of the sign of Cancer.

Mr. Hamilton likewise tells us, that the Sun being now in the first degree of Cancer at the summer solstice, the solstitial colure, about 1800 years ago, was in the 24th degree of the same sign. He thence fixes the date of the zodiac in question about the time of *Tiberius*. I reply, that if the Sun's place at the summer solstice be marked in this zodiac, as corresponding with any part of Cancer, its date must exceed 2000 years, unless indeed it were constructed upon a Greek model.

When we speak of the Sun's place in the ecliptic, or of the position of any planet, we generally make our references to the fixed zodiac of the Greeks. But if we wish to speak with exactness of the Sun's place in any of the zodiacal catasterisms, at any time before or since the Greeks constructed their zodiac, it will be necessary to make allowances for the precession of the equinoxes. Mr. Hamilton says, for example, that the Sun at the period when he wrote, (about 12 years ago,) was just passing at the summer solstice from Cancer into *Gemini*. This is perfectly true, if we reckon, as is usual, by the fixed zodiac; but the fact is, that the solstitial colure was then really just about to pass out of the dodecatemoron of

Gemini into that of Taurus. In order, therefore, to bring Mr. Hamilton's calculation to bear, it must be shown that the zodiac of Dendera was constructed by astronomers, who reckoned according to the fixed zodiac of the Greeks. Now every thing in the zodiac of Dendera seems to prove that it owed its existence to the natives of the soil. Every thing in it is Egyptian—Egyptian astronomy—Egyptian mythology—Egyptian symbols—Egyptian taste, style, and manner.

But even if this argument failed to convince, it is impossible, upon the grounds taken by Mr. Hamilton himself, that the zodiac of Dendera could have been formed upon a Greek model. The small scarabæus, which is next to Gemini, necessarily represents the ascending part of the sign—that part through which the Sun had passed before he came to the summer solstice. It is clear then that the small scarabæus, being next to Gemini, must represent the first degrees of Cancer, under a number less than 15. If we make the proportion of the small scarabæus equal to 6 degrees, as Mr. Hamilton has done, and if the zodiac of Dendera were constructed by men who reckoned according to the fixed zodiac of the Greeks, then its date will correspond with the time, when the solstitial colure was in the 6th degree of Cancer, according to the fixed zodiac. Consequently the zodiac of Dendera was constructed in the 13th century. But this consequence would be absurd; and therefore, on Mr. Hamilton's own hypothesis, I must deny that this zodiac could have been formed by persons who reckoned by the fixed zodiac of the Greeks.

But I have again to differ from Mr. Hamilton. He appears to me to be totally mistaken in stating the relative proportions of the two scarabæi, as 24 to 6. I should reckon these proportions as 17 to 13, or perhaps rather as 16 to 14. I consequently fix the date of the zodiac, at the time when the solstitial colure corresponded with the 14th degree of the dodecatemorian of Cancer, according to the real zodiac. This will, therefore, nearly answer to the first year of the Sothic period, of which the truth may be certainly fixed for the year 1322 before Christ.

My readers will observe, that Mr. Hamilton, who had seen the original, is the first who remarked that the sign of Cancer in this zodiac was symbolised by two scarabæi, and that the division between them indicated the Sun's place at the summer solstice. On these points, I fully

agreed with the learned author, whose book, next to the *Batepe*, contains the most interesting account of Egypt that I know. With respect to the date of the oblong zodiac of Dendera, I think, I have fully proved that Mr. Hamilton is mistaken.

5. M. Visconti, who does not seem to have been aware that the Egyptians represented the sign of Cancer by a scarabæus, though this is evident in the three zodiacs under consideration, argues upon totally different grounds from Mr. Hamilton, and yet makes the date of the oblong zodiac of Dendera nearly answer to the time since fixed for it by the English author. "Le premier signe," says he, "est celui du Lion;" and yet he denies that Leo can be solstitial. "La Balance," he adds, "symbole de l'équinoxe, est à sa place, c'est-à-dire que ce signe suit celui du Lion après l'intervalle d'un seul catasterisme; ce qui ne pourroit pas arriver, si le Lion étoit solstitial. Le débordement du Nil est marqué par la figure d'Isis sur un bateau, accompagnée par une autre divinité, et dans l'attitude de répandre de l'eau par deux petits vases. Ces figures sont renfermées dans l'espace assigné au catasterisme de l'écorvise; et l'on sait que le débordement de cette rivière arrive au commencement de l'été. Le symbole de la constellation de Sothis, ou de la Canicule, se trouve aussi dans le même dodécatémorion."

M. Visconti then proceeds to observe, that the sign of Libra not being between the claws of the Scorpion; that Sagittarius, represented under the form of a Centaur; and that the resemblance of most of the signs to those of the Greeks; prove this zodiac to have been executed at a time, when the opinions of the Greeks were not foreign to the Egyptians. In short, this learned antiquary is almost convinced, that the zodiac of Dendera was executed, when the vague Thoth answered to the sign of Leo, "ce qui est arrivé," says he, "à-peu-près depuis l'an 12 jusqu'à l'an 192 de l'ère vulgaire."

Before I answer M. Visconti on other points, it is necessary that I offer to my readers some remarks on the very plain insinuation, which he makes with respect to the origin of the zodiacal symbols. It seems clear, that this learned man considered all these symbols as invented by the Greeks. Now I must again contend, that the Greeks were not the inventors of the zodiac, or of the signs. I shall not repeat any of the arguments, by which I endeav-

ventured to prove in the *Oedipus Judaicus*, that the 12 zodiacal symbols were assumed as the standards of the 12 tribes of Israel. Some errors of the press, (indeed in one place several words are omitted,) and some errors of my own, require to be corrected in the dissertation which treats of this subject; but as the whole work has given more offence than I had the least intention it should, or the least expectation it would, I shall say nothing more about it, except to observe that the book never was published. But when I find it very broadly hinted, that the Greeks invented the zodiac, I am obliged to appeal to the authority of a sacred writer, whose evidence will not be disputed. Every one knows that Job has named several of the constellations; but it is not so obvious from the versions, that he has made mention of the zodiac. *Canst thou bring forth Mazaroth in his season?* Now the word מָזָלֹת, *Mazaroth*, according to the best interpreters, signifies the zodiac, and the evident paraphrase therefore is,—*Canst thou bring forth the zodiacal signs, each according to the season in which it ought to appear?* The Book of Job is generally supposed to have been written about 1700 years before our æra. There is a passage in the 4th chapter of Deuteronomy, which seems to intimate that idolators, in the time of Moses, worshipped the planets and constellations under the forms of beasts, fishes, and reptiles, precisely as they are symbolised in the ancient monuments of which we are treating. In the 2nd book of Kings, (c. 23. v. 5.) it is said that Josiah put down *them that burnt incense unto Baal, to the Sun, and to the Moon, and to מזָלֹת, Mazaloth*. The Rabbins understand this word to denote the zodiacal constellations. The word *mazaloth* signifies literally the *fluxions*, the *distillations*, or *flowings*. New Sextus Empiricus tells us, that the Chaldeans divided the zodiac into 12 houses, or signs, by the means of a clepsydra. They observed, he says, how much water flowed from a clepsydra, in the interval between the two risings of the same star; and when this star re-appeared above the horizon, they allowed a 12th part of the water to flow. Then (when this 12th part of the water had flowed out), the star at the horizon showed that a whole sign was risen. This passage confirms the opinion of the Rabbins, and shows how the word *mazaloth* came to denote the zodiacal constellations. Some have thought that *mazaroth* and *mazaloth* are really the same word, and that the former is an erroneous ortho-

graphy of the latter word. This is not my opinion. *Mazaroth* signifies the *cinctures*, more properly the *cinctures of the head, the crowns*. (See the roots מָצַח, מָצָה &c.; and observe that *mazaroth* seems rather to belong to the Syriac, than to the Hebrew.) In the time of Ezekiel, the forms of all sorts of animals were portrayed on the walls of the secret recesses, where the Jewish idolators worshipped the celestial bodies. Each man, בְּרִירֵי מַשְׁכֵּנֹוֹ, *in the chambers of his imagery*, beheld no doubt the various forms of animals, by which the stars and constellations were symbolised. When we come down to the time of the first and second Ptolemies, we find from Manetho, that the Egyptians not only had a zodiac, but if he be credited, they had already altered their old one. Servius tells us, that the Egyptians assigned 12 constellations to the zodiac, but that the Chaldeans, who were followed in this by the Alexandrian Greeks, counted only 11; allotting 60 degrees to Scorpius, and not admitting Libra.

Without speaking then of the claims of the Egyptians, it seems quite impossible to acknowledge the Greeks as the inventors either of the zodiac, or of the zodiacal symbols. The signs in the zodiac of Dendera resemble those of the Greeks, says M. Visconti. So then, truly, the Greeks could not have copied the zodiacal symbols from the Egyptians. Those men so skilled in the arts; those masters in sculpture and painting; those divine artists, who so greatly conceived, and so finely executed, the admirable works which the moderns have not yet been able to equal,—they indeed were the only persons, who could have thought of combining a man with a horse in the monstrous figure of a centaur! Is it then for the honor of Greek art, or Greek taste, that we should reclaim for the Greeks the symbols of the zodiac? Did it require either art, or genius, to designate the rude forms of a bull, or a ram, or a lion? How could taste approve, or judgment sanction, the union of a goat's head with the tail of a fish? The Egyptians have no pretensions as artists; at least in comparison with the Greeks; but in science, with the leave of Messieurs Montucla and De Lambre, they might dispute the palm with the Greeks, or with any people of antiquity. Upon what grounds can it be imagined, or maintained, that they borrowed the zodiacal symbols from the Greeks? Herodotus distinctly says, that in his time, they were much more skilful astronomers than his own countrymen, and we have

already seen under what circumstances Herodotus visited Egypt. M. Visconti seemed to have forgotten the mythological figures, and the emblems of the decans, represented in the zodiacs of Dendera. Iamblichus has told us, that the Egyptians divided the heavens into 2, or 4, or 12, or 36, or 72 parts. The guardianship of these divisions was allotted to Dæmons, or Genii, little known to the mythologists of Greece. The Romans appear to have copied various zodiacal monuments of Egypt. Among these I may mention the zodiac found at Rome by Bianchini; as also that struck on a medal by the order of Adrian. Thus the Greek artists at Esneh and Dendera would only have followed the example of their masters, in copying the ancient monuments of Egypt.

"Je suis presque convaincu," says M. Visconti, in speaking of the oblong zodiac of Dendera, "que cet ouvrage doit avoir été exécuté dans cet espace de tems, dans lequel le thoth vague, ou le commencement de l'année vague Egyptienne, qui étoit aussi l'année sacerdotale, répondoit au signe du Lion; ce qui est arrivé à-peu-près depuis l'an 12 jusqu'à l'an 132 de l'ère vulgaire." In this manner, M. Visconti accounts at once for Leo's being the first of the signs in this zodiac, and for the date which he himself is pleased to assign to the work. It is scarcely worth while to remark, that he is wrong in his calculation about 18 years, since the thoth of the vague year had ceased to correspond with the Sun's passage through the sign of Leo, from the year 114. But the thoth of the vague year corresponded only about 122 years with the Sun's passage through the sign of Leo; and it seems very improbable that the constructors of the zodiac, who must have known this, would have placed a zodiac, which could have been good for only 122 years, in such a temple as that of Dendera. But the truth is, that Leo is not the first of the signs in this oblong zodiac. M. Visconti would have been aware, had he seen the zodiac of Esneh, that the Egyptians represented the sign of Cancer by a scarabæus; and he would probably have agreed with Mr. Hamilton, that the Sun's place, as corresponding with the summer solstice, was intended to be marked in the zodiac of Dendera, as between the two scarabæi. But were even this not the case, and if the sign of Cancer were represented by a hawk, as M. Visconti supposed, Leo could not be properly called the first of the signs, but the first of the descending signs. In the zodiac:

of *Esneh*, Leo is the last of the ascending signs : but I must defer at present my answer to that part of M. Visconti's argument in which he alleges, that Leo cannot be solstitial, while *Libra* is in its place, or removed from Leo by only one catasterism. I agree with this writer, that the oblong zodiac of *Dendera* was constructed when the Sun at the summer solstice was in Cancer ; but it is to be remembered that I speak of the real, and not of the fixed zodiac. The only arguments of the slightest importance, employed by M. Visconti to prove that the zodiac of *Dendera* was formed in the first or second century of the Christian æra, will apply with equal force to the zodiac of *Esneh*.

Let us suppose for a moment, that the first sign in the zodiac of *Dendera* is that of Leo, and let us also suppose, that it was placed as such, in order to mark that the thoth of the vague year corresponded with the Sun's passage through the dodecatemoron of Leo. When all this is granted, how will it prove that the zodiac was formed, as M. Visconti will have it, between the years 12 and 132 of the Christian æra ? If any antiquary were to say, No, this zodiac is 1460 years older ; how could M. Visconti have disproved the assertion ? The thoth of the vague year, then, likewise corresponded with the Sun's passage through Leo. Will it be said, that this could not be the case, because *Isis* is represented, in the dodecatemoron of Cancer, as pouring water from two vases, to symbolise the inundation of the Nile, which commences with the summer solstice ; and it is only about 2160 years ago, that the Sun at the summer solstice has been in the sign of Cancer ? But this argument is of no avail, unless it be supposed, that the Egyptians had no zodiac of their own, and that they reckoned by the fixed zodiac of the Greeks—a supposition which is absurd and untenable. The fact is, that it is now 2160 years since the Sun at the summer solstice has quitted the dodecatemoron of Cancer, according to the real zodiac. If, consequently, Leo was placed as the first of the signs, because the thoth of the vague year corresponded with the Sun's passage through that sign ; and if it appear from the emblems, that the solstitial colure was in Cancer ; then, if the zodiac be Egyptian, and not Greek, it follows, that it must have been constructed 1460 years before the period mentioned by M. Visconti.

I have now to answer this writer's argument with respect to the position of *Libra* ; because this materially interferes

with the date which I assign to the zodiac of Esneh. I must, however, be allowed to enter into a wide field of discussion. If I can either interest or inform my readers by the way, I shall care the less for detaining them longer than may be absolutely necessary.

There appear to me to be too many proofs, that the Tsabeans worshipped the Sun in the sign of Taurus, to leave a doubt in my mind, that this was once the leading constellation; nor, while we take the LXX for our guides, can we have the least difficulty in reconciling this opinion with the Mosaic chronology. Of the antiquity and universality of the worship of the Bull, I shall lay a few proofs before my readers. Witness, then, the very ancient worship of the Bull, called *Mnevis*, at On, or Heliopolis. Cyllus says, that *On* signified the Sun among the Egyptians—**Ὀν δὲ ἐστὶ κατ' αὐτοῦ; ὁ ἥλιος.* In the Sahidic dialect *ΟΥΕΙΝ* signifies *lux*. It may therefore be conjectured, that *On*, written by the Hebrews *ן*, and *ןן*, was sounded *Oen*, or *Oein*, by the ancient Egyptians; and like the Hebrew *אור*, *aor*, or *aur*, signified sometimes *light*, sometimes *the Sun*. In Coptic, the word for *light* is written *ΟΥΗΙΝΙ*, *ouonini*. Jablonski thought that the word *ΟΥΟΕΙΝ*, *ouocin*, was that whence the name of *Mnevis* was derived:—*Uocin*, vel *oein*, says he, *additque præfixo consueto H, accedente novo præfixo U, nomen illud induit naturam adjectivi, potestque UHOEIN, commode reddi Oniensis.* It is true, that both *m* and *n* serve as nominal prefixes in Coptic, and also occasionally serve to give an adjective signification to nouns; but I must reject this etymology, because I find no example of their both coming together to give an adjective signification to words. I do not believe that the sacred Bull was ever called *Mnevis* by the Egyptians. This was probably a mere mistake of the Greeks, who could never write, and apparently could never speak, or comprehend, the Egyptian language, which was not quite so polished as their own. I have no great doubt, that the Greeks were told, that there was a sacred bull *UΑ-Η-ΟΥΕΙΝ*, which we may put into Greek characters *Μα-γ-ουειν*, which signifies *locus luminis*, or *locus Solis*; the place which they themselves called Heliopolis. The word *ma* signifies *locus*; *n* is here the sign of the genitive case;

and *oueïn* signifies *lux, lumen, sol*. This etymology has at least the merit of being founded on the rules of the Coptic language. Hear Woide:—*Cum voce UΔ, locus, plurimæ voces coalescunt; et post UΔ, solet U vel H nota genitivi aut gerundii poni*. It would seem then that the Greeks, hearing the city called *Manoueïn*, confounded this name with that of the sacred bull, which was adored there; and in trying to Hellenise it, they at last wrought it into *Mnevis*, only keeping something like the original sound in the accusative case, *μνεῦιν*.

It is well known that the sacred bull, called *Mnevis* by the Greeks, was consecrated to the Sun, while *Apis* was dedicated to the Sun and Moon, but especially to the latter. The worship of *Apis*, however, appears not to be so ancient as that of *Mnevis*; and Plutarch tells us, that “according to some, *Mnevis* was held to be the father of *Apis*.” I am indeed inclined to think, that the worship of *Apis* was not instituted, until after the equinoctial Sun had quitted the sign of *Taurus*. Accordingly, the mythologists feigned, that when *Osiris* died, his soul transmigrated into the body of *Apis*. Diodorus Siculus says, τῆς δὲ τοῦ Βοῦς τούτου τιμῆς αἰτίαν θῆσι φέρουσι, λέγοντες ὅτι τελευτήσαντος Ὁσίριδος, εἰς τοῦτον ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ μετέστη. The people would have had some difficulty in understanding, why they were to renounce the adoration of the ancient symbol of their God; and the priests therefore continued to worship *Osiris* under the form of a bull, many ages after the equinoctial Sun had passed into the dodecatemoron of *Aries*, and when *Amoun* should have become the principal deity of the heliolators of Egypt.

The sacred bulls of Egypt were all types of the Sun in the constellation of *Taurus*. Thus Macrobius says: *Taurum ad Solem referri, multiplici ratione Ægyptius cultus ostendit, vel quia apud Heliopolin taurum consecratum, quem Netiron cognominant, maxime colunt; vel quia bos Apis in civitate Memphi Solis instar accipitur; vel quia in oppido Hermunthi magnifico Apollinis templo, consecratum Soli colunt taurum Bacchin cognominantes, insignem miraculis convenientibus naturæ Solis*. This passage affords two curious examples of the manner in which Egyptian words were mutilated by the Greeks and Romans. I shall make some remarks on them, though it must lead me for a little while astray from my subject.

The word *Netiron* has puzzled all the commentators ; and they have at last agreed to read it *Mævin*—rather a bold alteration of the text. Even Jablonski, the most courageous, though not the most successful of etymologists, has made no effort to rescue this word. Macrobius probably found the sacred bulls named by some Greek writer whom he copied ; now as we know that Apis was a symbol of the Nile, the same thing was probably true of Mnevis. A Greek, enquiring about the sacred bull at Heliopolis, might therefore very likely have been told, that it was *ΗΤΕ-ΙΑΠΟ*, *of, or belonging to the river*. It would have cost little to the Greek to have altered this word into *Netiros*, and to have taken it for the name of the sacred bull.

The next word, which has embarrassed the commentators, is written variously in different copies, *Bacchin*, *Bacin*, and *Pacin*. Jablonski's explanation is not very happy. *Auguror Macrobiū ipsum*, says he, *scripsisse, aut scribere saltem voluisse, Pabacin*. *Significat autem Pabacin, literis Copticis scriptum, ΠΑΒΑΡΙ, civicum vel urbicum, subintellige numen, id est, Deum tutelarem urbis, &c.* This is the most strained etymology which can well be imagined. Besides, I wish to know how it is to accord with the grammar of the language. The word *Baki*, which signifies simply *urbs*, and nothing else, is feminine ; and we can no more say *pa-baki*, for *te-baki*, or *t-baki*, in Coptic, than we can say *le ville* for *la ville* in French. I have little doubt that the old Egyptian word for a bull was *ΔCI*, *asi*. In Coptic *ΒΔΞCI*, *bahsi*, signifies *a cow* ; and *ΥΔCI*, *masi*, *a bull* ; but in this last word the *m* was probably only the ancient and usual nominal prefix, which by no means essentially belongs to the noun. I therefore think that *ΠΔCI*, *pasi*, (that is, *asi* prefixed by *P*, the masculine indefinite article,) *ὁ ταῦρος*, was the original word, which we find mutilated in the text of Macrobius ; and that *Pacin* is the best of the three readings.

There is scarcely a corner of Asia, where we do not find traces of the adoration offered to the Sun under the form of a bull. Beginning with the idolatrous Israelites, who worshipped the golden calf near Mount Horeb, we see them relapsing into the same error in the time of Jeroboam. It was under the form of a human figure *ταυροκέφαλος*, that the Phœnicians and Ammonites adored the Sun, when

they hailed him *Baal*, Lord, and *Moloch*, King. In Iran, in the grottoes of Mithras, the God of day was represented as riding on the bull. The reverence, which still exists in India for the cow, is nothing else than a relic of the ancient heliolatry, which appears to have been established in the East, when the equinoctial Sun was worshipped in the constellation of Taurus.

That Leo was once a solstitial sign, appears to be confirmed by various remnants and fables of antiquity; and we cannot speak of a solstitial sign without supposing the existence of a zodiac. After the luminous explanation which Dupuis has given of the 12 labors of Hercules, it will probably not be denied, that the whole story is an allegory, changed, perhaps, by the Greeks in many respects, but still representing, even in their edition of it, the annual progress of the Sun through the 12 zodiacal constellations. Herodotus has told us, that Hercules was originally a Phœnician deity; and in the language of Tyre, *Her-cul* signified *universal heat*, as the Sun is the fountain of the light and heat which are diffused through the universe. The first labor of Hercules was to vanquish the Lion. The Greeks, who would have every thing Greek, held that this lion infested the neighbourhood of Nemea, where no lion ever was seen, either before or since. But they acknowledge that this lion sprang from Typhon, though they do not tell us how it found its way from Egypt to Argolis. Perhaps the difficulty may be removed, if we consider that the Nemean games were celebrated at the season when the Sun, in his annual progress, is in the sign of Leo. The people of Nemea may have copied the example of the Egyptians, who celebrated a festival at the summer solstice. It is true that this supposition carries us back to the time when the solstitial colure was in Leo, not less than 2500 years before the Christian æra; but as it is very possible that an Egyptian colony settled in Argolis 4 or 5 centuries after the deluge, there is no difficulty in reconciling our conjecture to probability, if the chronology of the LXX be not positively rejected. One of the most celebrated symbols among the Persians was the representation of a bee entering the mouth of a lion. The bee was the well-known symbol of a king; and the Sun was very generally termed *King*, *καὶ βασιλεὺς*, in the East. The lion with the bee, commonly known as the Mithraic lion, represents the Sun entering the sign of Leo; and this symbol may be referred to the period, when the Sun at the summer

solstice was in the first degree of Leo. In Egypt, Horus was the symbol of the Sun at the summer solstice; and lions were placed under the throne of this God—ὡς δὲ τὸν ὁρίζον τοῦ Ὄρου, says Horapollo, λέοντας ὑποτίθεισι, &c. These examples (and others, no doubt, might be easily found,) seem to show the existence of a zodiac, when Leo was a solstitial constellation.

But still it may be said, no zodiac can be so ancient, where Libra is removed from Leo by only one sign, as is the case in the zodiac of Esneh. In order to answer this observation, we must enquire whether, or not, the signs are really symbolical of the seasons, as the Sun passes through them in his annual orbit.

Macrobius, who lived about the end of the 4th century, fancied that he could account for the choice of the zodiacal symbols. Let us hear his reasoning, if it deserve the name. He begins with Aries. This truly is a suitable symbol of the season of the vernal equinox, because the ram lies the six winter months on his left side, and the six summer months on his right side; and the Sun in the same periods circulates the right and left hemisphere. One cannot help wondering, that a writer, generally respectable, could seriously indite such an absurdity. I have already cited the passage concerning Taurus. The sign of Gemini is referred to the story of Castor and Pollux, though these brothers are not named. I have to observe, that in all the genuine Egyptian zodiacs, as well as in the Indian, this constellation is represented by a male and female, from which it may be inferred that the Greeks altered the sign, and gave it the appellation of the Twins. Macrobius proceeds;—*Cancer obliquo gressu, quid aliud nisi Solem ostendit? qui viam nunquam rectam, sed per illam semper meare solitus est, obliquus quæ se signorum verteret ordo; maximeque in illo signo, Sol a cursu supero incipit obliquus inferiora jam petere.* The Egyptians represented this constellation by a scarabæus, and from the copies which I have seen of some Indian zodiacs, I am inclined to think the Hindus did the same; though the copyists, not being aware of this, have perhaps not exactly followed their models. The observations of Macrobius concerning Leo are too long to be detailed here; and I shall only say of them, that I do not find them very satisfactory. *Virgo autem, says the same author, quæ manu aristam fert, quid aliud quam δύναις ἡλικὴ quæ fructibus curat?* Virgo has nothing to do with the fruits; and the expression is very equivocal, because the

author may seem to mean the fruits of the earth, that is to say the corn; but he must have known very well that Virgo is the symbol of the harvest season, and that the harvest, in all the southern countries, is over long before the Sun enters the sign in question. Macrobius merely mentions *Libra* as included in the vast constellation of *Scorpius*:—*Scorpius totius, in quo Libra est, naturam Solis imaginatur; qui hyeme torpescit, et transacta hac, aculeum rursus erigit vi sua, nullum natura damnum ex hyberno torpore perpassa.* But according to this account *Scorpius* ought to represent the Sun in Spring, and not in Autumn. *Sagittarius*, continues our author, *qui omnium zodiaci domiciliorum primus atque postremus est; ideo ex homine in feram per membra posteriora degenerat; quasi postremis partibus suis a superis inferiora detrusus; sagittam tamen jactat; quod indicat, tunc quoque universorum constare vitam radio Solis vel ab ima parte venientis.* This labored explanation shows at least the embarrassment of the writer. He goes on:—*Capricornus ab infernis partibus ad supera Solem reducens, capra naturam videtur imitari, quæ dum pascitur, ab imis partibus semper prominentium scopulorum alta deposcit.* Macrobius forgot, that the Sun in this sign climbs very slowly, and never mounts very high. He has neglected to tell us, why the goat has a fish's tail. *Aquarius*, asks he, *nonne ipsam vim Solis ostendit? Unde enim imber caderet in terras, nisi Solis calor ad supera traheret humorem? cujus refusio pluvialis est copia.* There is some art in the questions which the author puts here. He was quite aware, that in the climates of the South, the least rainy season in the year is precisely that, in which the Sun is in *Aquarius*. He therefore enquires, whence the rain would fall on the earth, unless the heat of the Sun drew up the moisture; and thus insinuates, that the Sun in *Aquarius* collects the rain, which falls afterwards; consequently the symbol is highly appropriate—*Lucas a non lucendo*—*Aquarius* is made the symbol of water, because rain rarely, or never, falls while the Sun is in that sign. *In ultimo ordine zodiaci Pisces locati, quos consecravit Seli non aliqua natura sua imaginatio, ut cetera—&c.* This avowal being made, we need proceed no further. It is evident that the whole account is strained and unsatisfactory.

The ingenious author of *l'Histoire du Ciel* adopts the explanation of Macrobius with respect to the signs of *Capricorn* and *Cancer*; but in most other examples he has ventured to think for himself. He attributes the invention of

the zodiac to the descendants of Noah in the plain of Sennaar. He supposes, that men then led a pastoral life. It was natural, therefore, that they should place a ram and a bull in the two first divisions of the zodiac; and then, supporting himself on the authority of Hyde, he says two kids represented the third sign of the zodiac. Men naturally took lambs, calves, and kids, which were produced successively in this season, as the symbols of Spring. This argument is certainly ingenious; but then we ought to have a lamb and a calf newly dropped, instead of a ram and a bull, in our zodiacs; while there is no appearance of this ever having been the case. The Abbé de la Pluche seems to have trusted rather too implicitly to the assertion of Hyde. What this author states concerning the kids, in his history of the religion of the ancient Persians, is not confirmed either by the tables of Uleg Beg, or by his own notes on those tables. The Persians called the sign of Gemini *شردشان*, *ghirdeshan*; but about the precise meaning of this word, which however has nothing to do with *kids*, there are different opinions. I have not been able to find any traces of the *gemelli hadint* of Hyde, in any accounts of the Oriental names and distributions of the constellations which I have yet seen.

The Abbé de la Pluche admits, what indeed is evident, that Virgo symbolises the harvest season. But in the plains of Sennaar, the harvest season is over several months before the Sun passes into the sign of Virgo. In speaking of Scorpius, he says, "Les maladies d'automne, lors de la retraite du Soleil, ont été caractérisées par le scorpion, qui traîne après lui son dard et son venin." But the month of November is the season when the scorpion becomes torpid, and when we cease to dread both his sting and his venom. "Le verseau," says our author, "a un rapport sensible aux pluies d'hiver." Certainly not in the plains of Sennaar. I repeat it, that in Egypt, Syria, Arabia, and Chaldaea, it very seldom rains, when the Sun is in Aquarius: — the same remark may be made in the southern parts of Greece and Italy. The Abbé observes, "que les Poissons liés, ou pris au filet, marquoient la pêche, qui est excellente aux approches du printemps." How far this remark may be true with respect to the fisheries on the Euphrates, I know not; but the *σύνδεσμος*, which links the fishes in the zodiac, would never have suggested to me, that they had been *pris au filet*.

I shall now proceed to state my own opinion of the origin

of the zodiacal symbols. I am aware that this will demand much detail: but without this statement I should be unable, not only to show in answer to M. Visconti, how Leo might be solstitial in a zodiac where Libra *was in its place*; but also to explain various symbols in the zodiacs of Esneh and Dendera. I have already expressed my opinion, that the zodiac was originally constructed by the Antediluvians; though I am disposed to think that several of the symbols were changed by the Egyptians in a very few centuries after the flood.

There may be much reason to believe, that the Egyptians very anciently fixed the commencement of the year by the rising of certain stars, or rather, as we shall see presently, of one in particular. Some differences, however, exist among Greek authors upon this subject; but perhaps these differences are not incapable of reconciliation. The Egyptians had a year which was vague, and which was called the sacerdotal; because the religious festivals were kept according to this year, which consisted of 365 days, and of which the thoth consequently changed after every fourth year. It was supposed, that this year was originally instituted at the heliacal rising of the star, called sometimes Siris, sometimes Sothis, and sometimes the star of Iris, by the Egyptians. But this people, who observed the rising of Siri, Siris, or Sirius, as we call it, necessarily soon perceived that the year of 365 days was too short; and they established another year, which has been named the rural year. The thoth of this year was determined by the heliacal rising of Sirius; and it was soon calculated, that 1461 vague or sacerdotal years, would be equal to 1460 rural years; and that the thoths of the two years would always coincide at the end of this period, which was called the Sothic, because the commencement of it always corresponded with the heliacal rising of the star Sothi or Sothis. It was then of the rural year, of which Porphyry meant to speak when he said—*Αιγυπτίοις ἀρχὴ ἔτους οὐχ' ὑδροχόος, ὡς Ῥωμαίοις, ἀλλὰ καρκίνος· πρὸς γὰρ τῷ καρκίνῳ ἡ Σῶθις, ἣν κυνὸς ἀστέρα "Ελληνες φασί. Νομηνία δὲ αὐτοῖς ἡ Σῶθως ἀνατολή, γενέσεως κατὰ γούσα τῆς εἰς τὸν κόσμον.* Thus we learn that the Egyptians commenced their year with Cancer, and not with Aquarius, as was the established custom of the Romans. Sothis, or the Dog-star, is certainly near Cancer, as Porphyry states; and indeed Cancer and Canis Major rise cosmically about the same time in Egypt. But the first month of the year

commenced with the rising (I suppose the heliacal rising) of Sirius; and the Egyptians fancied that the world had its beginning at this season of the year; or at least that then was the commencement of generation in the world. This notion only shows that the establishment of the rural year was so remote and ancient, that all traces of its date were lost. Jablonski cites the following words from a Greek astrologer, who asserts that the oldest and wisest of the star-gazers were of his opinion—*τὴν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἀρχὴν οἱ παλαιότατοι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ σοφώτατοι ἀστεροσκοποὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ κυνὸς ἀνατολῆς ᾤρισαν εἶναι*. This opinion is certainly confirmed by Horapollon and Aratus. Theon, however, contradicts Aratus, and asserts that the Egyptian year commenced at the vernal equinox. It may have happened that different years were established in Egypt at different periods. Several of the Rabbins seem to think that the Egyptian year commenced at the vernal equinox, about the time when the Hebrews quitted Egypt. The year established for the Hebrews at that epoch, commenced, as every one knows, nearly about the time of the vernal equinox. Whether the Egyptians gave, or followed the example, I shall not pretend to decide; but from what Theon says, and from what the Rabbins admit, I cannot doubt that the Egyptians had a tropical year which commenced about the same period with that established by the Hebrew lawgiver.

There is an evident reason, why the Egyptians may have instituted this tropical year, allowing them to have possessed only the same knowledge as the Antediluvians and Chaldeans. Bailli states upon the authority of Bainbridge, who made his calculations for the lower Egypt, that in the year 138 A. C. the heliacal rising of Sirius took place when the Sun was in the 26th degree of the sign of Cancer, and that 1460 years before, the heliacal rising of the same star accorded with the Sun's place in the 14th degree of the same sign. In another place Bailli observes, "*qu'il résulte du mouvement des étoiles en longitude, que le lever de Sirius retardoit continuellement, et cela d'environ 12 jours en 1460 ans.*" Lalande says, "*Lorsqu'on calcule le lever (héliaque) de Sirius pour l'année 138, où recommençoit la période Sothiaque, on trouve la longitude du Soleil 8° 24'; c'est ce que le Soleil a maintenant le 16 de Juillet. On trouve cette longitude plus petite de 12½ en remontant 1460 ans plutôt, ou au commencement de la période précédente.*"

Sirius has now nearly about 99 degrees of right ascen-

sion, and rather more than 16 degrees of southern declination. The cosmical rising of this star takes place at present, at Cairo, about a month after the summer solstice. The ancients allowed 12 days for a star of the first magnitude to emerge from the solar rays. If we admit the same reckoning, we shall fix the heliacal rising of Sirius at Cairo for the present time, when the Sun is in the 12th degree of the sign of Leo. I reckon the right ascension of Sirius, for the year 138, to have been about 76 degrees, when the cosmical rising of this star might have corresponded with the Sun's place in the 10th or perhaps the 12th degree of Cancer, and therefore its heliacal rising may be calculated to have taken place 12, or, according to some, 14 days afterwards. But how are we to understand with Bainbridge and Bailli, that, owing to the movement of the stars in longitude, the rising of Sirius was retarded about 12 days in 1460 years? Sirius advances in longitude one degree in 72 years nearly, and therefore that star must have advanced almost 20 degrees and a half in the space of a Sothic period. The right ascension of Sirius was about 55 or 56 degrees, 1382 years before Christ. How then are we to understand, that the heliacal rising of this star, for the year just mentioned, and in the latitude of any part of the lower Egypt, could accord with the Sun's place in the 14th degree of the sign of Cancer? To render all this more complicated, Lalande says, "L'an 1332 avant notre ère et l'an 138 après notre ère, le lever de Sirius se trouva arriver le premier jour du mois *Thoth*, ou le premier jour de l'année civile Egyptienne; il répondoit au 20 Juillet." But we find him afterwards stating what is quoted above, that in the year 138 the rising of Sirius answered to the 16th of July, and that the difference of the Sun's longitude between the *thoths* of the civil year 1322 B. C. and 138 A. C., amounted to $12\frac{1}{4}$ degrees. The fact seems to be this. The sidereal year is 20 minutes longer than the tropical. The Egyptian rural year, or, (as some call it,) their civil year, is $11' 12''$ longer than the tropical, and $8' 48''$ shorter than the sidereal year. The Egyptians, therefore, who reckoned by the rural year, would make an error of about 24 hours in 122 years, and at the end of 1460 years would be behind the Sun $12\frac{1}{4}$ degrees; in other words, they would be about 12 days behind time. Thus at the end of a Sothic period, the first day of the new rural year would have answered to the 11th or 12th day of the Solar year, supposing that solar years had been.

used during the period; and the Sun's longitude would be erroneously calculated to be $12\frac{1}{2}$ degrees less than it really was at the heliacal rising of Sirius, and than it had been at the beginning of the preceding Sothic period. But now we must observe, that the Sun's longitude at the summer solstice, was really less by about $20\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, 1322 years B. C., than it was 138 years A. C. The Egyptians, therefore, by their false calculation, made it less in this period by about $32\frac{1}{2}$ degrees. But since they reckoned the Sun's place in the ecliptic about 12 degrees further back than it really was at the beginning of every new Sothic period, or further back than it was at the beginning of the preceding period, it follows, that if they reckoned the Sun's longitude, at the heliacal rising of Sirius in the year 138 A. C. at $3^{\circ} 26'$, they would reckon its longitude at $3^{\circ} 14'$, at the heliacal rising of the same star 1460 years before. Now this was certainly not the Sun's longitude at the heliacal rising of Sirius 1322 years B. C. This calculation, therefore, is the result of the error of the Egyptians, who made their rural year too long; and cannot be accounted for, as Bailli supposed, by the movement of the stars in longitude. The reader will always recollect, that this movement of the stars is only apparent, and that again this appearance is caused by the pole of the equator moving round the pole of the ecliptic.

Freret and Bailli contend, that the year of 365 days, 6 hours, was in use in Egypt 2782 years before Christ, 346 years after the deluge according to the chronology of the LXX. M. De Lambre rejects this opinion. I do not exactly see why he should have opposed it, unless he had objected to the chronology; but of this he says nothing; and as he asserts, that the knowledge of this year "ne suppose aucune science," he might have allowed the Egyptians to have possessed it. The only argument, which he opposes to Freret and Bailli, amounts to no more than that the circle of Osymandias had only 365 cubits. I should like to have seen how Freret would have treated such an argument. All we know of this circle, is from Diodorus Siculus, who wrote his account of it nearly five centuries after it had been destroyed. Besides, it might have been recollected, that the Priests of Egypt obliged the Kings to take an oath to preserve the year of 365 days; and Osymandias, as King of Egypt, might have been compelled to form his circle accordingly. What interest the Priests might have had in

the maintenance of the vague year, it may be difficult to say; but that they chose to keep their religious festivals moveable, is evident from the oath which they administered to their kings. I shall have again to speak of the circle of Osymandias; and I shall therefore, at present, only observe, that unless we were certain that the traditions concerning it were accurate, and that Diodorus faithfully reported those traditions, we cannot possibly pronounce that it was such as he has described it to have been, and that it may not have had the additional quarter of a cubit necessary to satisfy M. De Lambre. This distinguished astronomer tells us, from Censorinus, that the Egyptians called the year of 365 days *νεῖλος*; and he takes the trouble of showing us, that the letters of this word denote 365, according to the Greek notation. Did he forget that the Egyptians did not speak Greek? This buffoonery must have been first imagined by some Greek, who did not know how to spend his time better. The derivation of the word *Νεῖλος* is perhaps not yet determined; but we may be perfectly certain, that the Egyptian name had at least no Greek termination; and though Diodorus Siculus says that *Neilus*, one of the ancient Kings of Egypt, gave his name to the river, yet *Tzetzes*, who seems to have known more of the Egyptian language than most of his countrymen, tells us that this name is recent—τὸ δὲ Νεῖλος νέον ἐστί. The Nile was more generally known to the Egyptians and Ethiopians by the names, *Iaro*, *Ocean*, *Siri*, &c.

M. De Lambre seems to treat with contempt the discovery of the cycle of 600 years, which has been attributed to the Antediluvians. According to Cassini, these Antediluvians reckoned the solar year at 365d. 5h. 51' 36", and thus they made the solar year too long, by 2' 48". Still this was more accurate than the calculations of the Philosophers of Alexandria, who reckoned the solar year at 365d. 5h. 55' 12". M. De Lambre lessens the error of the Antediluvians to one minute thirty-six seconds. But I have said too hastily the Antediluvians. M. De Lambre holds, that these Patriarchs had neither time nor means to be such perfect astronomers as Bailli has represented them. It is curious to hear want of time objected to individuals, who lived 8 or 9 centuries; and as to means, it is not more likely that men should be without them before, than after the deluge. Can we suppose that the world was less peopled, when men enjoyed at least two or three centuries.

of youth and health, than it is now? Would industry be less active, when there were centuries of strength and vigor, than it is among us, who must so often leave it to our children to execute the tasks which we have begun? In those days, men had time to plan and to finish—in these days, we have almost always to lament that our experience comes too late. They had time to act, and leisure to speculate—we have “just time to look about us and to die.” They survived the aged oaks of the forest, which their hands had planted—we wither, ere the saplings, which we remember in our youth, have grown up to be trees.

In all events, it cannot be denied that the cycle of 600 years was known to the Chaldeans. That people had, consequently, calculated the length of the solar year with an exactness which was not equalled by Hipparchus and Ptolemy. Now I am much inclined to think, that the Egyptians were not ignorant of the existence of this cycle; and I likewise think, that their year, which commenced at the vernal equinox, was more exactly calculated than their rural year.

The Egyptians had a small cycle of 25 years. They multiplied their Sothic period of 1,460 years by 25. This gave them a period of 36,500 years, and this was the great Hermetic cycle. But it is easy to see, that this is nothing else than an approximation to the period of 36,000 years, in which time the Egyptians reckoned, according to some, that the sidereal revolution was completed. The Alexandrian Philosophers certainly made this erroneous calculation; but I think it was in mistaking the object of the Egyptians. I have, in a former part of this Memoir, remarked the general use of the number 60. This number had probably the same vogue among the people of Egypt, as among the inhabitants of Asia; and it seems to have been among the Egyptians, that Pythagoras learned to call the dodecaedron the symbol of the universe. But observe; take the decimal part of the great cycle of 600 years, as the divisor of 36,000, and you will have 600 for the quotient. The Hermetic cycle was therefore nothing else than an imaginary computation; but it indicates that the Egyptians had once an acquaintance with that cycle of 600 years, of which Josephus attributed the invention to the Antediluvians.

M. De Lambre accuses Bailli of having made Josephus say, what that historian never dreamt of; and he himself

thus translates the passage:—"Dieu voulut leur donner des facilités pour perfectionner la géométrie et l'astronomie; et comment auroient-ils pu y parvenir avec une vie moins longue, puisque la grande année est 600 ans?" Now if M. De Lambre will look at the original, he will find that, *comment auroient-ils pu y parvenir*, does not at all give the sense of the Greek. So much for his own version.

There can be no doubt that the authority of Josephus is entirely on the side of those, who think that the Antediluvians were deeply skilled in astronomy; and now I shall proceed to show, that their knowledge was transmitted to the descendants of Ham; and thus it will consequently follow, that if the Antediluvians discovered the cycle of 600 years, the early Egyptians at least must have reckoned the length of the solar year within two minutes of its real duration.

It seems to have been the opinion of Manetho, that the first Hermes lived before the deluge. I am not disposed to place much faith in Manetho; but in this instance I think his testimony may be received, because it coincides with that of many others. The Arabian writers have preserved many traditions about the ancient Egyptians, and these traditions confirm the testimony of Manetho. It is true that the Arabians generally consider Thoth, or the first Hermes, as the same with Enoch, whom they call Idris; but it is enough for my purpose, that they consider Thoth as an Antediluvian. Achmed Ben Joseph Altiphasi, who has written some account of Egypt, says, *that Henoch, or Hermes, instructed his son in the sciences in Egypt*. It follows, that this was before the deluge.

I am inclined to think that the Thoth of the Egyptians was the Seth of Scripture. Every one has heard of the two columns of stone and brick, erected by the descendants of Seth, which Josephus pretended existed still in the land of Siriad in his time,—κατὰ γῆν τὴν Σιριάδα. Now Manetho, who flourished 300 years before Josephus, says that he took his history from the columns placed in the Siriadic land (ἐν τῇ Σιριαδικῇ γῇ), which had been inscribed in the sacred dialect, and in hieroglyphical characters, by Thoth, the first Hermes, and which were translated out of the hieroglyphical letters of the sacred dialect into the Greek (read the vulgar Egyptian) language, by Agathodæmon, the son of the second Hermes, μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν—after the deluge. It is clear, then, that Manetho meant to say,

that these columns had been placed, by the first *Hermes*, in this *Siriadic* land *before the deluge*. Now the tradition of the *East* certainly is, that both *Henoch* and *Seth* wrote upon the science of astronomy. We see in the passages just cited from *Manetho* and *Josephus*, that the columns, which were erected according to the latter by the children of *Seth*, are attributed by the former to *Thoth*. It is in vain to exclaim against this evidence, because the columns could not have stood the shock of the waters during the deluge, and because nobody can now tell where the land of *Siriad* was. But the intention of the Deity in sending the deluge, was apparently to destroy the wicked inhabitants of the earth, and not to destroy the earth itself. The progress of the deluge was gradual. No doubt the face of the world was greatly and terribly changed, when the waters subsided; but it seems by no means impossible, that very strong buildings, and formed, according to tradition, on purpose, may have withstood the waves, which rose gradually above the highest mountains. I certainly do not believe *Manetho*, when he says that he copied his history from the columns inscribed by *Thoth*; but if we can suppose the pyramids to have been built before the deluge, it is possible that stones and tables inscribed by the *Antediluvians* might have been deposited in them. There is one pyramid of brick. There can be no doubt that the *Arabians* have the tradition, that *Hermes*, or *Thoth*, deposited his books, or rather tables of brass or stone, in one of the pyramids before the deluge. This is asserted distinctly by *Salamus Kandaathi*, in the history of Egypt collected by *Geraldinus*; and it is, I believe, universally credited among the learned *Arabians*. With regard to the land of *Siriad*, I think it was no other than *Nubia*; because the Nile, above *Syene*, was called *Siri* or *Siris*. (See *Dionys. Perieg.* and *Solin.* c. 32.) Hence the country, where it bore this name, might be called the *Siriadic* land. That *Thoth* was the same with *Seth*, may be further confirmed, from our finding that the Dog-star was called *Sothis*, or rather *Soth*, and that *Thoth* in his character of *Anubis*, presided over this star. The Greeks, and perhaps the Egyptians of later times, seem to have thought that *Sothis* was a cognomen of *Isis*. In the ancient inscription, of which the Greek translation is preserved by *Diodorus*, the Goddess is made to say, *ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ἐν τῷ ἄστρῳ*

τῇ κυνι ἐπιτάλλουσα—I am she, who rises in the Dog-star. But the truth is, that Isis here represents herself as rising in the Dog-star, because the Moon, of which she was the proper symbol, had been in conjunction with the Sun, at the rising of this star, when the mythologists of Egypt said the world had begun. But there can be no question that Thoth, under the form of Anubis, was the symbol of the Dog-star; nor can I doubt that *Soth*, of which the Greeks made *Sothis*, was the same with Thoth. The Hebrew name of *Seth* comes from שֶׁט *shoth*, or *soth*, *posuit*. I observe that **TΣIWT**, *thiot*, in Coptic signifies *ponere*. *Seth* signifies a basis, a foundation. The Copts, however, write the name of the first month of the year, **ΘΣΟΥΤ**, *thoout*, and this orthography may not seem to justify any attempt to derive *thoout* from *thiot*. Kircher certainly repeatedly asserts, that the Dog-star was called **CIOTI**, *sioti*, by the Egyptians; and every one is aware, that the letters *s*, *sh*, *t*, and *th*, are continually changed for each other in different dialects. The Egyptians could not pronounce the *w*, *shin*, of the Hebrews; the Hebrews could not pronounce the **X**, *djei*, and other letters of the Egyptians. But Kircher goes further—he says, that the name **CIOTI** was given to Hermes. I cannot indeed doubt that *Soth*, or perhaps *Sioth*, was a name originally given both to the God and to the star. The difference between *Soth* and *Thoth* is not considerable. But what decides me in my opinion, that *Seth*, *Soth*, and *Thoth*, were originally the same name, is this:—the astrologer Vettius Valens, of whom I have already spoken; actually calls the Dog-star, over which Thoth presided, τὸν Σῆτ. It is sufficiently strange, that Jablonski, who mentions this circumstance, still perseveres in deriving *Thoth* from the Egyptian, or rather the Coptic. I cannot follow him through the etymological wilderness, in which he roams. He stops at last at **TΣΟΥΙΤ**, *t-houit*, which signifies, *the first*. But why is the word *houit* to be prefixed by the feminine article, which renders it equal to ἡ πρώτη? Now as Thoth, or Hermes, was a God, and not a Goddess, he ought to have been called **ΠΙΣΟΥΙΤ**, *pi-houit*; if this word had ever been applied to him. Jablonski tries to get rid of the difficulty, which by the way he does not state, by supposing that the word *hour* was

understood. There is one feminine word, *ounou*, which signifies *hour*; but this is a mere evasion. The God *Thoth* could never have been designated by a name beginning with the feminine article. Jablonski urges that *thoth* was the word for the first day of the year, and of the month. *Thoth vel Thuit*, he goes on, *id est principium temporis*. But the objection which I have stated is insurmountable. Besides *Soth*, or *Seth*, which name was converted into *Thoth* by the Egyptians in most examples, but retained in some, signifies the *basis*, and, as a proper name, might indicate him who first established the civil year. We must not however forget, that the name of *Seth* was rather given to the Patriarch who bore it, because he was the founder of the second race, which sprang from Adam, and which in the persons of Noah and his family were to repeople the world.

But as I think I have now made it probable, at least, that *Seth*, *Soth*, and *Thoth*, were only different names for the patriarch, whom the Jews, Syrians, and Arabians, consider as the institutor of the sciences; and as it will scarcely be contested that the Egyptians were agreed in acknowledging, that they derived their knowledge principally from *Thoth*; I may be entitled to consider it as also probable, that the Egyptians obtained as much information concerning the astronomical researches of the Antediluvians, as any other people after the deluge, and that if *Seth* discovered the cycle called the *Ner* by the Chaldeans, as Josephus appears to indicate, the Egyptians must have been acquainted with it, and must consequently have known the length of the solar year, much more exactly than is generally supposed.

That the use of the rural year should have been continued by the Egyptians, had they been acquainted so nearly with the exact length of the tropical year, may at first sight appear improbable; but since it was the system, established by the policy of the Priests, to conceal their scientific secrets from the rest of mankind, at least from all who were not initiated into the mysteries of their order, it is easy to understand why all the discoveries of *Thoth* were not disclosed to the people. Besides, it required the lapse of many ages, before any sensible difference in the seasons could have been perceived by the use of the rural year; and 3650 years must have elapsed, before the error of a month could have occurred. It appears to me, that the

Egyptians, who reckoned by the rural year, were about 23 or 24 days behind time, at the commencement of the new Sothic period, in the year 138.

We have seen that those, who invented the cycle called the *Ner*, calculated the length of the solar year more exactly, by nearly 5 minutes, than was done afterwards by Hipparchus, *jamaïs assez loué*, as M. De Lambre says. Is it not then rather surprising, that this great astronomer should yet speak of the *Ner*, as of a cycle of which the discovery indicated little or no science? M. De Lambre of course did not write with the intention of decrying the reputation of the ancient Egyptians and Chaldeans as astronomers; but his book, I might say every page of it, announces his prejudices upon this subject. The truth is, that Bailli had estimated so highly the knowledge of his *unnamed* nation of astronomers, and had exhibited so many proofs that a great system of science once existed, that modern philosophers felt their presumed immense superiority in astronomy in danger of being disputed. They had long been in the habit of comparing themselves with the Greeks, and of triumphing in the comparison. But here, all at once, the flood-gates of scepticism were thrown open, and nations, whom the Greeks never designated but as Barbarians, were set up as the rivals in science of the moderns themselves. This was intolerable; and the progress of such rash opinions was to be checked. The Greeks were now to be extolled as the first people of antiquity, who knew any thing about astronomy; and as *their* competition with the moderns was not to be dreaded, satisfied vanity was not afraid to laud their exertions:—as the man without jealousy praises the boy, who begins to show some skill and strength in the manly exercises, and bravely wrestles with superior strength.

M. De Lambre takes an easy method of destroying the reputation of the Chaldeans and Egyptians for science, with those who are willing to be on his side of the question. The Greeks, who came back from Babylon, or Memphis, after the Persian invasion, and who by the way never understood either the Chaldean or Egyptian language, promulgated the strangest, and often the most contradictory accounts of what they had learned. He, who speaks most to the discredit of the Orientalists, is sure to have his testimony recorded by this great modern astronomer. Thus, in mentioning the report, that the Chaldeans held comets

to be planets, and attempted to predict their returns, he adds with a sneer, that Epigenes, who had studied among the Chaldeans, reported that they believed comets to be merely fiery meteors. "Apollon Myndien dit que les Chaldéens regardoient les comètes comme des planètes visibles pendant une partie de leurs révolutions, et qui doivent revenir à des intervalles plus ou moins longs. Cette idée est raisonnable, et l'on ne peut que leur en savoir beaucoup de gré, quand on lit tout ce que les Grecs ont écrit sur ce sujet: il est fâcheux qu'Epigène, qui avoit aussi étudié chez les Chaldéens, ait affirmé qu'ils ne savoient rien des comètes, et qu'ils en attribuoient la formation à des tourbillons de matière enflammée."

Here two Greek astrologers are brought forward to contradict each other about the knowledge, which the Chaldeans had of the nature of comets. Both had studied at Babylon; and I question not the skill of either in casting nativities. Seneca praises Apollonius, and Pliny and Censorinus laud Epigenes. But these astrologers did not visit Chaldea until two or three centuries after the time of Cyrus. The temple of Belus, which seems to have been a vast observatory, had been destroyed: the Priests (that is, the Chasidim, and Chartomi,) had been oppressed and degraded. Witness the reports of Diodorus, of Strabo, and of Arrian. But between the two Greek astrologers how are we to judge? Of Apollonius Myndius we know little; but we do know that Epigenes ascribed an antiquity to the Chaldeans, which displays pretty clearly the value of *his* evidence. He said that the Chaldeans had inscribed their astronomical observations on bricks during a period of 720,000 years! Apollonius may have stated the opinion of the ancient Chasidim with respect to the nature of comets. This opinion coincides with the truth. Where, or how, was Apollonius to have known of it, unless he had heard of it at Babylon? Pythagoras indeed had apparently held the same opinion; but it is evident from Aristotle, that it was rejected by the Greeks in general. Aristotle mentions, but with evident contempt for the notion, that the Pythagoreans taught that a comet is a planet, which appears after a long interval of time, and which, at the *apex* of the *hyperbola* which it describes, approaches as nearly to the Sun as the planet Mercury. This notion was apparently one of those which Pythagoras obtained from the Chaldeans.

NOTICE OF

MR. BELLAMY'S *New Translation of the Bible.*

I HAVE noticed the arduous undertaking of Mr. Bellamy to furnish us with an improved version of the Bible. His annunciation appeared instantly to call forth general congratulation, and was honored even with royal encouragement. Believing, from all appearance, the purity of his intentions, I am assuredly one of those who sincerely wish he were in the way of attaining his object; an attainment of everlasting importance to our nation, and to the world. You, Mr. Editor, interesting yourself in this undertaking, in a way which might be anticipated from your known disposition to make plain the paths towards the investigation of truth, have repeatedly proclaimed your *arena* open to Mr. Bellamy, and to others inclined to discuss the merit of his labors. And you have not only, in good Christian spirit and liberality, kept open doors for discussion, but (aware, no doubt, how prone men are to make stubborn darlings of their *own opinions*) you have also, very properly, required that, previous to their entrance on your lists, they be well anointed with the essential oil of *good temper*. I avail myself of your kind permission, and shall humbly endeavour to abide by the conditions.

First, as to the necessity of a new version of the Bible? With due deference, I state my opinion in common with many others, that our present authorised translation, as to all points of faith, is almost all we can desire. There are, however, as *others* long ago, and as Mr. Bellamy points out, several passages of minor importance, and there may be some of more momentous character, rendering collation with the original text very desirable. A new version will be an Herculean labor for an *individual*; yet, in proportion as the task is mighty, so will be the meed of public obligation if he perform it. Should these observations meet the eye of Mr. Bellamy, let him not consider them as the offspring of hostile feeling, or sent forth to derogate from his fairly-earned esteem. I set out with the plain declaration, that I join him only in few of his opinions, and shall take the liberty of expressing my dissent from others, and the

reasons of such dissent, as far as I may be able, in that spirit of good-will which the book under our consideration enjoins us to exercise. With Mr. Bellamy I think the *points and accents* INDISPENSIBLE to the right understanding of the text of the Hebrew Bible; that with their aid we perhaps possess more *even of the true ancient pronunciation* than we do of any other dead language; and, considering that the Bible contains the only ancient Hebrew compositions extant, interpreters have attained a wonderful precision; and more still is attainable through means in our possession, and by progress in oriental learning.

I dissent from Mr. Bellamy's notion of the "*absolute purity of the Hebrew text*" as we now possess it; nevertheless, under all circumstances, there can be but one opinion, that *even its present degree of accuracy is providential*; and, as one of your learned correspondents (*M. No. xxiii, page 81,*) has justly observed, it is *doctrinally* pure.

Thus, on our earth there are craggy precipices and stupendous mountains, which to the *circumscribed* vision of man are deemed irregularities; but to the erudite philosophic mind, taking in the range of our system,—of the universe,—this planet which we inhabit is justly considered as a *regular globular figure*: so is the *doctrinal purity* of the Bible, and the magnitude of its excellence contemplated with the minor discrepancies which appear upon it from the frailty of man, through whose hands all that passes is of necessity more or less imperfect. I here except the original inspired penmen. Who can concur in the conclusions that must be drawn from the tenor of Mr. B.'s assertion, that all the Hebrew learning from the most distant ages to the present day (with the exception of his own!) has produced translations of the Bible so faulty as to be the main cause of all the Deism and infidelity in the world! He should be advised to divest his mind of that self-sufficiency which leads him to cry down the useful labors of others, and ridicule, as ignorantly bestowed, the public patronage of universally acknowledged abilities and industry. I am here alluding to what Mr. Bellamy writes in your Journal about Dr. Kennicott, and other learned and pious men. Is he apprehensive that the opinions of these worthy characters on the Hebrew language will encourage the devotees and promote the spread of Deism? Is it not fervently to be desired that all others of exalted

ecclesiastical rank would add their contributions to their laudable endeavours? The members of the established church would abide by the risk of some, or all, of that dignified body rejecting the dogma of "*absolute purity*."—In Classical Journal, No. xxxviii., I happened one day to open the book at page 248, where is to be seen a string of unconnected passages quoted from our present version of the Bible. I will declare to you, Mr. Editor, what struck across my mind at the first glance, and before I read the context, and saw the signature at the end of the tract. I imagined a sceptic himself, by some unaccountable manoeuvre or fortune, had deceived your circumspection, and gained admittance upon your arena. But behold my apprehensions were unfounded! It was merely Mr. Bellamy, *pro tempore*, travestied in the torn skirts of our venerable translators, to prepare us by this contrivance, and raise our greater admiration when he should appear in his own robes of "*absolute purity*."

Mr. Bellamy is blamable for holding out in mutilated quotation the authorised version of the country. In this manner the best book in the world may be made to say any thing, to assert the most ridiculous absurdities, or the wildest dreams of delirious infidelity. Admit Mr. Bellamy's good intentions: allow the advances he may have made in Hebrew literature; confess that some of his versions may be recommendable; yet, unless he banish the untenable dogma of the "*absolute purity of the Hebrew text*,"—unless, for one passage which he mends, he abstain from marring a hundred, it is easy to foretel the lamentable result of his lucubrations. As to the literal purity of the Hebrew text, the arguments and quoted proofs of your correspondent *Kimchi*, see No. xxxv. 151, are conclusive; they have not been answered by Mr. Bellamy, and are unanswerable! Yet the very description of some of the errors (so manifest that it may appear wonderful they have been suffered to exist) prove at the same time a jealous care and reverence in the preservation of the Bible. That such feelings have been excited or inspired, must have been the especial favor of a guardian providence.

It is very evident from the tenor of Mr. B.'s writing, that he considers his own creed as the basis and *sine-qua-non* of biblical discussion; that to his predecessors having (fortunately for us!) been devoid of it, are attributable all the errors in our translations, of which he imagines he has

thrown such a swarm on your pages: that, though in the illustrious departed languages of Greece and Rome, *common sense* and *common consent* admit as authoritative truth new readings rationally deduced from manuscript-collation, yet as regards the Hebrew, one certain copy only (according to *Mr. Bellamy's* notion) contains the real text of the inspired writers of the Bible!

The use of the various readings of the New Testament has been, and is still authorised by the best men and the best scholars. The true reading most likely does not exist in any one manuscript at present known; but we may reasonably suppose that it does, either entirely or in a greater degree, collectively in all.

The versions of the Septuagint, the Vulgate and others, are evidently translated from copies different from any at present known. Good men, learned Hebraists, defenders of the truth, as strenuous as Mr. Bellamy, martyrs for the Christian religion, not reckoning upon angelic perfection here below, or a special providence in preservation of the biblical text more than of the New Testament, but properly reflecting that

"To err is human,—"

had no expectations to be favored with the fac-simile of the tablets of Moses, or the autograph of the prophets. As *we* must be, *they* were resigned to examine and judge by the evidence before them, "Εἰ δὲ αὖ γε ψηλαφῆσαι καὶ εὐρεῖν" τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Yet it is devoutly to be wished that Mr. B. could prove his assertion as to the textual *purity* of the Hebrew Bible. Your numerous correspondents, and all Christians, would as gladly receive, as he would communicate, a truth so momentous. But his lamentable attempt to prove that which does not exist, and the erroneous idea haunting his mind that the mistranslation of the Bible is the cause of Deism and irreligion, have led him on to make many most egregious sacrifices of common sense in numerous passages of his new version. Atheism, or strong symptoms of it, and abandoned wickedness, existed at periods when the scriptures are admitted to have existed in purity; even in the time of Moses himself, with the inspired original in view! There is in the human heart a tendency to disbelief and depravity, blind amidst the brightest effulgence of truth. The conflict of virtue and faith, with vice and infidelity, has been per-

mitted to exist from the beginning of the world. But the truths contained in the Hebrew Scriptures, and in the translations, have raised martyrs in defence of the former, though they have not prevented the perpetration and existence of the latter.

I proceed next to state my reasons for dissent from Mr. Bellamy's new versions, and select for more particular examination Gen. vi. 14. and 2 Kings v. 18. The first on the subject of the Ark.

עֲשֵׂה לְךָ תֵּבַת עֲצֵי-נֹפֶר קָנִים תַּעֲשֶׂה אֶת-הַתֵּבָה וְכִפְרָתָהּ אֹתָהּ
מִבֵּית וּמִחוּץ בַּנֹּפֶר:

Our authorised translation is, "Make thee an ark of gopher wood; rooms shalt thou make in the ark, and shalt pitch it within and without with pitch,"—as literal as possible!

The latter part of the verse, however, וְכִפְרָתָהּ אֹתָהּ מִבֵּית וּמִחוּץ בַּנֹּפֶר: Mr. Bellamy translates, "For¹ thou shalt expiate in it, even a house also with² an outer room for atonement!"³ See Classical Journal, xlv. 125. I prefer and defend the common translation,

1st, On the authorities of the Septuagint, the Vulgate, the Arabic, Syriac and Chaldee versions; on the authority of the commentators, lexicographers and grammarians, both Jewish and Christian, whose works are extant, and against whose united Hebrew learning surely Mr. B. cannot be serious in opposing his own.

2dly, Our authorised version has decided preference, because it shows a plain and consistent sense. Mr. B.'s, with all his comment, is unintelligible, and discordant completely with the context.

3dly, Mr. B.'s version cannot be substituted for the one which the English and ALL translators have given, because the latter *is* and can be proved to be grammatically accurate and conformable to the received meaning of the words וְכִפְרָתָהּ,

כִּפָּר, and אֹתָהּ.

¹ In your No. 38, in the list of selected passages, he gives a different version to this, and thus flounders amidst his own conflicting opinions.

² כִּחוּץ appears no where but as an adverb or preposition, and cannot any way be deduced to mean an outward apartment.

³ "Atonement" would have been, in this passage, expressed by וְכִפְּרִים, *hak kiffurim*, if it had been intended, and by no other word.

On the 1st position it cannot be thought necessary to dwell; sufficient is the bare mention, or reference to the numerous, and indisputably learned authorities, who have passed and approved the present version; and to them Mr. Bellamy is *opposed*!

On the 2nd point, if we turn to the chapter in question, we find the object of God's commandment to Noah is *solely* as to the *formation of the ark*, and that precaution especially which was to preserve it on the universal sea, and when buoyant over the deluged earth. But Mr. Bellamy would obliterate this altogether, and make the words allude to a religious ceremony which has no sort of connexion with the command as to the structure of the ark. The Hebrew words in this passage are all used in their primary meaning.

How can we reconcile to common sense as follows: "Rooms shalt thou make in the ark," in one comma, and "thou shalt expiate therein by atonement," in the other? the very next verse proceeding in the description of the ark! And thus Mr. B. breaks in upon the plain and connected narrative of the building of the ark, with a supposed command relative to the atonement!

Besides, it appears from the tenor of the Bible, that Aaron, the archetype of Christ the Mediator, was the *first* high priest ordained by God to officiate in the sacrifice for atonement. And it is to be remarked, that the words כִּפֶּר *kiffee* gnal, in Pignel, to atone, (I place the Hebrew verb in the infinitive) are never used except in reference to that ceremonial, which being typical of the Christian redemption, it follows that, consistently with this divine dispensation, Mr. Bellamy's version of the passage cannot be received.

Proceeding to the 3rd and last position, let us examine Mr. B.'s grammatical arguments for the ejection from the Hebrew Lexicon of כִּפֶּר *kofer*, as meaning "bitumen," or pitch, the word used by our translators. It appears but once in the Bible, affirms Mr. B., with this signification, Granted. But this singularity appears to have existed ages before he was in the world, with the knowledge and notice of men who must have been more competent, incomparably more competent, to decide on its continuance in such sense, or on its ejection.

There are numerous passages in the Bible, says Mr. B., where this word and כִּפֶּר in *Kal*, as in the verse of Genesis under consideration, are translated as meaning, *atonement*,

redemption, or to *atone*, to *expiate*, and the like. My reply is: that **כָּפַר** in *Kal*, no where in the Bible signifies to *atone*¹ or *expiate*!

We read that on the great day of expiation, the ceremonial was constantly performed by the great high priest at the golden altar, which appears to have been in an elevated situation. The sprinkling of the victim's blood UPON the altar; the priest laying his hands UPON the head of the scape-goat; and, *symbolically*, the sins of the people; the elevation of the host; the attitude of the priest OVER the congregation;—and finally, his benediction, extending his hands towards or over them; are all impressively intimated by the accompaniment of **וַיִּשָּׂא** in composition with **כָּפַר** in *Pignel*. But in the passage of Genesis no **וַיִּשָּׂא** accompanies the verb, which is used in *Kal*, and in its primary meaning. See all the lexicons, commentators and translators.

The kindred languages, the Arabic, Syriac, and Chaldean, are an host of evidence for our translators. In the former **كَفَرَ** *Kafar*, is *levit, oblevit, linimento obduxit*, in its primary acceptation.—See Willmet's Lexicon, page 643. The Syriac Lexicon of Michaelis informs us, page 429, "**ܟܦܪܐ** *Kufra*, *bitumen*, Gen. vi. 14. and Exod. ii. 3," in TWO PASSAGES in the Bible. The Chaldean Lexicon shows **ܟܦܪܐ**, *bitumen*, and the three words above noted, are used, not only in the versions of the Bible, but in other original writings in those languages.

Highly unreasonable and absurd is the declaration of Mr. B.—of the inadmissibility of etymological evidence from the cognate dialects in illustration of the Hebrew. It is a declaration to which I may venture to say none of your readers will accede.

Supposing, (which is not the case,) that no analogy whatever could be traced between **כָּפַר** in the acceptation of *bitumen* or pitch, and the same as meaning *ransom*, (for it never means *atonement* in reference to an actual sacrifice, as Mr. B. would have it) and that, for the one passage in which it is used in the former sense, there are six or seven where it is properly translated in the latter; yet the fact of its being in common use with the first meaning among a

¹ That is in reference to the office of this ritual.

cognate people, speaking a dialect of, and co-existent with, the Jews, and the same kindred nation handing it down to us in their writings, must, before the tribunal of *common sense*, be decisive as to the *accuracy* of such acceptation.

Suppose again, the word *dare* in Latin appeared only once in the writings of a single author with a *particular* sense, and with a different meaning in many other passages of the same work; notwithstanding this, if in Italian, Spanish, and Portugese, we find the word *dar* and *dare* in the same *acceptation* as it appears, though but once, in the Latin writer, such continuation in the same import through a lapse of ages, stamps on it indisputable authority.

And this is no more than the merited portion of credit that the word כָּפַר in the meaning of *pitch*, obtains from the words before noted in the Arabic, Syriac, and Chaldee languages.

There is another peculiarity as to the employment of the verb כָּפַר in the passage under question; it is found in *Kal*, and will compel Mr. B. to recede from his new version on his own ground. He properly admits the indispensable necessity of the points, and that the different forms of the verb have their respective and distinct meanings. As just noted, we find in the verse under consideration כָּפַרְתָּ kafar-tha in *Kal*. In all the other passages in which it is translated (and most accurately) to *atone*, this verb is invariably in *Pignel*: but the verb in *Kal* (Mr. B. agrees with me!) cannot mean the same as when it is in *Pignel*: hence it *must* have, and all translators have given it, a different signification in *Gen. vi. 14*: and Mr. B.'s version, on his own axiom, must be rejected as inaccurate; or on him lies the *onus probandi*, that all the other above mentioned 60 or 70 passages are erroneous!

There is nothing anomalous throughout the Bible in the employment of this verb in all its forms: on the contrary, it appears everywhere strictly in conformity with the acknowledged principles of the Hebrew Grammar.

Thus כָּפַר in *Kal*, to overspread (with pitch). It appears but once in this acceptation: but all the other meanings are rationally deducible from this primary idea, which, as collected from all the lexicographers and commentators, seems to be expressed by Stockius,—“Generatim tegendi vel obducendi significationem obtinet.” The very next pas-

sage in which it is found is Genesis xxxii. 21, where Jacob, desirous of reconciliation with his brother, and approaching him with bountiful presents, says, אֶכַּפֵּרָה פָּנָיו בַּמִּנְחָה, *Akaffrah phanaiv bam-mincha*, in our Bible, "I will appease him with the present." Here we have the verb in another form, in *Pignel*; as *Kal* denotes the *simple, momentaneous action*, so the verb in *Pignel* means the *'intensity'* or *continuance* of the action. There is a peculiar energy in this Hebrew phrase, and almost intranslatable *ad literam*. The sense, however, is preserved in our common version. It may be paraphrased thus: "I will effectually overspread his countenance with my offering." That is, I will operate on his feelings, and thus his returning affection will manifest itself in his face, the index of the mind. The suffusion of bitumen on wood, &c. changes its appearance, and preserves it, and this simple action is expressed only by the verb in *Kal*; but *continued everlasting obliteration*, and, figuratively, *reconciliation* and *atonement*, are most properly and metaphorically denoted in the *Pignel* form. Thus, in these two first passages in which the verb occurs, we have at once an instance of the true sublime, a beautiful yet natural transition from the simple to the figurative sense, and, in my humble opinion, one among many of the satisfactory examples of the necessity of the points; by the means of which this form of the verb is chiefly distinguished. Prov. xvi. 15. is completely parallel.

We now, proceed to the passages in which this verb, still in the *Pignel* form, but in composition with the preposition על, signifies to *atone*. The primary signification of על is *over*, and from this notion we have that of *protection* naturally suggesting itself, also in the figurative sense of "for the sake of;" and more than 60 times, as noted before, this particle appears most clearly with these significations. I quote a few of the numerous passages:

תִּכְפֹּר עַל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ Exod. xxix. 37. "Thou shalt make atonement for the altar."

וְכָפַר אֶהְיֶה עַל-קַרְנֹתָיו xxx. 10. "And Aaron shall make atonement on the horns of it."

¹ It is worth remark, that the *despised* Septuagint, in about 70 passages, expresses this Hebrew verb, not by the primary ἀδικαίωσαι, but by the intensive ἐξιδικαίωσαι: an evident proof that the *Pignel* form of the verb, and of course the points, existed in the time of those translators.

לְכַפֵּר עַל-חַטֹּאתֵיכֶם Exod. xxx. 15. "To atone for your souls."

idem. 16.
לְכַפֵּר עָלָיו Lev. i. 4. "To make atonement for him."

וְכַפֵּר עֲלֵיהֶם הַכֹּהֵן Lev. iv. 20. "And the priest shall make atonement for them."

with all the remaining passages in which the verb invariably appears in *Pignel*, and compounded with the above preposition *עַל* (*gnal*), meaning to "atone," the best word our language furnishes; but it does not come near the *descriptive energy* of the original, by which the mind's eye beholds the impressive ceremonial, the supplicant congregation in the attitude of humility and confession, and the high priest at the altar as *mediator*, and as the third quotation literally translated would be, *over* their souls. Before the Christian Hebraist is depicted the *exaltation* of the *Great Redeemer*; and in the *united verb*, and the preposition in this form *Pignel*, the perpetuity of redemption, and, under the visible shedding of the blood of the victim, is typified the *over-spreading oblivion* and *obliteration* of crime: or, to use the words of our excellent Church Catechism, "the outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace." If Noah be considered in the character of priest of his family, which at the time of his officiation made up the entire human race, we must of course suppose the ceremonial of sacrifice, and that, therefore, the sacred writer (Moses) would have used precisely the same phrase to express the command, as he and the other writers do in all the 60 or 70 passages; and therefore *כַּפֵּר-את*, *kafâr-eth*, cannot and does not signify the same as *כַּפֵּר-עַל* *kiffêr gnal*. As to the argument of Mr. B., (more plausible than sound,) viz. that because in the other passages, where mention is made of bitumen, another Hebrew word *זָפַת* is used to express it, *כַּפֵּר* therefore cannot be in that signification! To this it may be replied that *זָפַת* and *כַּפֵּר* are cognate words in their primary sense, and refer to two distinct pro-

¹ This word is expressed exactly by the Latin *propitiari*—*pro* is *gnal*, signifying *for* or *for the sake of*, and the other part of the word from *pro* dropping the reduplicate: *liquidum præbeo*: alluding to the ancient libations and the shedding of the blood of the victim. Here we may trace the ancient Roman ritual to the Mosaic.

erties of bitumen, or pitch. The figure ellipsis reigns universally throughout the Hebrew language: a very great number of the words commonly denominated *substantives*, are evidently, and may be traced as, nouns appellative or participial. Thus כֹּפֶר *Kofer*, from the participle כֹּפֵר *Kofeir*, covering, overspreading, or that which covers or overspreads; hence the word זֶפֶת, which primarily signifies exudation, is understood, and the ellipsis supplied would be זֶפֶת דֹּכֶפֶר *Zéfeth hakkófer*, the covering exudation, which idea the context of the chapter under notice would obviously suggest to a native Israelite, when the Hebrew was a living language. Hence the epithet כֹּפֶר is altogether appropriate and self-intelligible; as nothing more completely covers and preserves the substance or material to which it is applied than pitch. The letters כ and פ are cognate. From צֹף *tzouf*, to ooze out, exudate, or distil, we have the Hiphil form צִיף *tzif*, which, connected with the extensively formative particle ה, produces the substantive צִפָּה exudation; but, on account of the kindred of the letters above noted, the Lexicons show זֶפֶת only.

Resinous gums and tar, of which pitch is manufactured, exudate from various trees by the sun's heat, or the application of fire. But why כֹּפֶר, for the pitch on the ark, in preference to זֶפֶת? We are now approaching the stone over which Mr. Bellamy has so unfortunately stumbled. Commentators agree, not that Noah was commanded to atone, but that the preservation of himself and family is indeed typical of the *Mediation through Christ*. The sacred writer, to convey that solemn symbol, seems to have given especial and just preference to the word כֹּפֶר (the epithet indicative of protection and preservation) before זֶפֶת. The covering of pitch over the timber of the ark was, during the angry deluge, most strictly and locally intermediate! it was between the entire human race and destruction.

Mr. Bellamy, in your last Journal for March, page 128, affirms that the word מִבֵּית is "not noticed in the common version," and is "surprised how the translators have dared

¹ See Gusset, page 399. Ams. Ed. 1702.

to reject it!!"—One weak position requires others to defend it. Aware of the universal conviction that the ceremonial of the atonement was instituted by Moses and Aaron, he makes a vain effort to support his novel opinion by the assertion that God communicated with Noah from the mercy seat in the ark.

As to מִבֵּית being rejected by our translators, permit Mr. Bellamy to be told that this is an unjust charge against them; and a shock to the common sense of a Tyro in the Hebrew language. Below are the Hebrew, the despised Septuagint, the Vulgate, and the version of Tremellius, with our own:

מִבֵּית וּמִחוּץ וְכַפֶּרֶת אֹתָהּ מִבֵּית ukufarthā' aothah mib-
bēith u' michutz bak-
kufar.

פִּי et-extrínsecus intrínsecus eam et-picabis—Tremellius et Junius.
bitumine et-extrínsecus intrínsecus eam et-linies—Vulgate.
with pitch and without within it and thou shalt pitch—

all these translations are *verbatim*, and your readers will please to read them from right to left in the Hebrew manner, and let them judge whether מִבֵּית be translated or not!!

Then, as to this word meaning "*Mercy-seat*," Mr. Bellamy does not produce a single authority. Wherever *Mercy-seat* is meant, it is *uniformly* expressed by כַּפֶּרֶת, and it occurs no where in the Bible till the history of the institution of the Levitical priesthood.

Mr. Bellamy remarks, "this word מִבֵּית is truly translated by house or temple, a place of divine worship," and directs us to "Kings xi. 10 and 13, Isaiah lvi. 7, 1 Chron. vi. 10, 2 Chron. xxiii. 10, xxxv. 20, Prov. xvii. 1." Truly translated *house or temple*! indeed? When in his four first references this מִבֵּית is translated IN the TEMPLE! in the 5th FROM the house: in 2 Chron. xxxv. 20. the word does not occur; and in Prov. xvii. 1. it is translated, and properly, "*than a house!*" Here then, Mr. Editor, is either misrepresentation, designed to protect his version of Gen. vi. 14, or ignorance of the subject, and of the language, in the knowledge of which he claims exclusive pre-eminence. But, fortunately for the cause of truth, here is a passage exactly parallel to the one in question, where, besides in numerous other instances, the words מִבֵּית and מִחוּץ are translated; "*within and without*:"

וַצִּפַּת אֹתוֹ וְהָיָה מִחוּץ מִבֵּית וּמִחוּץ תִּצְפֶּנּוּ Exod. xxv. 11.

“and thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, *within* and without shalt thou overlay it.” This places the accuracy of the received version of Gen. vi. 14. on a basis immoveable against the attacks of infidelity or fanaticism. And by the way we have here another proof of the kindred meaning in the *rationale* of the words כָּפַר and יָפַת, and that they respectively may denote *pitch* or its properties.

And finally, it appears that the common version of this verse reposes on the authority and collected opinion of ages; and it is not, as Mr. Bellamy has presumed to designate it, “a consecrated error,” but firmly established and consecrated *truth*. To controvert this, Mr. Bellamy disputes, and would disturb, the tenor of the divine dispensation, as universally believed and clearly apparent in the Bible; he *must* abjure the doctrine of the points, inasmuch as he disregards all grammarians and lexicographers, subjecting them to his own opinions: and what he writes is plainly tantamount to the assertion that the Jews, Arabians, Chaldeans, and Syrians, have not understood their own languages!

I must defer for another opportunity the notice of Mr. Bellamy's translation of 2 Kings v. 18; I now merely affirm, as I shall endeavour to prove, that our present version of the passage is correct—that Elijah's answer to *Naaman* is in no respect derogatory to his high character as a prophet, or the least compromise of his holy religion.

Liverpool, July, 1821.

J. W.

IN HISTORIAM ANTIQUIORUM TEMPORUM ET SERIORIS ÆTATIS OBSERVATIONES CRITICÆ.

Quæ ad historiam vel antiquiorum temporum, monumentorum, hominum et populorum, vel serioris ætatis, ejusque institutorum et civitatum, pervestigandam et judicandam super, variam in partem quæsitæ sunt et hunc conjiciendo et colligendo inventa tum concludendo et comparando effecta, non solum deinceps enarrare constitui, sed etiam ad certiore[m] quandam rationem adducere, et ita persequi, ut quæ et quantum quæque probabilis sint, de quibus aliter statuendum videatur, appareat, provideturque, ne decretis nonnullis rationibusve temere adsentiamur.

Nibil enim gravibus juvenum studiis periculosius reperitur, nihil eos facilius in errores ita seducere et implicare potest, ut ægre expediantur, quam novitas opinionum, quæ iis blanditur, copiosa doctrinæ, quæ ostentatur, recondita disputationis ratio, quæ allicit, denique auctoritas doctorum hominum et laudes, quibus omnes movemur, estque illud, quod dixi, errandi periculum tantæ præsentius, quanto sæpius nunc e libris auctorum, quibus novæ conjecturæ et rationes speciose proponuntur, quam e scholis magistrorum, qui eas subtiliter examinarunt, omnis earum hauritur cognitio. Versabor autem in ea disputatione sic, ut, quoniam ita et rerum ubertas et horum libellorum ratio et laborum nunc mihi impositorum multitudo me facere cogunt, brevius quam olim scribam et summa potius argumentorum capita complectar, quam in singula altius descendam, neque, quod et longum est nec invidia caret, nominem ubique omnes omnium commentorum auctores, sed res et rationes propositas commemorem. Et prima quidem disputatio ad *antiquiorem* spectat *historiam*, continet autem plura, quæ nunc quidem observatu digna sint. Etenim I. postquam omnino de antiquissima historia, e mythorum carminumve usu propagata, deque ipsorum mythorum natura, generibus, interpretatione et fide uberius et doctius disputatum a multis erat, fieri non potuit, quin existerent, qui suo vel ingenio vel sensu ducti omnem rejicerent mythicam, quam dicunt, historiam,¹ elicerentve inde et vero comminiscerentur rerum narrationem, a mythis illis prorsus diversam, suis opinionibus accommodatam, interdum etiam probabili variorum eventorum et institutorum comparatione et conjunctione firmatam, fundamento idoneo destitutam, eamque ipsam ob causam incertiorem etiam mythis. Nam in his non inest tantum factorum narratio, quæ ad religiosas cosmologicasque ideas referuntur, neque experientia continentur, ut Rhodius I. I. censuit, qui ita eos ab historia distinxit; sed etiam expositio rerum vere gestarum, comparata tamen illa et ornata ad sensum et orationem poeticam symbolicamque ætatis antiquissimæ et sensim aucta et expolita. Cur enim negemus, mythis antiquioribus nonnullis eventa et facta vere contineri, qui sciamus, aliis etiam temporibus, quorum certior est notitia, multa quæ agebantur, ore et sermonibus hominum esse tradita et propagata, justa causa non apparet. Nam ut fabulosa multa inesse mythis largiantur, multa, quæ non gesta sint, perinde ut gesta, enarrata: omnia tamen conficta esse

¹ Præter multos alios cf. Rhodius in lib. Beiträge zur Alterthumskunde H. p. 7. ss.

nec quidquam traditum, quod factis niteretur vel gentium vel populorum vel hominum, nullo doceri probarive ei potest argumento, qui antiquitatis simplicitatem bene noverit. Quare in cognoscendis judicandiæ singulis mythis redeundum erit, quantum fieri potest, ad eorum originem; videndum, ubi primum illi exstiterint,¹ a quibus fuerint auctoribus et traditi et propagati, quibus ornamentis aucti; hinc revocandi erunt ad priscam simplicitatem, iis, quæ serius, quorumcunque tandem arte et opera, accesserunt semotis, denique inquirendum in naturam argumenti et orationis, ut, utrum ad historicum an philosophicum an mixtum ex utroque mythorum genus sint referendi, pateat. Nam in genealogicis etiam, geographicis, heroicis mythis deprehenduntur, quæ non mere sint historica. Quo autem antiquior est mythus, sive quo antiquiores sunt et simpliciores, qui eum scriptis mandarunt, auctores, eo longius abest ab ista miscendi res gestas et hominum facta cum eventis naturæ et opinionibus sapientum et lusibus poetarum temeritate. Nam explicationes mythorum, quæ propositæ sunt antiquitus, ab ipsis mythis esse sejungendas, satis constat.² Cum hac de mythis disputatione conjuncta est

2. questio, num, qui in mythis memorantur, civitatum conditores, sacrorum auctores, populorum duces, legumlatores, heroes alique insignes homines, vere fuisse existimandi sint, an. vel omnino ficti fuerint, nominibus aliunde derivatis, vel gentes et familiæ narrando mutatæ in singulos homines. Nam ita olim omnis omnium narrationum de illis hominibus fides infringebatur, ut alii eas ad hieroglyphicas imagines, quibus vel solis siderumve aliorum cursus vel anni tempestates vel alia naturæ eventa denotarentur, referrent, alii ex nominum et vocabulorum quorundam vi et significatione ortas putarent, alii a fingendi et divina humanis miscendi lubidine repeterent, et essent adeo qui, utrum Moses vixerit, dubitarent. Jam etsi ea cupide statuendi ratio de antiquis narrationibus nunc a pluribus repudiata est et impugnata,³ non tamen ita de ea decretum est, ut nihil supersit, quod moneatur. Scilicet negari non potest, nomina sæpe esse ex rebus eventisque ducta⁴ et gentium appellationem locum

¹ Quid ea in re sit observandum, breviter indicavit Creuzer. præf. ad 2. ed. Mythol. et Symbol. vett. I. p. XII. s.

² Qui de mythologia, inprimis græca, nuper in variam partem disputarunt, et noti sunt et a *Klopfers* meo etiam nominati in Introd. præmissa Nitzschii Vocab. mythol. 4. p. 26.

³ V. Neumann. Specim. rer. Cret. p. 49. s.

⁴ Ut Cypseli nomen, Corinthiorum tyranni; v. Herod. 5, 91. et Creuzer. Comm. Herod. p. 65. qui tamen non propterea Cypselum e serie regum Corinth. tollere ausus est.

dedisse opinionibus de uno quodam eorum dace, quod Cadam exemplum et Danaï docere videtur, et plurium regum et heroum res unius nomine esse comprehensa et, quæ antiquitus a pluribus instituta erant, quoniam earum rerum memoria interierat, uni eique inprimis nobili auctori tributa, narrata etiam de uno, quæ inter se valde discreparent,¹ et exornata auctaque multis modis facta, quæ homines vetustissimos obstupescerant. Inde tamen non sequitur, quæcumque mythis tradita sunt de singulis quibusdam populorum ducibus, regibus, legumlatoribus, bellatoribus, eorumque originibus et rebus gestis omnia omnino esse rejicienda, certe dubia admodum existimanda. Nam de Alexandro, Macedoniæ rege, etiam constat conficta esse nonnulla, quæ ad posteritatis memoriam propagarentur, neque tamen eum vixisse et Persarum regnum evernisse, Indiam occupasse, quicquam facile negabit. Imo ita erit versandum in illis, quos vetustas memoriæ posterorum prodidit, viris æstimandis, et primum, quæ ex antiquissimis narrationibus hausta sunt, testibus iis, qui eas retulerunt, auctoribus, sejungantur ab illis; quæ senior ætas adjecit; deinde, quibus locis ex narrationes primum traditæ fuerint,² quibus temporibus, quibus consiliis et modis, queratur; tum examinetur, quo illæ narrationes referantur, utrum ad opinionem quamdam antiquitatis aliunde cognitam, an ad sacra vel civilia instituta; denique indagentur, si quæ sunt, vestigia rationum, quibus niti narrationes illæ videantur, originum peregrinarum, linguarum exterarum, comparationum eum similibus aliis vel hominibus vel factis. Quæ ipsa præceptio ducit nos

3. ad aliam observationem de etymologiæ nominum, quibus vel homines singuli, vel familiæ, tribus, gentes, populi, vel res et eventa et loca in mythis illis insignita sunt, vi et usu. Hac enim nominum originatione, ut olim, ita nuper multi sæpius et cogitate magis usi sunt plures Viri docti, ad explicandos ingeniose et subtiliter mythos tum eos, qui ad religionem veterum populorum spectant, tum hos, quibus origines et res gentium et hominum continentur, tum illos, quibus insunt opiniones de phænomenis naturæ aliisque rebus etiam in sensus non incurrentibus. Qua in re veremur tamen ne interdum quæsitis nomi-

¹ Unde fuerunt jam antiquitus, qui plures ejusdem nominis reges et duces discernere, in qua ipsa re magna cautio est adhibenda.

² Ita, de quo nuper disceptatum est, utrum Saitana colonia in Atticam deveniret, et Cærops Egyptius fuerit nec ne, decerni non potest, nisi, quid antiquissimi vel mythi vel auctores tradiderint, effectum fuerit. Cf. Müller, Hellen. Gesch. I. p. 106.

nam originibus et conjecturis inde derivatis nimium indulserint mythorum interpretes, excusati illi quidem exemplis veterum omnium sapientiarum magistrorum, Platonis imprimis et Varronis (nam Grammatici, Alexandrini etiam, sapius ineptissimi in vocabulorum originibus quærendis fuerunt,) neque tamen ab errandi et mythorum sensum corrumpendi periculo defensi. Nam primum ut nonnullorum nominum origines satis certæ sunt, sive ab ipsis antiquis scriptoribus traditæ, sive linguae ipsius lege et analogia confirmatæ,¹ ita multo plurimum compositio et vis adeo est incerta, ut aut origo eorum omnino non potuerit inveniri, certe non nisi transponendis, onittendis, adjiciendis, prouti lubuerat, litteris et syllabis exsculpi, aut in varias abierint sententias. Viri docti, qui de iis conjecturas proposuerunt. Deinde si vel certius vel probabilius nominum origines fuerint repertæ, quæ inde concluduntur, non æque aut certa sunt aut probabilia. Etenim quum sæpe plura nomen a verbo quodam derivatum significare, et, quæ ejus significatio præferenda sit quoque loco, non definiri possit, quum, utrum nomina a vocabulis verbisque, unde derivantur, repetita fuerint, an hæc ex illis ducta, quod interdum factum est, non semper appareat, quum quo consilio, quarum rerum et causarum interventu, nomina illa, de quibus queritur, imposita fuerint gentibus et populis et hominibus et aliis naturis rebusve, nos plerumque lateat: intelligitur, quam facile in errores incidunt, qui ex nominum originibus omnem eorum vim et significationem, omnem sensum mythorum cum iis conjunctorum, omnem veritatem narrationum de iis, quorum nomina antiquitatis memoria conservavit, repetant. Accedit vero, quod ne illud quidem satis aut demonstratur aut declaratur, ex qua lingua derivandæ sint cujusvis nominis origines, si aut varias sive linguas sive dialectos in eadem regione usurpetas esse constat, aut varias gentes, diversis linguis usas, in eam immigrasse certum est, aut unam, quæ regnabat, linguam, vel conflata ex pluribus esse, vel multa peregrina recepisso prius seriusve, intelligitur. Etenim ut de græcis nominibus, quæ in antiquissimis mythis occurrunt, solis dicam, quoniam de alijs, quæ historia antiquior memoravit, disputare longum est, triplex fere originis illorum indagandæ nunc est ratio, nulla suis carens difficultatibus. Nam a) placuit nonnullis ea unice repetere ex græca lingua et ea quidem, quæ singulis in partibus et insulis Græciæ antiquitus fuit usitata et ex radicibus ejus atque primiti,

¹ Cf. *Stursius* in *Comm.* quinta et sexta de nominibus Græcorum, 1803.

vis, quæ dicuntur, verba, sive ea in consuetudinem abiierint, sive in usu manserint; et recta quidem, modo non fingentur stupes, quæcum nullum superavit vestigium, neque analogie nimium tribuatur (in quo genere Hemsterhusii schola interdum peccasse videtur), neque comparentur, quæ diversæ sunt rationis (ut *Κίρκω* et *Κίρκω*), neque ex quacumque significatione vocabulorum eruatur nominum causa, per se non probabilis.¹ Verum *b*) alii censuerunt nuper, inter quos *Siclerus*, V. Cl.,² emisit, ex semitica lingua nominum græcorum plerorumque, mythis traditorum, originem et vim peti recte posse, sive eam in rem adhibuerint hebraicam sive persicam³ dialectum. Neque enim negari potest, magnam esse non modo inter singula vocabula et verba aramææ et græcæ linguæ similitudinem, non illam fortuitam, sed etiam modorum dicendi et orationem construendi, quibus utraque usa est, convenientiam,⁴ et, si verum est, Græciæ antiquissimas gentes ex Asiæ partibus originem traxisse, aut Phœnicum colonos sedem in insulis ternisve Græciæ fixisse, aut commercia inter Græciæ et Orientis populos matura exstitisse, causæ ejus convenientiæ facile deprehenduntur, ita ut mihi quidem non laudandi videantur, qui omne studium indagandi græcæ origines in semiticis linguis improbarunt, commendandum potius illud studium recte institutum et temperatum. Nam ita, eo abusus esse nonnullos conatat, ut ex suo arbitrio magis quam certa ratione et originem et significationem nominum græcorum, semiticæ linguæ ope, constituerent, ut exquisitam et mire compositam eorum etymologiam consecrarentur, ut aliquasum litterarum syllabarumve similitudine niterentur, ut, ubi deesset facilis nominum derivatio, undecumque petitam, imo extortam ex orientis linguis, proponerent originem. Quæ res quantopere mythorum probabilis interpretationi adversetur, quantum faveat conjecturis et opinionibus, quibus veritas antiquæ historiæ non juvetur sed impediatur, in promptu est. Multo autem minus probabitur credo, quæ, ex quo studia antiquitatis Indicæ et linguæ sanscredanicæ inter nos quoque, ut antea inter Britannos,

¹ Ita Dactylos in insula Cræta appellatos esse a solertibus digitis (*δακτύλοις*) metalla eximie tractantibus, non persuasit Neumann. Spec. ref. Cret. p. 37. nec Curetum et Telchinum probabilior est etymologia.

² In Cadmo, Comm. in Homeri h. in Cer., Hieroglyphis in mytho Æsculapii aliisque libris. Add. Matth. Norberg. Opuscul. Acad. II. p. 341. ss.

³ Quod *Ottom. Frankius*, *Hammerus* aliique nuper fecerunt.

⁴ Ea imprimis in antiquiorum Græcorum poetarum oratione reperitur; cavendum tamen est ne, quæ simplicitati loquendi vetustæ adscribenda sunt, ad orientem referamus omnia.

valere cœperunt, multos nacta est fautores,¹ ratio c) ex India repetendi græcorum et nominum et mythorum originem. Ea enim fere sola nititur similitudine eorum quadam, ut, quod Pandion ad Panduwanas Indiæ s. stirpem Panduicam, Butes et Butadæ ad Buddham Indorum, Curetes ad stirpem Curuorum, Sinties in insula Lemno ad Indos, Jasion Samothrax et Jason Argonautarum dux ad Vischnum, Minos ad Menum, Indorum legislatorem, referuntur,² et quæ alia sunt hujus generis commenta, nova illa et speciosa. Quibus ne seducamur, cogitandum est, eam nominum utriusque linguæ comparationem non efficere ullo modo, ut ex indicis græca esse exorta statuamus, quum, quod forte evenit, ut litterarum similitudine et elocutionis sono inire conspirarent nomina et vocabula gentium dissitarum, non doceat, ejusdem ea esse originis, sive ab eo populo et ex ea terra, ubi prius fuerint usurpata (quamquam etiam hoc sæpe admodum incertum est), transiisse eo, ubi serius putentur occurrere, multo minus inde certas repeti populorum antiquorum, ut Atticorum, origines, sedes et migrationes. Plura oportet esse vel argumenta, vel indicia eaque clara, certa, bene perpensa, neque ficta aut conjiciendo reperta, cognationis populorum, ut illa, quæ in linguarum et orationis convenientia invenitur neque prorsus repudianda est, ratio aliquantum valeat. Omnino enim credi vix pōtest, quot errores ex inscito etymologiæ usu exstiterint, quanta damna docta, sed inepta, linguarum variarum comparatio intulerit historiæ rectis studiis, quam periculosum sit, ex similitudine vel litterarum vel soni vel significationis vocabulorum, in linguis diversorum populorum observata,³ colligere et concludere, quæ historiam populorum universam, antiquiorem maxime, explicent et illustrent. Sunt profecto etiam alia cum illa linguarum comparatione, nuper inprimis, conjuncta eo consilio, ut origines et res populorum veterum, mythis traditæ, verius constituerentur et rectius intelligerentur. Etenim

4. ad eam rem etiam similitudo institutorum et civilium et sacrorum, rituum, morum, festorum solemnium, denique monumentorum, quæ inter populos, locis temporibusve sejunctos,

¹ Ut Ritterum, Grotefendium, aliosque plures. Disputarunt alii in contrariam partem, nuper etiam auctor censuræ in diario, Hermes inscripto, no. 9. p. 68. et 69 ss.

² V. Ritter: die Vorhalle europ. Völkergesch. vor Herod. p. 398 ss. Encyclopædia litt. a Grubero et Erschio edita T. VI. p. 241 ss.

³ Exempla peti possunt ex Jone Hallenbergii eruditissima disquis. de nominibus in lingua Suiogoth. lucis et visus—additæ sunt generaliores de linguarum origine observationes. Stockh. 1816. II. 8. inprimis P. I.

intercessit, diligenter adhibita est, et ita quidem, ut quae in hoc genere simillima aut aequalia essent inventa, alter non nisi ab altero, junctim ab antiquiore, accepisse putaretur, unde conclusum est, eum, qui sua alii populo accepta referat, ab hac etiam originem traxisse suam. Quae in re tripliciter erratum esse a nonnullis existimo, primum, quod, quae similia inveniebantur in populorum moribus et institutis, nullo facto discrimine neque explorata ratione, inter se eo, quo dixi, consilio sunt collata; deinde, quod sumtum est, de quo recte dubitari potest, quae ejusdem sint generis, necessario etiam ejusdem esse originis; denique quod consequi inde voluerunt populorum quorundam ortum ex aliis. Recte enim jam Bunsenius monuit, ut ejus verbis utar,¹ "si quae in rebus fortuitis aut generalibus, quas vel sana mens et ejusdem, qua constituti sunt (populi), aetatis indoles cum hos tum multos alios docere potuit, sapienter fuerint similitudines aliis testimoniis non adjuvantibus, nentiquam neque unius ab altero neque utriusque communis originis indicia esse habendas." Etenim in promptu est, nonnulla esse lege quadam naturae ingenique humani ita communis plerisque gentibus, ipsam primi earum cultus rationem ita in unaquaque exstitisse, existere certe potuisse, ut, cur ad aliam, temporum et locorum spatiis longe remotam, gentem, ex qua repeantur omnia, confugiamus, causa idonea deesse videatur.² Atticam, ut in Graeciae nostra maneat disputatio, constat antiquitus quatuor occupasse stirpes s. gentes: ἰκλῆτας (s. ἰκλῆτας, gentem armis potissimum deditam), τελίοντας (s. γελίοντας, γελίοντας, ex Plutarchi sententia aliorumque, agricolae, ex aliorum, opinione i. q. γίγοντας nobiliores), αἰγινότας (caprarum pastores), ἐργάτας s. ἐργάτας (operarios).⁴ Jam quum Aegyptios olim in plures ordines eosque prorsus diversos vitae genere et conditione descriptos fuisse, eandemque descriptionem in quatuor, nullo cognationis aut consuetudinis vinculo junctas classes (castas Iustanico vocabulo appellant) in India valere constet, non tantum simillimam esse harum gentium, et atticarum divisionem

¹ Praef. ad disquis. philol. de jure hered. Athen. (Gott. 1813. 4.) p. XI s.

² Eodem modo de artium graecarum inventionem statuendum puto, nisi fortassis existimemus, ex truncis et stipitibus non potuisse daedalicis statuas effingere Graecos per se ipsos, neque ab Aegyptiis aliisve edoctos.

³ De quorum originibus varie nuper disputatum est. Pervertit omnia Kanngiesser, in: Grundriss der Alterthumsw. p. 215 ss.

⁴ Vidd. Boeckhius in Comm. repetita in Act. Semin. phil. Lips. II. 452 ss. in libro: Die Staatshaushalt. der Athenen II. 28 s. Hüllmann. Ansänge der griech. Gesch. p. 238 ss. Platner. Beiträge zur Kenntniss des att. Rechts p. 49 ss.

consuerunt,¹ sed ex Oriente etiam in Atticam esse illatam. Quid vero? num illas gentes s. tribus, vitæ generibus, bonis; locis etiam, quæ incolebant, distinctas ita etiam a se invicem sejunctas fuisse, ut ægyptias, doceri potest? num in iis omnino conspiciuntur, quæ propria sunt divisioni ordinum apud Indos? quodsi contendatur, hanc aut Ægyptiorum descriptionem esse, quum per varias terras propagaretur, ita mutatam, et alia ejus inter Græcos et ad consociationem aptior ratio existeret; ubi tandem et quando id evenit? nonne vero probabilius est, quam tot tamque variz gentes migrarent per Græciam ipsamque Asiaticam,² inter eas fuisse bellicosam, quæ quum partem agrorum occupasset, alios eam colere jussit, ad servilem fere conditionem relictos, quod pluribus locis similiter factum est; tum fuisse alias, quas soli natura aut agros colere aut pascere oves caprasve coegerit, et alias, antequam eo venirent, tractasse opificia, quæ certe in India non didicerant, et in iis exercendis perexisse. Telam autem gentium descriptionem non uno eodemque modo ubique fuisse comparatam, neque prorsus similem ægyptiæ indicæque aut inde exortam, vel Hebræorum tribus docere possunt, quarum et origo nota est et vitæ genera; quamquam enim pleræque primum pastoritiam egerunt vitam, dein agriculturam tractarunt, tamen inter eas et duæ bellicosiores fuerunt (Ephraimitæ et Danitæ) et una sacerdotalis, ab Ægyptiaca prorsus diversa. Atqui etiam hieraticæ Græcis, Atheniensibus singulatim, existerunt gentes vel familie, quas fuerunt, qui contenderent reliquias fuisse tribus peculiaris, a plebe plane segregatæ, ad modum Ægyptiæ aut Indicæ. Verum quibus tandem argumentis efficietur, has sacra obeuntes familias in Græcia a cæteris ita fuisse sejunctas, ut unum constituerent ordinem eumque primum et cæteris omnibus imperantem?³ Athenis certe quidem et Butadæ, qui primum sacris cum re rustica conjunctis et tribui, quæ agros colebat, propriis operabantur,⁴ mox, ut discernerentur ab aliis familiis, Eteobutadæ appellati, et Ceryces, qui Eupa-

¹ V. Gruber. in Encycl. litt. T. VI. p. 248. Et Ægyptiacam divisionis atticarum gentium originem alii statuerunt, quibus jam adversatus est Platnerus l. l. p. 8., alii Indicam. Cf. Ritter Vorhalle europ. Völkergesch. p. 8. aliisque locis. Præiverant Angli.

² Nam quod Thucydides I, 2. dixit, Atticam ex τοῦ ἐπιπλείστου eisdem semper homines incoluisse, non de primis temporibus valet.

³ Quæ sententia esse videtur Hüllmanni in libro: Das Staatsrecht des Alterthums p. 66 s.

⁴ Nam quod ad Buddham retulerunt cum Rittero (Vorhalle europ. Völkerg. p. 399.) alii, græcum est Βούτης h. e. Βουκόλος, Βουτράφος. v. Etym. M. p. 190 s. ed. Lips.

tridarum s. Hopletum sacra, ad quæ alii non admittebantur, primum curasse videntur, non fuerunt hieraticæ gentes, quales in Ægypto novimus variis templis et numinibus consecratas, neque constituerunt ordinem sacerdotum, qualis aut inter Indos aut inter Hebræos fuit. Recte igitur Müllerus¹ censuit, inter Athen. familias sacris functas non nisi unam fuisse, quam hieraticam appellemus, quod aliis negotiis præter sacra non vacaverit, Eumelpidas, initiorum auctores origine Thracios (quamquam et hi Eleusine prius versati erant in mysteriis),² Atheniensium tribus sua quamque habuisse sacra gentilitia, quibus præerant familiæ primariæ harum gentium, sive potius nonnulli ex illis familiis delecti. Etenim quum primum paterfamilias sacris suæ familiæ esset operatus, ea deinde in plures divisa, quæ gentem constuebant aut tribum, uni harum familiarum sive ejus antistiti sacrorum cura facile potuit committi, quæ ei mansit, dum sacra gentilitia conservabantur, gentibus autem in populum contractis indeque sacris publicis constitutis, his vel principes illarum familiarum vel alii ex pluribus familiis lecti, apud Græcos præfuerunt. Neque vero comparatio rituum, qui in festis quibusdam et sacris diversorum populorum obtinuerunt, hanc habet vim, ut inde recte colligatur, quod fuerunt, qui concluderent, aut ex uno populo ad alios omnes transiisse illos ritus, aut ex illo cæteros populos originem traxisse. Neque enim, quæ natura quasi duce exstiterunt lætitiæ, tristitiæ, poenitentiæ signa in quibusdam sacris, ritus lustrationis, obsecrationis, supplicationis, qui opinionibus quibusdam communibus fere omnium populorum putantur, ab uno solo derivari posse, facile patet, neque, si nonnulla similia institutis sacris populi cujusdam in alio deprehensa fuerint, reliqua etiam simillima esse, sequitur. Nam, ut de Apaturis non dicam, quæ ex India repetiisse Ritterus videtur,⁴ in Themophoriis Athen. lamentationes factas esse et jejunia acta non aliter quam in Ægyptiis sacris Osiridis, jam Plutarchus s. quisquis auctor est libri de Is. et Osir. T. II. P. I. p. 549. ed. Wytt. c. 69. monuit. Inde autem non sequitur, quod Herodotus II.

¹ De Minervæ Poliadiæ sacris p. 9. et 12. (ubi de Erebutadarum sacerdotio agitur.) Add. Creuzer. Comm. Herodd. I. p. 278.

² Vid. Sainte-Croix Recherches sur les mystères du paganisme, ed. silvestre de Sacy T. I. p. 115 s. 216 ss.

³ Inde explicari possunt singulorum deorum sacra, primum a singulis gentibus tum ab omni populo culta, ut Apollinis *παρρηον* et Jovis *παργιον* v. Heindorf. ad Plat. Euthyd. p. 404. et Bähr. de Apolline patricio et Minerva primigenia p. 11 s. et 32.

⁴ Certe Apaturiam (Venerem) ad Awatarem Indorum retulit (Vorhalle p. 62 ss. 244.)

171. consuit, Danaï filias thesmophoria ex Ægypto attulisse,¹ si modo ille Atheniensium festum hoc nomine insignitum intellexit; nam aliis etiam locis celebrata esse constat;² sed nec hæc ex Ægypto repetenda sunt, quum sacra cum jejuniis et ejulationibus et ritibus publicum luctum exprimentibus ubivis instituta esse variis de causis, neque aliunde petita,³ neminem fugiat. Poteram alia afferre, quæ de similitudine naturæ soli et locorum, monumentorum, institutorum, morum, in comparandis variis terris et populis reperta, disputata nuper sunt et quæ inde conclusa sunt, examinare, sed quæ hactenus monita sunt, ea satis videntur docere, tum, non esse iis omnibus, quæ nuper de originibus populorum et eorum, quæ apud eos instituta sunt, et de historia antiquissima omnino, decreta et dicta sunt, facies præbendas aures, sed habitandum potius et ad sensum cohibendum a conjecturis opinionibusve, quamquam cum doctrinæ et auctoritatis quadam fiducia prolatis, tum caute versandum esse et in iis, quæ mythis tradita sunt, ne vel interpretemur ea ut lubet vel cupide aut rejiciamus omnia aut probemus, et in iis, quæ auctores nonnulli exposuerunt, judicandis, ne his unice aut obsequamur aut fidem denegemus. Cogitandum enim est, originem populorum et civitatum et vitam conditorum et ducum, qui iis fuerunt, priorem esse ea, quæ proprie historia dicitur, et superare universas, quæ concipi recte possunt, hujus rei notiones, et quæstionem de illa subtiliorem facile in errores inducere neque multum prodesse, quum contra accurata cognitio institutorum et rerum, de quibus historia vere nos edocuit, multo sit fructuosior. Ad quos quidem ex historia veterum populorum percipiendos fructus refertur etiam

5. comparatio virorum, populorum, factorum, eventorum insignium adjunctis causis eorum, quæ antiquior historia memoriæ prodidit, cum recentioribus simillimis; Græcis *παράλληλα* dicuntur. Habet enim ea hanc vim, ut utriusque ætatis et res gestæ et mores hominum melius penitusque perspiciantur, ut rationes et consilia rectius judicentur, ut eventa nonnullorum ceptorum facilius prævideantur, ut certius intelligatur, non, quæ nunc cum maxime aguntur, nova omnia esse et inaudita, ut prudentia vitæ publicæ privatæque regatur et adjuvetur. Cujus rei memorabile exemplum adferam, quod, quantum memini, ab iis, qui non raro

¹ Cui sententiæ etiam recte adversatus est Wellauerus in diss. de Thesmophoriis p. 4.

² Vid. Sainte-Croix lib. laud. T. II. p. 21 ss. add. Ephesina et Agrentina. v. Valcken. ad Herod. VI. 16.

³ Plura commemoravit Meinersius in Hist. Relig. T. II. p. 348.

vetera recentibus censeret, tunc monumentum legi¹ quum post terito anno trium regnorum publice conversiones per militem eorumque duces persicerentur novaeque leges et forma civitatum constituerentur; qui comatus, quia milites habebant auctores, improbatum nuper sunt ab omnibus, qui regiam civitatis constituendae regundaeque potestatem et publicae tranquillitatis causam defenderunt.² Scilicet quum anno belli Relep. XXI. a. G. N. 410. Pisandro inprimis auctore, omnia Atheniensium res publica in oligarchiam³ mutata esset, constituto CCCG. imperio, quamquam ita omnes libertate, qua per G. fere annos inde ab exactis tyrannis fuerant, uni, privarentur, tamen nec populi concio, nec senatus, refragari audebant, illa sanxit nona instituta, hic curiam, e qua se subduxit, quadringentis concessit.⁴ Itaque quadringenti, quibus in urbe propere omnia ceciderant, ut exercitum, qui Sami erat, sibi sumptus civitatis mutationi conciliarent, miserunt eo decem viros, qui omnia scilicet salutis publicae causae (ἡ τῆς αἰτίας τῆς συμμάχων πραγμάτων) tanta cura decerent. Et Sami quidem paullo ante,⁵ quum Pisander ibi versaretur, trecenti fere cives constituerant dominari, oppressi popularibus. Verum hi. opem Atheniensium militum imploraverunt, inter quorum duces eminebant Thrasybulus, tunc trierarcha, et Thrasyllus, gravis armatum, militum, dux; qua impetrata trecentos vicerunt et partim interfecerunt, partim milibus similes sunt atque democratiam restituerunt. (Thuc. VIII. 59.). Quae res quum Athenienses milites, qui nondum novebat, dominatorem CCCG. virorum Athonia esse constitutum, et Sami nunciari eo jussissent, et Charesa, clam receptum Samum, ipse Athenis evenerant, atrocius etiam neque vere de CCCG. impudentia locutus, retulisset; milites in eos primum, qui praeteritum dominatum constituerant adjuverant, impetum fecerant, quos ne interficerent, a prudentioribus viris, qui se interponebant;

¹ Attigit Ed. Phil. Hinrichs in Comm. de Theramenis, Critiae et Thrasybuli rebus et ingenio p. 8 s. 54 s. sed solius Thrasybuli causa.

² Add. Bignonus (du Congrès de Troppau etc. p. 46 s.) qui tamen etiam exempla in contrariam partem attulit.

³ Nam quinque millibus civium, quibus suffragii jus relictum erat, si convocabantur, nulla fuit auctoritas. Cf. de oligarchiae vocabulo Luzac. Not. ad Or. de Socrate cive p. 67 ss.

⁴ Thuc. VIII. 69 s. Nimis breviter neque omnino recte rem narravit Diod. S. XIII. 38. ad q. l. cf. Wesseling. p. 570. praetermisit Cornelius Nepos in Thrasybuli vita.

⁵ ὅτι αὐτὸν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον codd. auctoritate scribendum esse ap. Thuc., jam recte animadvertit Benedict. Not. crit. ad Thuc. p. 213, qui et alia in toto illo loco e codd. recipienda esse ostendit.

impediti sunt; tum vero à Thrasybulo et Thrasylo sacramenta gravissimis adacti sunt, ne paterentur oligarchiam, sed populum redderent patriæ administrationem, duces, quos suspectos eo nomine habebant, amoverunt: mutuoque se ad officia patriæ præstanda cohortati sunt. Quod quum cognovissent in insula Dele decem illi legati, ibi aliquandiu quieverunt,¹ (mensis Martio a. C. 411.) Quum autem postea venissent Samum, nescimus, quæ re vel auctoritate freti, revocato jam, Thrasybulo inprimis opera, Samum Alcibiade exule et duce electo (Thuc. VIII. 81 s.), et conati essent in concione militum, qui eos statim interficere voluerant, defendere tum quadringentos tum dominationem paucorum: impetum militum, qui Athenas navigandum et tollendos esse oligarchiæ auctores clamaverant, compescuit Alcibiades dimisitque legatos mandato iis dato, ut imperium quadringentis abrogaretur, concederetur quinque millibus. Sed præter milites etiam classarii quadringentis erant infensi et navem ab his missam cum legatis ad Lacedæmonios² Argos deduxerunt et deinde Samum. Quum autem ne ita quidem cederent quadringenti vel militum vel civium voluntati, imo confirmare, quibusvis artibus, Phrynicho et Antiphonte ducibus, oligarchiam studerent, Phrynichus in foro a nonnimine occisus, Alexicles a militibus in Piræo esset in vincula conjectus, defecisset a CCCC. Theramenes, turbarentur omnia: tum demum Athenienses, concione coacta, quadringentis, quos dudum oportuerat suæ salutis et tranquillitatis publicæ causa decedere imperio, remotis, rerum administrationem quinque millibus commiserunt, in quorum collegium recipiebantur, quotquot etiam armis se instruere poterant³ (mense Junio), et principes CCCC. urbe excesserunt, neque multo post civitati sua forma est reddita. Ita milites fuerunt, qui oligarchiam Athenis opprimerent et democratix restituendæ fierent auctores, Jam in his aliisque omnibus rebus olim gestis cum iis comparandis, quæ recentius acta et instituta sunt, facile intelligitur, ita esse versandum, ut, quæ tum alia fuerit et civium et militum, imperiorum et rerum publicarum, locorum et regionum, legum

¹ In Thuc. VIII. 79. αὐτῶν post ἡσυχάζον e paucis, sed bonis libris, addendum esse, inprimis e c. 86. patet.

² In eo loco Thuc. VIII. 86. antiquissimam scripturam fuisse puto, ἀπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων πρέσβεις, utrumque autem, et quod in codd. tantum non omnibus ante πρ. additur, πέμπουσι (quod stare nequit) et quod vulgo additum πεμπτοῖς, e glossemate antiquo exstitisse.

³ Ita enim legenda et intelligenda sunt verba Thuc. VIII. 97. ὅπου καὶ ὅπλα παρέχονται.

atque institutorum, morum ac vivendi modorum, consiliorum et sensuum ratio, religionum etiam vis, et quantum in his plerumque aliis recentia tempora, ingenia, studia ab antiquis differant, probe animadvertatur, teneaturque unice id, quod in maxima etiam populorum et ætatum et litterarum, quibus excoluntur, et omnium, quæ desiderant, diversitate, commune tamen est plerisque hominibus, consiliis et rebus. Veram hæc non latius persequar, quum præterea

II. duas, quæ ad *medii ævi*, quod dicitur, *historiam* spectant, observationes proponere in animo sit. Primum enim in fontibus historiæ illorum sæculorum, quæ inde ab interitu Romani imperii in Occidente usque ad Constantinopolitani s. græci imperii ruinam elapsa sunt, patriæ imprimis historiæ, quos aunc, ex quo Germanorum nomen et virtus cœpit reviviscere, diligentius investigari et erui constat,¹ recte etiam monumenta varia ponantur et artis opera, nunc etiam studiosius, quam olim, et indagata et conservata et illustrata.² In his tamen aliis esse apparet, quæ ad historiam vel morum, qui certis quibusdam temporibus et locis obtinuerant, vel sacrorum, quæ culta, vel artium, quæ exercitæ sunt, vel opinionum, quæ valuerunt, et quæ hujus generis sunt alia, solum pertineant, alia quæ ad memoriam vel hominum clarorum vel rerum gestarum faciant, alia et multa quidem, quorum pæne nullus sit usus. Itaque patet delectum esse instituendum, ne quorumcumque monumentorum aut colligendorum studia præbeamus aut promiscuum usum commendemus. Tum quod ad ea attinet artis opera, quibus aut virorum mulierumque nobiliorum vultus expressi aut res quæ-

¹ Velim vero multo ardentius exquiri et evulgari diplomata et tabulas publicas, quam scriptores nondum editos. Nam ex his fere non cognoscitur, quod non ex editis jam satis innotuerit, quæ fuit ratio scriptoribus mediæ ætatis usitata summam res et eodem fere modo, præcuntibus sequentibusque aliis, enarrandi. Poëmatum autem historicorum, ut Ottonarii Horneccii chronicorum versibus compositorum, valde nuper celebratorum, etsi ad ritus moresque cognoscendos usus aliquis est, exiguus tamen ad veram rerum historiam.

² Recte nuper Monius p. II. s. præf. ad I. partem monumentorum germ. (Bilder zum Sächs. Land-und Lehenrecht) optavit, ut opera sculpta, sculpta pictaque Germanorum mediæ ævi collecta delineentur. Sed in his quoque erit modus tenendus.

³ Ita Benderus (Grundriss der deutsch. Staats-u. Rechtsgesch. 1819. p. 22.) in fontibus historiæ patriæ memoravit: *Denkmäler aller Art: Münzen, Siegel, Wanddecken* u. d. gl. Sed vereor ut multa aulæ repæriantur, similia illi, quo Guilielmi Normannorum ducis in Angliam suscepta expeditio depicta est, quamquam et de hac cautius judicavit M. Sprengelius (Hist. M. Brit. 1. p. 268 s.), quam nuper alii.

dam gestæ exhibitæ sunt, ut statuas, imagines, tabulas pictas, fenestrarum vitrearum picturas, anaglypha, nisi tituli additi fuerint inscriptionesve, quibus, quid aut toto opere aut singulis figuris significatum sit, indicetur, tanto difficilior est eorum interpretatio et usus, quanto minus certæ sunt et definita signa, quibus dignoscantur figuræ et res, quæ rudi opere propositæ sunt; iudicium tanto impeditius, quanto incertior est plerorumque ætas. Denique quærendum etiam est, utrum hæc monumenta etiam tum, quum certæ historica testimonia desunt, valeant et fontium loco habenda sint ita, ut ex his, tanquam idoneis testibus, repetantur iisve confirmantur, quæ aut nullus scriptorum retulit, aut quæ incerta fide sunt narrata. Ita egregius Vir, Hammerus, nuper, quum ordinem illum, qui a templo Salomonis nomen accepit, et cum sicariis istis, quos Assassinos nominant, multa habuisse communia et gnosticis commentis fuisse deditum, ostendere conaretur,¹ provocavit etiam ad idola, titulos obscuris litteris scriptos, humos bracteatos monumentaque alia mire compositis imaginibus insignita, quibus mysticam inesse et symbolicam censuit vim ad Gnosticorum opiniones spectantem.² Jam etsi persuasum mihi est, Gnosticorum somnia et instituta, quæ ipsa antiquioris fuerunt originis, quam vulgo existimatum est, propagata diuque conservata esse in Oriente et Occidente, per Paulicianos etiam et Catharos atque Albigeneses nonnullos: tamen non opinor ad eorum doctrinam referri recte quævis symbola, imagines quasvis, quarum allegorica interpretatio Gnosticorum placitis favere videatur. Etenim jam antiquitus constat nonnulla ejus generis monumenta, ut Basilidianas, quæ dicebantur, gemmas, male esse Gnosticis adscripta,³ neque mediæ ævi superstitio dubitare nos patitur, quin ad arcanas artes et opiniones alias ejusmodi phantasmata multa referamus. Deinde non satis demonstratum videtur, ea monumenta, si vel in templis ordinis illius fuerint collocata, ad eorum mysteria et symbola spectasse. Tandem idoloduliam Templariorum et

¹ Geschichte der Assassinen durch Joseph v. Hammer 1818. sub fin. Mysterium Baphometis revelatum s. fratres militiæ, qua Gnostici et quidam Ophiani, Apostatæ, idoloduliæ et impuritatis convicti per ipsa eorum monumenta, in: Fundgruben des Orients, Vol. VI. P. I. inprimis p. 17 ss. 55. Ejusd. Gegenrede wider die Vertheidiger der Templer, ibid. P. IV. p. 455 ss.

² Vid. Fodinas Orientis Vol. VI. p. 466 s. ubi contra Raynouardum disputatur et p. 481 s.

³ Vid. post Passerium (in Gori Thes. gemm. astrifer. T. II. p. 221 ss.) Bellermannus (über die Gemmen mit dem Abraxasbilde, P. II. p. 7 ss.)

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cultum simulacri Baphometi, quibus nominibus accusati sunt, nec signis illis vere confirmari nec cum Gnosticorum rationibus, quas idololatriæ adversatas esse constat, conciliari recte posse puto.

2. De universo autem historię mediĩ ævi singulorumque tum conditorum regnorum studio et usu regendo iis, quę alio loco a me disputata sunt,¹ nostri temporis ratio hæc jussit nunc addere. Quum enim hæc ætate, qua de emendandis mutandisque civitatibus earumque institutis, legibus, ordinibus, judiciis variam in partem disputatur, duo maxime eorum sint genera, qui de his rebus agunt, alterum quod, si quid in civitatum forma et administratione mutandum in melius videatur, propterea quod illa vel constituta legitime est sæculis præteritis vel probata usu multorum annorum et jurium vel sancita vetustate et temporum progressu, non quidquam nunc institui, quod historico fundamento, ut ita dicam, non stabiliatur, nihil tolli vult, quod conitatur; *historicum* appellari potest; alterum, quod, quoniam ratio sola civitatibus ut hominibus singulis leges scribere potest, quę ubique et semper valeant, non censet nunc quæri civitates, ita ut historia constitutas sistit, sed ex rationis præceptis formatas formandave; *rationale* potest dici, exemplo aliarum scholarum et disciplinarum: in promptu est, etiam de historię mediolorum sæculorum usu, politico inprimis, varie statui et præcipi. Sunt enim ex altero genere, qui spernant omnem operam in ea cognoscenda diligenter positam derideantque eos, qui, quod in ea probum, rectum, aptum, commodum illis temporibus, utile invenerint, laudant; ex altero, qui revocare nos et conformare totos ad sæculorum istorum naturam et indolem conentur et vel conservari vel restitui velint, quę propter vetustatem obsoleverunt, ipsum etiam servile nonnullorum jugum. Cujus utriusque partis vocibus, ne quis a recta studiorum via abstrahatur, tenendum est, a) non posse, ut omnis omnino civitatis rationem, quę nunc est, ita singulatim eorum, quę emendanda sint, naturam penitus perspicere, vere æstimari et juste judicari, nisi horum omnium originem et institutionem et propagationem et fata, historia duce, cognoverimus; b) non tantum accurate discenda esse, quę exstiterint sensimque conformata sint, instituta et jura et instrumenta civitatũ regendæ, sed etiam quibus de causis, quibus modis, quibus temporibus et orta sint

¹ Ueber die Würdigung des Mittelalters und seiner allgem. Geschichte. Einleitung zu ihrem Studium. Von C. D. Beck. L. 1812. 8.

et stabilita, et in eam redacta formam,¹ quæ nunc vel defenditur vel impugnatur, et rationes contemplandas tum eas, quæ intercesserunt inter singula instituta, sæpe ita antiquitus nexa, ut unum tolli reliquis integris recte non potuerit, et populorum temporumque ingenia, tum quæ fuerunt inter illa et æternas immutabilesque civitatum omnium leges et consilia certa; c) videndum etiam esse, quid illa prisca instituta suis temporibus et locis effecerint, et unde hæc illorum vis pependerit, utrum ab ipsa eorum natura an ab aliarum causarum accessione, locorum natura, ingeniorum cultu, dominorum impotentia, clericorum imperio, morum ratione, quibus quidem causis aut sublati aut certe mutati non eadem manere institutorum vis potuerit, quam ipsam vel salubrem, vel dubiam, vel perniciosam fuisse, aut fieri tempore progressu potuisse cognoscetur. Ita d) intelligitur; historia et ratione ducibus, fuisse quædam regnorum et civitatum instituta, quæ per longius breviusve tempus unice valerent ad societatem hominum et civium tuendam, augendam, ornandam, quæ efficerent, ut sensim propius adduceretur ad eum, quem propositum habet, finem, quæ meliorem et morum humanorum cultum et jurium usum præpararent, ideoque, si vel puerili et juvenili generis humani ætati aptiora visa fuerint, quam adultiori, non vituperanda et prorsus contemnenda; fuisse, in quibus jam olim justis de causis multa sint immutata et emendata; spectatum autem ea in re et semper spectandum, quid quoque tempore et loco necessitates hominum et consilia civitatum postulent; neque, quod ipsa mediorum sæculorum historia clamat, temere et subito et vi adhibita et legibus officiisque neglectis antiqua tollenda, nova esse instituenda, quibus recipiendis sequendisque nondum satis idonea et matura videatur maxima hominum pars et civium.

Indicit

C. D. BECKIUS.

Mart. 8, 1821.

¹ Ejus rei exemplum præbet *Millari* disputatio, qua non, ut Delolmius, tantum ea, quæ Angliæ civilem formam constituunt, sed etiam, quando et quomodo singula orta sint, explicuit (3 voll. 8.).

AMCENITATES PHILOSOPHICÆ.

No. IV.—[Continued from No. XLVI. p. 202.]

On Aristotle's famous Definition of Tragedy.

Locus Aristotelis de Purgatione Affectuum explicatur. Alter ejusdem e libro VIII. Polit. illustratur et emendatur. Quinam sint ὅμοιοι ap. Aristot. de Poet. 13. et ὅμοιον ἦθος c. 15.

“**D**IFFICILLIMUS locus est Aristot. Poet. 6. ubi Tragœdiæ eam vim esse docet, ut affectus miserationis et timoris aliosque similes purget. Neque enim satis exploratum est, quamnam purgationem affectuum intelligat, nec quomodo eam Tragœdia efficere possit, apparet. Optime quidem eum locum jam explicare instituit Lessing., neque tamen ita ut omnis difficultas amota sit. Locus vero ille sic se habet: Ἔστιν οὖν τραγῳδία μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας καὶ τελείας, μέγεθος ἐχούσης, ἡδυσμένῃ λόγῳ, χωρὶς ἐκάστω, (sic recte Tyrwh. pro ἐκάστου,) τῶν εἰδῶν ἐν τοῖς μορίοις, δρώντων καὶ οὐ δι’ ἀπαγγελίας, ἀλλὰ δι’ ἐλέου καὶ φόβου, περαινουσα τὴν τῶν τοιοῦτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν. Ad hæc illustranda Lessing. et Tyrwh. jam, attulerunt locum Polit. viii, 7. Eum igitur, quia Hermannus ea ipsa omisit, e quibus lux huic loco afferri possit, integrum ascribamus: Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν διαίρεσιν ἀποδεχόμεθα τῶν μελῶν, ὡς διαιρουσὶ τινες τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, τὰ μὲν ἠθικά, τὰ δὲ πρακτικά, τὰ δ’ ἐνθουσιαστικά τιθέντες, καὶ τῶν ἀρμονιῶν τὴν φύσιν πρὸς ἕκαστα τούτων οἰκείαν ἄλλην πρὸς ἄλλο μέρος (f. μέλος Tyrwh. An μέρος id quod εἶδος μελῶν, ut infra c. xviii, 6. Metaphys. V. p. 900.?) τιθείας· φαμέν δ’ οὐ μιᾶς ἕνεκεν ὠφελείας τῇ μουσικῇ χρῆσθαι δεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλείοναν χάριν (καὶ γὰρ παιδείας ἕνεκεν καὶ καθάρσεως—τί δὲ λέγομεν τὴν κάθαρσιν, νῦν μὲν ἀπλῶς, πάλιν δ’ ἐν τοῖς Περι Ποιητικῆς ἐροῦμεν σαφέστερον—τρίτον δὲ πρὸς διαγωγὴν, πρὸς ἀνεσί τε καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς συντονίας ἀνάπαυσιν,) φανερόν, ὅτι χρηστέον μὲν πάσαις ταῖς ἀρμονίαις, οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον πάσαις χρηστέον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μὲν τὴν παιδείαν ταῖς ἠθικωτάταις, πρὸς δὲ κάθαρσιν, (sic recte Twining. pro ἀκρόασιν,) ἐτέρων χειρουργούντων, καὶ ταῖς πρακτικαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐνθουσιαστικαῖς· ὁ γὰρ περὶ ἐνίας συμβαίνει πάθος ψυχᾶς ἰσχυρᾶς, τοῦτο ἐν πάσαις ὑπάρχει, τῷ δὲ ἥττον διαφέρει καὶ τῷ μᾶλλον, ὅσον ἔλεος καὶ φόβος, ἔτι δὲ ἐνθουσιασμός· καὶ γὰρ ὑπὸ ταύτης τῆς κινήσεως κατακώχιστοι τινές εἰσιν· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν μελῶν ὁρῶμεν τούτους, ὅταν χρῆσονται τοῖς ἐξοργιάζουσι τὴν ψυχὴν μέλεσι, καθισταμένους, ὥσπερ ἰατρείας τυχόντας καὶ καθάρσεως· ταῦτ’ οὖν δὴ τοῦτο ἀναγκαῖον πάσχειν

καὶ τοὺς ἐλεήμονας, καὶ τοὺς φοβητικούς, καὶ τοὺς ὅλως παθητικούς, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους, καθ' ὅσον ἐπιβάλλει τῶν τοιούτων ἐκάστω, καὶ πᾶσι γίγνεσθαι τινα κάθαρσιν καὶ κουφίσσασθαι μεθ' ἡδονῆς. Quem locum ut his, in quibus nunc versamur, illustrandis admoveamus, prius ipsum illustrare conabimur. Triplicem vero usum musicæ esse posse supra c. 7. docuerat Aristot., primum παιδιᾶς ἕνεκα καὶ ἀναπαύσεως, alterum πρὸς ἀρετὴν, tertium πρὸς διαγωγὴν καὶ πρὸς φρόνησιν. Hæc ita exprimit p. 607. B. Τί δύναται (ἡ μουσικὴ) τῶν διαφορηθέντων τριῶν, πότερον παιδείαν, ἢ παιδιάν, ἢ διαγωγὴν; Quod ibi dictum erat, πρὸς ἀρετὴν τε τείνειν τὴν μουσικὴν, id p. 607. B. erat πρὸς παιδείαν, p. 608. B. πρὸς τὸ ἥθος συντείνειν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν. Itaque ei respondet, quæ hic primo loco memoratur παιδεία, ad quam ταῖς ἡθικωτάταις τῶν ἀρμονιῶν utendum paulo post dicit. Παιδιάν καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν, (ἥ τε γὰρ παιδιὰ χάριν ἀναπαύσεώς ἐστιν, p. 607. C.) vix dubitari potest, quin h. l. appellet ἀνεσίς τε καὶ τὴν τῆς συντονίας ἀνάπαυσιν. Nam hanc isto quidem loco eandem esse quam διαγωγὴν, etsi Ethic. Nicom. 10, 6. p. 179. D. E. παιδιάν et διαγωγὴν confundat, nullo modo persuadere mihi possum, cum διαγωγῇ p. 606. C. jungatur φρόνησις, eaque declaretur p. 607. A. per εὐημερίαν καὶ διαγωγὴν ἐλευθέριον. Quod vero hunc usum πρὸς παιδιάν in sequentibus, ubi, quænam harmoniæ ad quemnam usum aptissimæ sint, disputat, omisit, recte fecit, siquidem ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς νέους μὴ παιδιᾶς ἕνεκα παιδεύειν, οὐκ ἄδελον p. 606. D. nisi ad hanc ipsam eum respectisse dixeris p. 613. B. Sed difficultatem facit hoc, quod, cum antea c. 5. tres tantum usus musicæ memorati essent, h. l. quatuor memorantur, παιδεία, κάθαρσις, (quæ diversa esse e seqq. patet,) tertio διαγωγὴ, quarto ἀνεσίς καὶ ἀνάπαυσις: deinde etiam hoc, quod paulo post non memoratur id musicæ genus, quod ad διαγωγὴν aptissimum sit; oportebat tamen respicere etiam ad hanc, quippe quam ὁμολογουμένως δεῖ μὴ μόνον ἔχειν τὸ καλόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἡδονήν, p. 607. C. Hæc difficultates non video, quoniam modo tolli possint, nisi, quæ antea dicta fuerit διαγωγὴ, eam h. l. κάθαρσιν vocari dixerimus, et voces πρὸς διαγωγὴν insertas esse ab eo, qui eam h. l. non memorari æque tulerit, vel ea, quæ sequuntur, ad διαγωγὴν pertinere, significare voluerit, pro ea esse κάθαρσιν non intelligens, ut pro τοῖτον δὲ πρὸς διαγωγὴν, πρὸς ἀνεσίς τε, legatur τρίτον δὲ πρὸς ἀνεσίς τε, καὶ πρὸς κ. τ. λ. Ita et h. l. sequentibus apte respondebit, et tres, non quatuor, musicæ usus memorati erunt. At quomodo κάθαρσις eadem esse potest ac διαγωγὴ; Sane non est eadem, διαγωγὴ enim est *vita facilis, tranquilla, jucunda*, ut e loco p. 607. A. C. liquet, eaque magna e parte rebus externis, quæ in hominis potestate non sitæ sunt, efficitur; at κάθαρσις tantum

ad animum, ejusque motus et affectus pertinet. Sed, cum de vi musicæ ad illum vitæ leniter defluentem cursum, *διαγωγὴν* loqueretur Aristot., non poterat eam intelligere, quæ rerum externarum prosperitate efficitur, quippe ad quam nec musicæ nec ullius alius institutionis vis ulla esse possit, sed eam, quæ animo bene informato, prudentia s. sapientia, temperantia, æquo animo paratur, et hanc eum intellexisse, patet ex eo, quod p. 606. C. *διαγωγὴν* καὶ φρόνησιν conjungit, et 607. A. *διαγωγὴν* ἐλευθέριον eam appellat, quæ τὸ καλὸν habere debeat. Quæ cum maxime animo a turbidis affectuum motibus temperando efficiatur, intelligi potest, cur, quam antea *διαγωγὴν* appellarit, eam nunc κάθαρσιν appellet Aristot. Restat, ut videamus, quænam sit illa κάθαρσις, quam effici harmoniæ genere enthusiastico scribit Aristot. Cum τυχεῖν καθάρσεως apud eum idem valeat, ac τυχεῖν ἱατρείας et κουφίσεσθαι μεθ' ἡδονῆς, purgari affectus nihil aliud sibi velle colligo, nisi *imminiri, leniri, temperari, ita ut ad μέστητα quandam i. e. mediocritatem restringantur*. In mediocritate enim ista virtutem positam esse, *perturbationibusque adhibendum modum quandam, quem ultra progredi non oporteat*, ut loquitur Cic. Tusc. 4, 17. docebat Aristot. Ethic. Nicom. 2, 5. p. 27. E. Ἡ δὲ ἀρετὴ — τοῦ μέσου ἀν εἰη στοχαστική· λέγω δὲ τὴν ἡθικὴν αὕτη γάρ ἐστι περὶ πάθη καὶ πράξεις· ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἐστὶν ὑπερβολὴ καὶ ἑλλειψις καὶ τὸ μέσον· οἷον καὶ φοβηθῆναι καὶ θαρρῆσαι — καὶ ἐλεῆσαι καὶ ὀλως ἡσθῆναι καὶ λυπηθῆναι ἐστὶ καὶ μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον, καὶ ἀμφοτέρω οὐκ εὖ· τὸ δὲ ὅτε δεῖ, καὶ ἐφ' οἷς, καὶ πρὸς οὓς, καὶ ὃ ἕνεκα, καὶ ὡς δεῖ, μέσον τε καὶ ἀριστον, ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς. Cf. quæ de timore disputat ibid. 3, 10. p. 46. C. In eandem sententiam locus est Polit. 8, 7. p. 614. A. Τὸ μέσον τῶν ὑπερβολῶν ἐπαινοῦμεν. Tragedia vero purgat affectus miserationis et timoris, dum eos excitat, et quidem proponendis iis, ἐφ' οἷς, καὶ πρὸς οὓς, καὶ ὃ ἕνεκα δεῖ φοβηθῆναι καὶ ἐλεῆσαι, ut erat in loco Ethicorum ascripto. Hinc natum præceptum Aristot. Poet. xlii. §. 5. Ita fit, ut, cum in fabulis spectandis affectus illos temperare assueverimus, modum illum etiam ad res ipsas afferamus. Polit. p. 608. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συμβέβηκεν εἶναι τὴν ἀρετὴν περὶ τὸ χαίρειν ὀρθῶς καὶ φιλεῖν καὶ μισεῖν, δεῖ δὴλονότι μαρθάνειν καὶ συνελέεσθαι μὴθεν εὐτως, ὥς τὸ κρίνειν ὀρθῶς καὶ τὸ χαίρειν τοῖς ἐπικαιρίσιν ἡθεὶ καὶ ταῖς καλαῖς πράξεσιν. Ἔστι δ' ὁμοκόμματα βάλιστα παρὰ τὰς ἀληθινὰς φύσεις ἐν τοῖς ρυθμοῖς καὶ τοῖς μέλεσι ὀργῆς καὶ πραότητος. — Δῆλον δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων μεταβάλλομεν γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀκροώμενοι τούτων· ὃ δ' ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἰθυσμός τοῦ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ χαίρειν ἐγγύς ἐστι τῷ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχειν τρόπον· οἷον, εἰ τις χαίρει τὴν εἰκόνα τινὸς θεώμενος, μὴ δὲ ἄλλην αἰτίαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν μορφήν αὐτὴν, ἀναγκαῖον τούτῳ καὶ αὐτὴν ἐκείνῳ τὴν θεωρίαν, ὃ τὴν εἰκόνα θεωρεῖ, ἡδεῖαν εἶναι.

Atque ita cum affectus miserationis et timoris et alios moderari didicerimus, spectantes ea, quæ affectus illos moveant, voluntatem capimus; nam ἡδονή, secundum Aristot. Eth. Nicom. 2, 2. p. 23. signum est profectus. Hinc infra 14, 4. τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλέου καὶ φόβου ἡδονὴν propriam esse Tragœdiæ dicit. Itaque recte Tyrwhitt. judicat, Aristot. similem quandam ratiocinationem de poësi tragica instituisse, qua sc. probaret, affectus misericordiæ et metus, qui in Tragœdiis vehementissime excitantur, non ex eo nutriri et validiores effici, quod Plato criminabatur de Rep. iii. init., sed contra levari et exhaustiri. Quidquid sit, satius erit, Aristotelis mentem, comparandis aliis ejusdem locis, investigare, quam, quod Hermann. fecit, non intellecta philosophi sententia, contra disputare, non per miserationem et metum istiusmodi purgationem animi effici, sed per sublimitatem, quam cum omnium maxime in Tragœdiæ definitione commemorare Aristot. debuisset, omnium minime tetigerit. Purgationem sc. animi eam somniabat vir acutus, qua ita commoti e spectaculo redeamus, ut ea commotio ab omni humilitate, ab omni inhonesta cupiditate aliena sit, etsi Aristot. disertis verbis miserationem et metum purgari, non animi reliquam affectionem, dicat. Hoc videlicet est philosophari! Decebat enim editorem et interpretem hujus libelli, non laudare tantum Lessingii de quoque loco disputationem, sed ea, quæ vir ille unus omnium acutissimus disputasset, bene percepta tenere, vel, si minus recte disputata viderentur, argumentis idoneis refutare. Φόβον quidem, non *Terrorem*, sed *Timorem* esse, accurate jam et luculenter ostendit Lessing.; Hermann. contra *Terrorem* vertit, et τὸ φοβερόν esse *Terribile*, non *Metum* edicit p. 146. etsi nullis allatis argumentis. At φόβον se intelligere eum, qui e miseranda alterius conditione, oculis subjecta, orjatur, quando eundem vel similem casum nobis etiam accidere posse cogitemus, cum aliis ll., tum Rhet. 2, 5, 24. ait Aristot.: 'Ὡς δ' ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, φοβερά ἐστίν ὅσα ἐφ' ἐτέρων γινόμενα ἢ μέλλοντα, ἐλεεινά ἐστίν: 8, 26. Ὅλος γὰρ καὶ ἐνταῦθα δεῖ λαβεῖν, ὅτι, ὅσα ἐφ' αὐτῶν φοβοῦνται, ταῦτα ἐπ' ἄλλων γινόμενα ἐλεοῦσιν. Φόβος est, 2, 8. λύπη τις ἢ ταραχὴ ἐκ φαντασίας μέλλοντος κακοῦ ἢ φθαρτικοῦ ἢ λυπηροῦ, ubi, quod adjectum est, μέλλοντος κακοῦ, aperte indicat, φ. non esse *Terrorem*, qui e subito periculo vel calamitate oritur, sed *Timorem*; quod qui clarius etiam perspicere velit, legat totum illud caput et Ethic. Nicom. 3, 9—12.: φόβον naturalem esse homini, nec omnino expellendum, sed recta ratione regendum ibi docet; quod non cadit in terrorem, quippe qui nullus sit, quando ratio accesserit, isque ob id ipsum, quod rationem deprimit, ἐκπληξίς Græce vocatur, non φόβος. Ut vero, miserandos aliorum casus spectantes, ipsi

nobis timeamus, sit maxime tum, cum ii, quos infortunio laborantes videmus, conditione, vitæ genere, moribus nobis similes sunt. Rhet. 2, 8. Ὡστε δεῖ τοιοῦτους παρασπυᾶζειν, ὅταν ἢ βέλτιον τὸ φοβῆσθαι αὐτοὺς, ὅτι τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν, ὅσοι παθεῖν, (καὶ γὰρ ἄλλοι μείζους ἔπαθον,) καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους δεικνύναι πάσχοντας ἢ πεπονθότας, καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων, ὑφ' ὧν οὐκ ᾤοντο, καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ τότε, ὅτε οὐκ ᾤοντο: ubi quosnam intelligat ὁμοίους cum ex ipso contextu apparet, tum magis etiam e c. 10. Ὅμοιους δὲ λέγω, κατὰ γένος, κατὰ συγγένειαν, καὶ ἡλικίαν, καὶ ἔξιν, κατὰ δόξαν, κατὰ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα: et 8. Καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους ἐλεοῦσι καὶ ἡλικίαν, κατὰ ἥθλη, κατὰ ἔξεις, κατὰ ἀξιώματα, κατὰ γένη' ἐν πᾶσι γὰρ τοῦτοις μάλλον φαίνεται καὶ αὐτῷ ἂν ὑπάρχειν, ὅπως γὰρ καὶ ἐν ταῦθα κ. τ. λ. quæ supra ascripta sunt. Hinc infra c. 13. præcipit Aristot. in fabula bene constituta οὐ δεῖν τὸν σφόδρα πονηρὸν ἐξ εὐτυχίας εἰς δυστυχίαν μεταπίπτειν: τὸ μὲν γὰρ φιλόανθρωπον ἔχει ἂν ἡ τοιαύτη σύστασις, ἀλλ' οὔτε ἔλεον οὔτε φόβον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὸν ἀνάξιον ἐστὶ δυστυχούμενος, ὁ δὲ περὶ τὸν ὅμοιον, ἔλεος μὲν περὶ τὸν ἀνάξιον, φόβος δὲ περὶ τὸν ὅμοιον. Ὅμοιον nempe intelligit τὸν κατὰ ἔξιν, ut in II. Rhet. allatis, et supra c. 2, 3. Sensus est: In Tragedia non oportet exhibere hominem insigniter improbum, qui e secundis rebus in adversas conjiciatur; neque enim miseratione ejus tangemur, quippe qui adversa illa fortuna dignus sit, nec nobis ipsi timebimus, quippe cum eum ingenio ac moribus tantopere a nobis diversum videamus, ut, in quam calamitatem ille improbitate sua irretitus sit, eam nobis quoque accidere posse, vix suspicemur. Si ὁμοίους accipias similes, quatenus homines sunt, sicut nos, præterquam quod hoc ineptum foret, non procedet rationis conclusio. Admirare nunc, lector, insigne Hermanni acumen, qui p. 146. Aristot. refellit hoc modo:—'De metu fallitur Aristot. in ratione reddenda. Etenim verum quidem est, metum de alieno infortunio similitudine quadam niti metuentis et ejus, de quo is metuit, sed hæc non ea similitudo est, quæ est in probitatis et honestatis comparatione, verum illa, qua uterque est homo.—Quamobrem si de his, quos in scena affictos videmus, propter similitudinem, quæ iis nobiscum est, metuimus, metuemus de improbis non minus, quam de probis.' Hinc etiam patet, quid sit τὸ ὅμοιον ἥθος, infra c. 15, 5. nempe mores probi ibi quidem, sed non naturam humanam superantes, ubi τὸ ὡς περ εἰρηται ad locum c. 13, quæ supra ascripsimus, spectat. At Hermann. ὡς περ εἰρηται, inquit, scr. fuisse, res ipsa docet."

Matthiæ Misc. Philol. V. 11. pp. 19—27.

Mr. Thomas Taylor, the learned Translator of Aristotle, has favored me with the following version of, and remarks on, the definition of Tragedy:—

“‘Tragedy,’ says Aristotle, ‘is an imitation of a worthy, or illustrious, and perfect action, possessing magnitude, delivered in pleasing language, using separately the several species of imitation in its parts, and not through narration, [but] through pity and fear effecting a purification from such-like passions.’

“On this definition I observe as follows:—When Aristotle says that *Tragedy through pity and fear effects a purification from such-like passions*, his meaning is, that it purifies from those perturbations, which happen in the fable, and which, for the most part, are the cause of the peripetia, and of the unhappy event of the fable. Thus for instance, Sophocles, through pity and terror excited by the character of Ajax, intends a purification from anger and impiety towards the gods, because, through this anger and impiety, those misfortunes happened to Ajax; and thus in other instances.

“Dr. Copleston has done me the honor to say, ‘that he thinks the above explanation is no less true than ingenious; that I have offered an admirable solution, though a little difficulty still hangs about the word *τοιούτων*, and that he adopts my sense of the passage as the best, which has ever been proposed.’”

I am decidedly of the same opinion as Mr. Taylor and Dr. Copleston; and the latter need have no hesitation about the word *τοιούτων*, if he will consider the following points—1. Had Aristotle said, *Δι’ ἔλεος καὶ φόβου παρὰ λουσα τὴν παθημάτων κάθαρσιν*, or *τὴν τῶν π. κ.*, it would, according to the principles of the Greek language, have implied that pity and fear were not in the number of the passions. 2. Had he said, *τὴν τοιούτων π. κ.*, it would have shown that he indeed considered them as passions, but not as capable of purgation by the representation of a fine Tragedy. 3. The article prefixed to *τοιούτων*, *τὴν τῶν τοιούτων π. κ.*, proves that he intended to include both of them among the passions susceptible of purgation. 4. To express the force of the Greek article, the passage must be translated thus, *Those and such-like passions*.

“As a perfect Tragedy is the noblest production of human nature, so it is capable of giving the mind one of the most delightful and most improving entertainments. A virtuous man, says Seneca, struggling with misfortunes, is such a spectacle, as Gods might look upon with pleasure; and such a pleasure it is, which one meets with, in the representation of a well-written Tragedy. Diversions of this kind wear out of our thoughts every thing, that is mean and little. They cherish and cultivate that humanity, which is the ornament of our nature. They

soften insolence, sooth affliction, and subdue the mind to the dispensations of Providence."—Addison in *Spectator*, No. 39. In No. 40. he writes thus :—"We find that good and evil happen alike to all men on this side the grave; and, as the principal design of Tragedy is to raise *commiseration and terror* in the minds of the audience, we shall defeat this great end, if we always make virtue and innocence happy and successful.—*Terror and commiseration* leave a pleasing anguish in the mind, and fix the audience in such a serious composure of thought, as is much more lasting and delightful, than any little transient starts of joy and satisfaction."

From these quotations it is apparent, 1. that Addison had a clear perception of what Aristotle meant by *the purgation of the passions*; 2. that he understood *Terror* by φόβος. He takes the following words of Horace as the motto to his 40th paper :—

Ac ne forte putes, me, quæ facere ipse recusem,
Cum recte tractent alii, laudare maligne;
Ille per extantum funem mihi posse videtur
Ire poëta, meum qui pectus inaniter angit,
Irritat, mulcet, falsis terroribus implet,
Ut Magus; et modo me Thebis, modo ponit Athenis.

Ep. 11. 1, 208.

He then subjoins the imitation of them by Pope :—

Yet, lest you think I rally more than teach,
Let me for once presume to instruct the times,
To know the poet from the man of rhymes.
'Tis he, who gives my breast a thousand pains,
Can make me feel each passion, that he feigns;
Enrage, compose, with more than magic art,
With pity and with terror tear my heart;
And snatch me o'er the earth, or through the air,
To Thebes, to Athens, when he will, and where.

Victorius, like Matthiæ, uses *metus* in translating the words of Aristotle, and D. Heinsius *de Tragædiæ Constitutione* Lug. Bat. 1643. has *horror*.

Dr. Moor, Professor of Greek in the University of Glasgow, published in 1763. 12mo., *An Essay on the End of Tragedy according to Aristotle, in two Parts*; and the object of his publication will be understood from the following words :—

"Tragedy by exhibiting such calamities on the Stage would propose for its end and intention, *καταλπειν, to remove* such calamities out of human life; and propose to accomplish that end by exciting the *pity and terror* of the audience at the representation

of them. This is exactly what Mr. Addison declares to be the end and design of his Tragedy of Cato :

From hence let fierce contending nations know
What dire effects, (δεινὰ παθήματα,) from civil discord flow.

And this appears to me to be most evidently the true and genuine, nay the only possible, meaning of Aristotle's words, *Τραγωδία*—*διὰ ἐλέου καὶ φόβου περαινουσα τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν*. And I will venture to assert that Aristotle has, in as plain and precise words, as the Greek language could possibly have enabled him to do, defined *that* to be the final end and aim of Tragedy, which, I believe, every body readily enough apprehends it to be, and even those very Critics themselves, when they are not immediately under the bias and warp of imagination, with which they had been prepossessed by that false, unexamined translation (of Victorius,) which I have just now been endeavouring to rectify."

Dr. Moor labors to prove, 1. that *τοιούτων* does not refer to *ἐλέου καὶ φόβου* : 2. that Aristotle nowhere calls the two passions *παθήματα*, but always uses *πάθη* : 3. that *πάθημα* always means *Suffering, Calamity*. But he is undoubtedly mistaken in two of his three positions ; for, 1. if *τοιούτων* does not refer to the precedent words, *ἐλέου καὶ φόβου*, it is perfectly useless and must be erased altogether, as there is in the previous part of the sentence no word connected with the idea of *suffering and calamity*, to which it can be referred ; 2. whether Aristotle has always used *πάθη* for *Passions*, and nowhere employed *παθήματα*, I dare not venture to assert, because I have no particular acquaintance with the Works of Aristotle ; 3. but he was certainly at liberty to employ the one for the other, as Dr. Moor might have ascertained from the *Thesaurus* of H. Stephens.

E. H. BARKER.

P. S. Since these remarks were written, a learned friend has favored me with Twining's translation of the words in question, and with some extracts from his Notes :—"Tragedy, then, is an imitation of some action, that is important, entire, and of a proper magnitude ; by language, embellished and rendered pleasurable, but by different means in different parts—in the way not of narration, but of action—effecting through *pity and terror* the correction and refinement of such passions." Of the last words various have been the explanations. They are,

however, reducible to three. 1. This purgation or moderation of the passions is merely the effect of having them frequently excited, and of being familiarised with the occasions of them, in tragic fiction; just as the passions of pity and terror are actually purged or reduced to moderation in a surgeon, a physician, and a soldier, by their being accustomed to those terrible or piteous objects, that occasion them. 2. Tragedy purges the passions by the striking pictures it sets before us of the dreadful calamities, occasioned by the unrestrained indulgence of them; by giving useful warnings, and preparing us to bear the ills of life with patience. 3. The most probable explanation is given by Milton in the Introduction to his *Samson Agonistes*:—‘Tragedy as it was anciently composed, hath been ever held the gravest, moralest, and most profitable of all other poems; therefore said by Aristotle to be of power by raising *pity and fear*, or *terror*, to purge the mind of those and such-like passions; that is, to temper and to reduce them to just measure with a kind of delight, stirred up by reading or seeing those passions well-imitated.’ It is evident from Aristotle’s words that pity and terror are to be both the means and the object of the purgation, which is sufficient to over-turn the second of the explanations, which asserts them to be the means only of purging other passions. Besides this, it does not appear that the moral lesson of the drama, and the effects it might have in moderating our passions, through the reflections it excites in us, were at all in Aristotle’s thoughts. The first of the two seems more admissible, but was not the whole of Aristotle’s idea. For the effect depends not so much on having our passions frequently excited, but on the having them so excited by fictitious representation. Pity and terror frequently excited by such objects and such events in real life, as the imitations of the tragic scene set before us, would rather tend to produce apathy than moderation. But in fictitious passion, the emotion, though often violent in spite of the consciousness of fiction, is always more or less delightful. We indulge it as one of the first of pleasures; and the effect of that indulgence frequently is perhaps that, while it moderates real passion by the frequency of similar impressions, it at the same time cherishes such sympathetic emotions, in their proper and useful degree, by the delicious feelings, which never fail to accompany the indulgence of them in imitative representation.”

Twining, if I mistake not, subjoins, that Aristotle is perhaps combating the doctrine of Plato, who asserted that Tragedy feeds and inflames the passions, when its purpose should be to allay them: *Τρέφει γὰρ ταῦτα ἀρδωσα, δίδω αἰχμηῖν.*

Of the three interpretations given by Twining, the second, which he has well refuted, may be demonstrated to be false by adducing the Greek words themselves, διὰ ἑλέου καὶ φόβου περαίνουσα τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν: for the article, which is prefixed to τοιούτων, makes it absolutely necessary to include pity and terror as the objects, as well as the means of purgation. And I am delighted to find that the identical translation, which I have proposed, *those and such-like passions*, is sanctioned by the high authority of Milton, whose accuracy as a scholar was equal to his excellence as a poet.

Buhle, in his edition of Aristotle, T. 5. p. 207., has thus correctly edited the passage:—"Ἔστιν οὖν τραγωδία μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας καὶ τελείας, μέγεθος ἐχούσης· ἡδυσμένη λόγῳ χωρὶς ἑκάστῃ τῶν εἰδῶν ἐν τοῖς μορίοις· δρώντων, καὶ οὐ δι' ἀπαγγελίας· δι' ἑλέου καὶ φόβου περαίνουσα τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν. He translates it thus:—"Est igitur Tragedia imitatio actionis seriæ et perfectæ, magnitudinem (idoneam) habentis; sermone condito separatim unicuique formæ in partibus (diversis;) agentium, nec per narrationem; per misericordiam et metum huiusmodi affectuum purgationem efficiens." To his critical notes I refer the reader, and shall merely quote the philological matter: "Scipio Maffeus in Præf. ad Meropen suam, Drama Tusco idiomate scriptum, τοιούτων glossema redolere arbitratus est. Tuetur autem illud Lessing. Hamb. Dramaturgie 2, 196. Referendum est τοιούτων παθημάτων ad affectus ab Aristot. commemoratos, misericordiam et metum. Notabilis est Philosophi nostri locus de affectuum purgatione Musices ope, Polit. 8, 7. Provocat ibi Aristot. ad ea, quæ in lib. de Poët. fusius de affectuum purgatione dicturus sit: Τί δὲ λέγομεν τὴν κάθαρσιν, νῦν μὲν ἀπλῶς, πάλιν δὲ ἐν τοῖς Περί Ποιητικῆς ἐροῦμεν σαφέστερον. Sed hæc omnia interciderunt. Defenderat in his haud dubie poësin tragicam contra Platonis de Rep. 3. init. criminationes, quod affectus misericordiæ et metus Tragœdiis nimis excitentur, adeoque nutriantur, validioresque efficiantur, cum Noster contendere, eos poësi tragica levare et exhauriri, et proinde affectuum horum purgationem opus esse proprium et quasi finem Tragœdiæ. De descriptione Tragœdiæ Aristotelica vide omnino, præter laudatos ab Harlesio ad b. l., egregiam Twiningii notam p. 231. et seqq. et James Pye's Comm. on the Poetic of Aristotle, p. 138."

CAMBRIDGE PRIZE POEMS FOR 1821.

MARIA SCOTORUM REGINA.

OLIM, ut vetustis condita turribus
 Gentis furores et procerum dolos
 Regina plorabat, Leveni¹
 Cæruleas speculata lymphas,
 Admurmurantis vix sonitum lacus,
 Blandique voces ætheris, audiit,
 Sed murmur undarum querela,
 Et gemitu superavit auræ.
 Molles susurros : sub tremula face.
 Lunæ supinas flebiliter manus
 Protendit ad ripas virentes,
 Ad silvas, propriumque regnum :
 Qualis, latebris vimineæ domus
 Inclusa fraudes mœret agrestium,
 Tranquilla libertatis arva
 Suspiciens tacite, palumbes,
 Captiva, noctis territa somniis,
 Quietis horas excubiis dedit,
 Mærore contemplans inani
 Dedecus opprobriumque terræ ;
 Gens insolentis plena licentiæ,
 Non auspicatis viribus, imperi
 Sceptrumque et assuetos honores
 Legitimæ Dominæ negarat :
 Donec juventæ fleret inutiles
 Annos remoti carceris incola,
 Et tristis optaret beatæ
 Sacra domi solitosque ritus ;
 Optaret horas lætitiæ breves
 Feracis inter dulcia Galliæ
 Vineta, dilectas ad oras
 Longum animo repêtente cursum ;

¹ Loch Leven.

Felix! sub umbra pampinea modo
Vitam innocentem duceret immemor
Splendoris, et curæ soluta

Præteritos revocaret annos;

Qua forte sertis comta rubentibus,
Inter choreas prima sodalium,
Permitteret ventis timores,
Implacidos animi tyrannos.

Vernantis ævi in limine floreo
Risere primum gaudia : sed brevi
Sincera præsagam tulerunt
Sortis amaritiem futuræ :

Ergo his Voluptas rara silentibus.
Lusus amœnos instituit locis,
Dum nigra singultu frequenti
Atria personuere luctus ;

Ille¹ et, latronum victima, defuit,
Qui rite lento carmine fervidos,
Ut ante, leniret dolores
Italicæ fidibus camœnæ.

Ecquis putaret nubila luridi
Velasce cæli tam nitidum diem,
Floremve tam pulchrum juventæ
Flebile præripuisse letum ?

Hymen corollam texerat uvidam
Non imbre verno sed lacrymis, rosæ
Myrtoque conjungens odoræ
Funeribus sociam cupressum.

Effræna noctis numina turbidæ,
Sedere venti ; triste silentium
Umbræque sopitas in undas
Incubuere, viæ pericla

Primum æstuosæ cum mulier retro
Tentavit, udis luminibus tuens
Clivos recedentes, et arcta
Nave procul repetenda regna :

Ostendit undantem Oceanum jubar
Redux diei ; littora Galliæ

¹ Rizzio.

Linquenda moverunt amoris
Soliciti resides querelas.

Demens amorem gentis inhospita
Speravit, iræ prodita civium;
Sed dura quærenti negarunt
Saxa Caledoniæ salutem:

At non secundos reddidit exitus
Fortuna belli; militis impetu
Non profuit tanti coronam
Et solium reparare avitum:

Ergo vetusti te laris exulem,
MARIA, cui sors debita mitior,
Nutus Tyrannorum fugavit
Terrificus patriis ab oris;

Te nempe, fraudes nectere fraudibus
Edocta, fallens insidiis Soror,
Utcunque regali decora
Nomine, virgineoque fastu,

Perjura fœdus rupit et hospitii
Sacrique amoris, scilicet invidens,
Ritu puellarum, juventæ
Fœmineos teneræ triumphos.

O nata suavi voce adamantina
Mollire regum pectora, non levis
Querela suspirans amorem,
Non lacrymæ tetigere mentem

Crudelem ELISÆ? non nivæ manus
Nudumque collum, et labra trementia,
Non verba moverunt suprema
Sanguinei sceleris ministrum?

Cur non potestas regia profuit?
Illa, illa sæva destituit vice

Te fata lugentem, gravesque
Principum amicitias perosam.

Quo viveres? cum sacrilegæ manus
Signa illa, quamvis parva, superbix
Regalis antiquamque sedem
Sustulerant facili ruina;

Quin ante tempus canitiem dolor
Inter capillos sparserat aureos,

Rosæque marcentes genarum
 Perdiderat taciturnus angor.
 Vos, quæ tenetis compede amabili,
 Vultus decori blanditiæ, semel
 Formosa mirantem labella
 Et rutili radios ocelli,
 O quam doloso lumine victimam,
 Jucunda amantem vincula, ducitis
 In fraudis ambages, triumphum
 Perfacilem furiis daturæ ;
 Necnon amicos inter et æmulas
 Formæ sorores, indomiti quibus
 Per corda debacchantur ignes,
 Spargitis invidiæ venenum,
 Regum sed iræ non resolutibiles,
 Durant per annos ; invalidæ silent
 Lites, et æternis quiescunt
 Compositi tenebris sepulcri :
 At non peribunt sic memores doli
 Prisci querelæ, dum pia floreis
 Sertis honoratam MARIE
 Progenies decorabit umam.

C. FURSDON,
 COL. DOWNING. ALUMN.

EPIGRAMMATA.

ΕΠΑΙΖΕΝ ΑΜΑ ΣΠΟΥΔΑΖΩΝ.

Τί ρίξεις, κακ' Ἔρως ; τί δὲ θνητῶν στήθεα βάλλας
 ἄθλια ; φεῦ, τάχον καὶ βέλε' αἰνὰ μετές.
 παίζειν σοὶ γε δοκεῖς ; σοὶ μὲν τόδε παίγνιον ἐστὶ
 σπουδάζων παίζειν ταῦτα δ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖς.

E. BAINES,
 COL. CHRIST. ALUMN.

ENPAIZEN AMA ZHOTAIZON.

Quid longo juvat et gravi labore:
 Doctrinam petiisse, gratum cum
 Ludi dent iter eruditionis?
 Nam quæ pars ita dæda literarum
 Quam non vel tabula et vagæ figuræ,
 Aut pictæ valeant docere chartæ,
 Aut lusus aliquid genus jocosæ?
 Sic ludus simul et simul cupido
 Doctrinæ puerum allicit trahitque.
 Non ille aut studia aut timet librorum
 Usus. Sponte jocum laboriosum
 Laboremque petit jocosiozem.
 Ludens discet. Adeo Scientiarum
 Cunctarum, mihi crede, eris magister.

E. BAINES,

COL. CHRIST. ALUMN.

PORSONIAN PRIZE.

SHAKSPEARE.

OTHELLO. Act I. Scene 3.

Oth. And, till she come, as truly as to heaven
 I do confess the vices of my blood,
 So justly to your grave ears I'll present
 How I did thrive in this fair lady's love,
 And she in mine.

Duke. Say it, Othello.

Oth. Her father lov'd me; oft invited me;
 Still question'd me the story of my life,
 From year to year; the battles, sieges, fortunes,
 That I have pass'd.
 I ran it through, even from my boyish days,
 To the very moment that he bade me tell it.
 Wherein I spoke of most disastrous chances,

¹ Quibus doceri solet Geographia.

Of moving accidents, by flood, and field ;
 Of hair-breadth scapes i'th' imminent deadly breach ;
 Of being taken by the insolent foe,
 And sold to slavery ; of my redemption thence,
 And portance in my travel's history ;
 Wherein of antres vast, and deserts idle,
 Rough quarries, rocks, and hills whose heads touch heaven,
 It was my hint to speak ; such was the process ;
 And of the Cannibals that each other eat,
 The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads
 Do grow beneath their shoulders. These things to hear,
 Would Desdemona seriously incline :
 But still the house-affairs would draw her thence ;
 Which ever as she could with haste despatch,
 She'd come again, and with a greedy ear
 Devour up my discourse. Which I observing,
 Took once a pliant hour ; and found good means,
 To draw from her a prayer of earnest heart,
 That I would all my pilgrimage dilate,
 Whereof by parcels she had something heard,
 But not intently : I did consent ;
 And often did beguile her of her tears,
 When I did speak of some distressful stroke,
 That my youth suffer'd. My story being done,
 She gave me for my pains a world of sighs :
 She swore—In faith, 'twas strange, 'twas passing strange ;
 'Twas pitiful, 'twas wond'rous pitiful :
 She wish'd, she had not heard it ; yet she wish'd
 That heaven had made her such a man : she thank'd me ;
 And bade me, if I had a friend that lov'd her,
 I should but teach him how to tell my story,
 And that would woo her. Upon this hint, I spake :
 She lov'd me for the dangers I had pass'd ;
 And I lov'd her, that she did pity them.
 This only is the witchcraft I have us'd ;
 Here comes the lady, let her witness it.

IDEM GRÆCE REDDITUM.

ΘΕΣΑΛΩΝ. ΤΑΓΟΣ ΕΝΕΤΩΝ.

ΟΘ. 'Εν ταῦδε ὃ, ὥσπερ καὶ θεοῖς ἀεὶ λέγω
 ὅς, ἡμέρου πλάναισιν, ἐξαμαρτάνω,

οὕτω τὰ τοῦδ' ἔρωτος, ὡς κόρη τ' ἐμοῦ
 ἐμοί τ' ἐκείνης ἦλθε, πάνθ' ὑμῖν φράσω.
ΤΑΓ. μάλιστ', *Οἰελλον, εἰπέ ταυτ' ὅπως ἔχει.
ΘΘ. ἐμοὶ πατὴρ ὁ τῆσδ' ἐτύγχανεν φίλος
 γεγώς· καλεῖ δὲ πολλάκις πρὸς δάματα,
 καὶ τοῦ βίου με συμφορὰς ἀνίστορει,
 μάχας θ', ὅσων μετέσχον, ἀστέων τ' αἰεὶ
 χρεῖζων ἀκούειν δυσμενεῖς προσεδρίας.
 ἀπαντα δ' αὐτῷ τὸν λόγον διέρχομαι,
 κὰκ παιδός, ὡς ἦν, μέχρι τῆς τούτ' ἡμέρας.
 ἐνταῦθα δ' ἠῶδων τλημονεστάτας τύχας,
 καὶ πῆματ' οἰκτρα, ναυσὶ καπλὶ γῆς πέδου
 χῶπας ἐπ' αἴτης ἐσχάτοισι σώζομαι
 ὁροισι, τειχεῶν θανασίμοις ἐν εἰσβολαῖς·
 χῶπας ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν πολέμιων ἀλίσκομαι,
 βίον τ' ἔχω δούλειον· εἴτ' ἐλεύθερος
 πολλὴν θάλασσαν γῆν τ' ἐποίχομαι πλάνης.
 κἀνταῦθ' (ὄρετε μηχανάς) λέγειν παρῆν
 μέγιστά τ' ἀντρα, καβάτους ἐρημίας,
 κρημνοὺς, πέτρας τε, κάξισοῦμεν οὐρανῷ
 ὄρεάν κάρηνα· καὶ τὸν ὠμηστήν λεῶν,
 Ἀνθρωποφάγους, δάπτοντας ἀλλήλων κρέα,
 καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' ὤμοις τὸν πελώριον βροτοὺς
 κρατ' αὐξάνοντας. ταῦτ' ἀρ' ἐξηγουμένου
 κάρτ' ἦν πρόθυμος Δεσδεμένη μου κλύειν
 οὐ μὴν τὰ γ' οἴκου τῶνδε λιμπάνει χάριν,
 αἰεὶ δὲ, πορσύνεσσι κεῖν ὅσον τάχος,
 πάλιν στραφεῖς· ἀπληστον οὐς παρῆχέ μοι.
 ἀγῶ νοήσας, καιρίαν αὐτὴν ποτε
 λαβὼν, πόρον τίν' εὖρον ἀψαθθαὶ φρενῶν,
 ὥστ' ἐκ προθύμου καρδίας μ' αἰτεῖν κόρην
 τέλειον εἰπεῖν τῆς ἐμῆς πλάνης λόγον,
 ἧς ἦν ἐκείνη βραχέα μὲν πεπυσμένη,
 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀκριβῶς γ', ὥσθ' ἀπασαν εἰδέναι.
 κἀγὼ μὲν οὖν ἐπῆνεσ', ἡ δὲ πολλάκις
 τέγγει κλύουσα δακρυοῖς παρηίδα,
 ἐμοῦ τι σημαίνοντος ὧν νέος πότ' ὦν
 ἐδυστόχησα. πάντα δ' ὡς εἰρημέν' ἦν,
 μισθὸν δίδωσι μυρία στενάγματα·
 ὡς ταῦτ' ἀληθῶς, φησὶ, θαύματος πλέα,
 ὡς δ' οἰκτὴρ ἔλεξας, καὶ ποβεῖν ὀδύρμασιν.
 καὶ μὴν πεπύσθαι μὴδὲν ἠύχετ', ἀλλ' ὅμως
 ἴσον λαβεῖν θεῶν ἠύχετ' ἄνδρα· καὶ χάριν
 τῶνδ' ἔσχεν· εἶπε δ', εἴτιν' οἶδά που φίλον

αὐτῆς ἐρῶντα, τόνδ', ἅπερ καὶ γὰρ, λέγειν
 πάντ' ἐκδιδάξαι, τὰλλα δ' ἦν πεπεισμένα.
 πρὸς ταῦτα, τὰμ' ἐξεΐπον· ἡράσθη δὲ πῶς
 ἐμοῦ μὲν αὕτη, τῶνδ' ἕκατι συμφορῶν,
 κεινῆς δ' ἀνὴρ ὅδ', οἶκτον ὥς εἶδον θρηνῶν.
 τοιοῖσδ' ἐγώ γε φαρμάκοις ἐχρησάμην·
 αὕτη δ' ἐλέγξουσ' ἥδε ταῦτ' ἐγγυὺς γυνή.

NOTICE OF

CARMINA HOMERICA, ILIAS et ODYSSEA, a Rhapsodorum Interpolationibus repurgata, et in Pristinam Formam, quatenus recuperanda esset, tam e Veterum Monumentorum fide et auctoritate, quam ex Antiqui Sermonis indole ac ratione, redacta; cum Notis ac Prolegomenis, in quibus de eorum Origine, Auctore, et Ætate; itemque de Priscæ Linguae Progressu, Præcoci Maturitate, diligenter inquiritur opera et studio R. P. KNIGHT. Lond. imp. 8vo. 1820. Treuttel et Wurtz. 1l. 5s.

No. II.—[Continued from No. XLVI. p. 361.]

IN number XLVI. of the Classical Journal, some account was given of Mr. R. P. Knight's *Carmina Homœrica*; and it occurs to us, that under the head of *Mythology*, there were two or three small omissions. One appears to be the printer's; for the writer, if not greatly mistaken, after the word nothing, ("there occurs *nothing* but the following passage") had put in the margin of his manuscript copy *almost*; not being ignorant at the time, that there was another short passage in the Prolegomena on *Mythology*.

Another omission was one of the writer's own. We observed, that Mr. Knight's arguments to prove the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to be by different authors, appeared in general satisfactory and conclusive: but, that the argument from *Mythology* was, perhaps, not quite so full and clear. In the course of the argument the following passage was quoted from the first book of the *Iliad*. v. 37.

Κλῦδι μὲν, Ἀργείοισιν, δι' Ἰδὸν καὶ Φρυγίαν,
 Κίλλαν τε ξείνην, Τυρρῶνά τε καὶ Ἀνιόναις,
 Σμινθεῦ.

and it is added; "this is all appropriate, because these islands were properly under the dominion of Priam, as Chryses the Priest himself was; that the islands lay off the Trojan coast, and that the places, in which Apollo was there worshipped, were well known, we must suppose, to Chryses, his Priest. None of these circumstances apply to the Apollo of Delos," &c. Σμινθεῦ in the passage quoted above was omitted, which it ought not to have been. For Σμινθεῦς was a title given to Apollo for delivering Smintha, a colony of the Cretans near the Hellespont, from Mice. These being called, it seems, in the Phrygian language, Σμινθαι, Apollo, for the above reason, was called Σμινθεῦς, and had a temple dedicated to him under that name in Phrygia. This locality constitutes its propriety; and the *whole* passage therefore seems to answer the purpose for which it was quoted.—The title, Σμινθεῦς, applied to Apollo, occurs also in Ovid. Metamorph. lib. xii.

Where it is added in the same page, Mr. Knight elsewhere observes, that there is in the *genuine parts* of the Iliad and Odyssey no mention of any of the mystic Deities, nor of any of the rites with which they were worshipped; "the word *elsewhere* does not refer to another part of the Prolegomena, but to p. 13. of his "Inquiry into the Symbolical Language of Ancient Art and Mythology," and the words, in Italics, *in the genuine parts of*, should not have been omitted.

We have in our former number considered Mr. Knight's Carmina HomERICA in three points of view; we made a few remarks on, 1. the person and writings of Homer generally; 2. on his description of ancient manners; 3. on his Mythology.—Our readers will therefore now expect, that we should take in the three other points of view, in which it was proposed to consider them, viz. 4. interpolations and different readings, 5. the comparison of the Iliad and Odyssey. 6. The language of Homer.

Previously, however, to any further observation, we shall present our readers with a specimen of Mr. Knight's way of reading Homer. The first twenty-one lines proceed thus:

ΜΗΝΙΝ ἄφειδε, θεα, πηλεΐαδάς' ἀχιλῆος
 ὀλομένην, ἣ μυρ' ἀχαιῶισι' ἄλγε' ἔθηκεν,
 πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμοις παυχῆαις ἀΐδι προΐαπτεν
 ἱεροφῶν, αἴτοφς δὲ τέλωρι' ἔτευχε κυνέσιν,
 οἰφῶνοισι τε παντοῖ· διὸς δ' ἔτελεσθε βούλη·

εκες τοσο δὴ τὰ πρῶτα διαστήτην εἰσάσαντε
 ἀτρεΐδης τε, Φαιακὸς ἀνδρῶν, καὶ δίφρος Ἀχιλλεύς,
 τίς τ' ἀρ' σφάβε θεῶν ἐρίδι γαστήρηκε μαχεσθαι;
 λητοῦς καὶ δίος υἱός· το γὰρ βασιλεῖ Χολωνθεὺς
 βούσων ἀνα στρατὸν ἄρσε κακῇ· ὀλεκόντο δὲ λαοί·
 ῥοονεκα τοὶ χρευστ' ἤτιμ' ἄρ' ἤτηρα
 ἀτρεΐδης· το γὰρ ἦλθε θόσας ἐπὶ ναφας ἀχαιῶν,
 λυγρομένοσ τε θυγατρά, φέρων τ' ἀπερσιὶ ἀποινα,
 στεφμαῖ' ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν ἱκετ' ὀλοῖ' ἀπολλῶνος,
 χρυσῶ ἀνα σκήπτρῳ· καὶ ἐλίσσεται πάντας ἀχαιῶσ.
 ἀτρεΐδᾳ δὲ μάλιστα, θμὸν πτομάτορ λαφῶν
 ἀτρεΐδαι τε, καὶ ἄλλοι κούκωνιδες ἀχαιῶι,
 ῥυμὶν μὲν ἄεσι δοίω, ὀλυνπία δ' ἄρ' ἔχοντες,
 ἐκπερβῶσι πριμοφό πολιν, καὶ φοικαδ' ἱκεσθῶν·
 παιδα δὲ μετ' ἑλθεῖν τε φίλην, τὰ δ' ἀποινα δεχσθῶν,
 ἱκετομάται δίος υἱὸν ἱκετ' ὀλοῖ' ἀπολλῶνα.

Such is the form in which Mr. Knight has printed the whole Iliad and Odyssey, or as he writes it, the *FLAFLIAS* and *FOΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ*.

Among the other peculiarities, as many will reckon them, of Mr. Knight's elementary and prosodiaical Greek writings, our readers will observe the most conspicuous and prominent is the frequent return of the towering Æolic Digamma, which has been rallied by Pope, in those well-known lines;

While towering o'er your alphabet, like Saul,
 Stands our Digamma, and o'ertops them all.

It is well known, that Richard Dawes, who has acquired such reputation by an Essay in his *Miscellanea Critica*, de Consonante sive aspiratione Vau, prout in sermone Homericō obtinebat, has expressed himself on the subject of the Æolic Digamma as follows.

“Diu est quod fecit Cl. Bentleius ut Homeri Editionem Digamma Æolico insignitam eruditi expectarent. Elementi quidem istius potestate in Homeri scriptis olim obtinuisse, ac proinde etiam hodie haberi oportere figuram, sive notam aliquam, qua ista potestas designetur, id sane et nos cum Cl. vero communiter agimus. Cum eodem vero non itidem sentimus ipsum illud elementum magis quam vel Hebræorum vel Arabum Vau in Ionica Homeri Poëmata invehendum; quippe quod gentis Æolicæ proprium fuisse non uno indicio adducti confirmemus.”

What, then, as it appears Dr. Bentley designed to do, but left undone, Mr. P. Knight has attempted to execute in the present work.

On the subject of this mysterious letter, the *Æolic Digamma* (to say nothing at present of Mr. Knight's peculiar orthography in other matters), much has been written by other learned critics, besides Dawes, particularly by Villoisen in his *Prolegomena* to Homer, by Chishall, Dr. Bentley, and Dr. Taylor. Chishall has given, in his *Antiquitates Asiaticæ*, a. 1728, examples of it from inscriptions on ancient monuments. Bentley and Taylor have left behind them certain editions of Homer, in which they have marked many places and inserted this *Æolic Digamma*. Dr. Taylor has further illustrated this matter from inscriptions on ancient monuments, in his *Marmor Sandvicense*.

It does not fall within the limits of our observation to enter upon a serious and critical inquiry into the *reality*, (for some have asked, where was there ever a copy, or where is now to be found a manuscript of Homer's writings, with this digamma in it?) nor into the *form*, the *use*, and the *extent* of this Aspirate. Such matters would be too copious for our present purpose, and, indeed, foreign to its object. We shall only say, that the *reality* of the Digamma being admitted (and notwithstanding the question just put, there is ample testimony to its reality), the *form* is sufficiently evident, from its *name*, though its *force* and *extent* would admit of much debate. The critics are far from being agreed among themselves in some particulars on these points. But we may pretty safely follow Dawes's testimony to one important article at least; "*ex locis jam descriptis istud in transcurso observare est quam frustra sint ii, qui Æolicum F eidem apud Latinos figuræ potestate itidem respondisse contendunt*:" and we further incline to follow Mr. P. Knight in the following observation. "The *Æolic* dialect, we know," says Mr. Knight, "had more guttural sounds than any other, and more particularly employed the Digamma, which is thence called *Æolic* by the *later grammarians*. We may therefore fairly conclude, that it represented this sound, to which, perhaps, there is nothing nearer in modern language than our WH, as pronounced in the word *whirl*, or that of the Tuscan GU, as pronounced by the natives of Florence and Pisa, in the word *Guerra*."

The above passage is quoted from Mr. P. Knight's "*Analytical Essay on the Greek Language*;" which is here distinctly pointed out to readers, who, before they pass a judgment on the *Carmina Homérica*, ought certainly in justice to make themselves ac-

¹ *Marmor Sandvicense, cum Commentario et Notis Joannis Taylors, &c. 1743.*—

quainted with that work : his Analytical Essay containing the theory, by which Mr. Knight directs his practice in this singular volume.

As a specimen of Mr. P. Knight's way of applying this Aspirate, the Digamma, in the Homeric writings, an extract has been given above : and instead of any extraneous observations, our readers shall be now presented, from Dr. Bentley's and Dr. Taylor's copies, with specimens of several places in which they apply this same character. Dr. Bentley's copy is preserved in Trinity College Library, Cambridge; Dr. Taylor's in the public Library of the same university, together with many other of his printed books containing his manuscript notes.

From Dr. Bentley's Copy.

Μηνιν αειδε, Θεα, Πηληιαδεω Αχιλλῆος
Ουλομενην, η μυρι' Αχαιοις αλγε' εθηκε,
Πολλας δ' ιφθιμους ψυχας αιδι προιφαψεν
Ηρωων, αυτους δε Φελωρια τευχε κυνεσσιν,
Οιωοισι τε πασι· Διος δ' ετελειετο βουλη·
Εξ ου δη τα πρωτα διαστητην ερισαντε
Ατρειδης τε Φαναξ ανδρων, και διος Αχιλλεως.

In v. 20. υια Γεκηβολου. in v. 38. Φιφι Φανασσεις. in v. 64. Ος
Φειποι. v. 70. Ος Γηδη. v. 72. Γην δια μαντοσυνην—Φοι πορε.—
v. 78. μεταΦειπεν.—v. 75. Γεκατηβελεταιο Φανακτος v. 77. προφων
Γεπεσιν. v. 85. θαρσησας, μαλα, Φειπε. v. 85. οτι Φοισθα.

From Dr. Taylor's Copy.

Μηνιν, αειδε, Θεα, Πηληιαδεω Αχιλλῆος
Ουλομενην η μυρι' Αχαιοις αλγε' εθηκε
Πολλας δ' ιφθιμους ψυχας αιδι προιφαψεν
Ηρωων, αυτους δε Φελωρια τευχε κυνεσσιν.

Στεμματ' εχων εν χειρσι Γεκηβολου Απολλωνος. v. 24. Αγαμεμνον
εΓηνδυανε θυμω—ενι Φοικω—εδΦεισεν—Απολλωνι Φανακτι—ιφι Φανα-
σεις—Γεκατηβελεταιο Φανακτος—προφων Γεπεσιν—και Φοι—μαλα
Φειπε—Αγαμεμνονα Φειπης—εν στηθεσσι Φοισι—δομεναι Γελικαπιδα.

The above extracts were made very cursorily and hastily, but, if we mistake not, they are all the places, within the limits, in which the Æolic Digamma is placed. And what will strike our readers at once is, the abundance of places in which Mr. Knight puts his Æolic Digamma, and the paucity of Dr. Bentley's and Dr. Taylor's insertions. It is, however, evident, that both Dr. Bentley and Dr. Taylor have only employed it in a few particular cases, which perhaps more immediately struck them, incidentally, and perhaps in reference

to some particular points of criticism, on which they might have been employed at the time, and without attending to the other places, in which they would have admitted that the Digamma might have been inserted. Dr. Bentley's insertions appear to have been very scanty. And with respect to that learned critic's projected edition of Homer with the Æolic Digamma, mentioned by Dawes, it was perhaps one of those numerous projects, which literary men are apt to form, and of which many, like castles in the air, through the multiplicity of their pursuits and the shortness of human life, come to nothing. Dr. Bentley also had announced, in like manner, his intention of giving a new edition of the Greek Testament from new manuscripts collated, and ancient versions compared. Dr. Middleton pronounced it *supra vires*, and it came to nothing.—*Non omnia possumus omnes*.

As it is not intended to resume the subject of the Æolic Digamma in what may hereafter be offered on the language of Homer, it may not be improper to subjoin here as follows.

Not having met with this letter, expressive of the aspirate, in the most ancient manuscripts of Homer, which it has fallen in our way to peruse,¹ and never having heard of any that has it, we called the character mysterious, not doubting however that the Æolians expressed it. The manuscripts of Homer, not excepting the very ancient, are allowed to be very much corrupted:² but that most magnificent and elegant edition, the Editio Princeps, printed at Florence, a. 1484, under the direction of a learned Greek, Demetrius Chalcondyles, who followed the best of them, has no trace of it. Nor does it occur in the earliest grammars by learned modern Greeks.³ In speaking therefore of this character as mysterious, and, in putting the question how all these Digammas had fled from Homer, it was only intended to say, that such as may even

¹ The Townley Homer, as it is called, (purchased by Dr. Burney, out of Mr. Townley's collection) now in the Brit. Museum, and the Greek Manuscript of Homer in New College Library, Oxford.

² Bernardus Nerlius in the preface to this Aldine edition observes as follows, of Homer,—*qui quidem ob incuriam et negligentiam librorum ita sui dissimilis videbatur, ut in nullo fere codice quamvis perveteri integer agnosceretur*. Yet he has only the rough and smooth breathing as now used, no Æolic Digamma, or F aspirate; and he had, as he said, besides, with study compared the Commentaries of Eustathius.

³ Gram. Gr. Chrysoloræ et aliorum: Ald. 1517.—Theodori Gaza: Paris. 1518.

have doubted of its reality, may at least have some ground for their opinion, though for some observations that may solve this difficulty we refer to Mr. Knight's Prolegomena. And as the following passage from his Analytical Essay on the Greek Language seems to be as exact, though in few words, and satisfactory an account as any that has been given of the Digamma, we shall close with it our present paper.

"An ancient scholiast, cited by M. de Villoison,¹ says that, when the H became a vowel, it was divided into two letters, the first of which, F, was employed to signify the aspirate, and the second, 7, the slender, or simple vowel sound. Quintilian and other old grammarians seem to have held the same opinion;² so that there can be no doubt that these marks were so employed in the manuscripts of their times. There is, however, no instance of the 7 in any ancient monument now extant, or in any manuscript anterior to the ninth century, though the F occurs upon the medals of Tarentum, Heraclea, and Lesbos, and also on the Heracleian tables, and an earthen vase published with them by Mazochi; who has conjectured, with much ingenuity and probability, that these two notes were first employed in opposition to each other, to signify the thick and slender enunciation of tone, by Aristophanes of Byzantium, the inventor of the accentual marks.³ The present notes (') and (') are corruptions of them, which were gradually introduced to facilitate writing.⁴ Dr. Taylor supposed that the H was the Ionian aspirate, the F the Dorian, and the 7 the Æolian;⁵ but we find the F in its Pelasgian form, E, with the 7 on the Heracleian tables; and the Lesbians, whose coins have the latter aspirate, which he calls Dorian, were Æolians."

By way of postscript, we must add, that notwithstanding the reputation obtained by Dawes in this country, Mr. Knight maintains he was mistaken both as to the form of the Digamma, and, frequently, as to the words, to which it ought to be added: and that by his way of handling the subject he has brought this branch of criticism into some disgrace among the learned in other parts of Europe.⁶

¹ Proleg. in Homer. p. 5. where the marks, through an error of the copyist or printer, are transposed.

² Lib. i. c. 4. and Gramm. vel. Putsch. Col. 1829. et seq.

³ Comm. in Tab. Heracl. p. 127.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ad Marm. Sandvicense, p. 45.

⁶ Analyt. Ess. on the Gr. Alphabet. p. 34.

NOTICE OF
PROFESSOR COUSIN'S Edition of the two first
books of PROCLUS on the Parmenides of Plato;
8vo. Paris, 1821.

THE volume containing these commentaries, is the fourth which Professor Cousin has most laudably given to the public, of the works of Proclus; and I trust that the same zeal and the same ability which induced him to bring to light these inestimable works, from an oblivion no less long than disgraceful to countries which profess to be polished, will also enable him to publish all that remains of the writings of this Coryphæan Platonist, and incomparable man.

These commentaries, indeed, are justly called by the Professor, ¹ “*an ancient, great, and venerable monument of Grecian and Egyptian wisdom;*” and to the generality of readers, and in short, to every one who has not *legitimately* studied the philosophy of Plato, they will also be what he denominates them, *obscure*. But by the man who has happily penetrated the depths of that philosophy, at which, as Bishop Berkeley well observes, ² *many an empty head is shook*, they will be found to be as clear an explanation of dogmas and truths, which, though in their own nature most luminous, but to the multitude impenetrably dark, as it is possible for the most *enlightened* genius to effect. And hence this work is very properly said by Damascius ³ to be *υπερπαρουσα εξηγησις*, a *super-excellent exposition*.⁴

Among the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum, there is a copy of these commentaries, of which, by permission of the Trustees of that excellent Institution, I made a transcript, upwards of thirty years ago. And the following are the emendations, which from a frequent perusal of this work, I have been induced to consider as not only probable, but for the most part indispensably necessary.

In the first place, in p. 4. l. 12, which is towards the close of a most splendid exordium, in which Proclus magnificently invokes the several orders of those divine powers that are

¹ Vid. Præfat. tom. ii. p. 10.

² In his *Siris*.

³ Vid. Photii Biblioth. p. 1070.

⁴ I refer the English reader, who has a genius for such speculations, to the 3d volume of my translation of Plato, in the notes on which, I have given the substance of this admirable commentary.

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eternally rooted and centred in the great first cause of all, he also invokes his preceptor, Syrianus, as follows: ἀπηλυσεν δὲ τὰς παύτου καθαρωτάτας σιβέλους ὁ τῷ Πλάτῳ μὲν συμβαλκεύσας ὡς ἀληθὺς, καὶ ἁμετέρος καταστάς τῆς θείας ἀληθείας, τῆς δὲ θεωρίας ἡμῖν γενομένης ταύτης ἡγούμεν, καὶ τῶν θείων τούτων λόγων αὐτῶς ἱεροφαντής. In this passage, ὁ μετέρος καταστάς, is evidently erroneous. The Harleian Ms. has ὁμοστίος καταστάς; but this is not more sound than the other. Instead of these therefore, I read ὁμοστέγος καταστάς. For as both Syrianus and Proclus labored in endeavouring to restore the philosophy of Plato, hence Proclus very properly calls Syrianus *his associate in the restoration of divine truth*.

The words that immediately follow are, ὃν ἐγὼ φαίην ἀν φιλοσοφίας τυπὸν εἰς ἀνθρώπους εἶλθῃν, ἐπ' εὐεργεσίᾳ τῶν τῆδε ψυχῶν, ἀντὶ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων, ἀντὶ τῶν ἱερῶν, ἀντὶ τῆς ὅλης ἀγιστείας αὐτῆς, καὶ σωτηρίας ἀρχηγόν τοις γὰρ νῦν οὖσιν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ τοῖς εἰσαυδὶς γενήσομενοις. And they apply, according to Professor Cousin, to Syrianus. But though grammatically considered, they evidently admit of this construction; yet when they are attentively examined, it will be found to be impossible that they should be applicable to any individual of the human species, however exalted above the rest of mankind by superior genius and virtue. I conceive therefore, that as Proclus had just before implored divine assistance, in order that he might participate in perfection of the most mystic theory of Plato, which is unfolded in the *Parmenides*, he afterwards speaks of the philosophy of Plato in the above beautiful manner. Hence it appears to me that two or three lines are wanting, and that this passage is a part of a sentence containing a most magnificent encomium of the Platonic philosophy; viz. "that it came to men for the benefit of the souls that are here, instead of statues, instead of temples, instead of the whole of sacred institutions, and that it is the primary leader of salvation to the men that now are, and to those that shall exist hereafter." This conjecture is greatly confirmed by the following passage in Suidas, in which philosophy is said to proceed from the first cause, through all the middle divine genera, and the more excellent natures¹ posterior to the Gods, as far as to the dregs of beings [i. e. as far as to matter itself, which is the last of things]; but that religion which is the worship of the Gods, originates from adorning causes. ἱερατικὴ, καὶ φιλοσοφία, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀρὰ ἀρχῶν. ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν φιλοσοφία ἀπὸ τῆς μίας τῆς πάντων αἰτίας εἰς τὴν ὑποσταθεὴν τῶν ὄντων καθήκουσα, διὰ μέσων τῶν ὅλων γενοῦν

¹ These more excellent natures are dæmons, and heroes.

δίδωσι τοι καὶ τὸν ποῖον λόγον ἀρετῆς, καὶ ἐν τῷ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλου φανερωμένου. τὴν δὲ παράκλησιν ἢ ἐπὶ δυν. λογισμῶν, πεισθεὶς οὐδὲν ἔτι τὸν περικειμένον (ὅστις περικειμένον). εὐκτα (φύρα) ἀγγεῖλαι; καὶ καὶ ἐντὶ τῷ πνευματικῷ, κ. τ. λ. . . . Confessably, to this also, Plato says in the *Timæus*, that a greater good than philosophy was never imparted by divinity to man. Proclus therefore, living at a period in which the Grecian theology was in a most fallen condition, speaks thus insignificantly of the philosophy of Plato, as of a thing designed by Divinity to be a substitute for temples and statues, and the worship of the Gods.

In the next place, Proclus, speaking of the analogy of the persons in this dialogue to the things which are distinguished in it, and to the order of beings in the universe, says (p. 19. l. 7.) οὐδ' ἐν Κροτάλει, καὶ οἱ αὖ Κλεόμακον φιλοσοφῶντας μακροφύχους καὶ τῶ φύσις συμπόλιντοισι; ἐν αὖ σὺν ἡμῶν σπέντες ἐν νοστοῖς γράφει, ἀνὰ δὲ καὶ ἐντὶ φανῶν πῶς οὐκ. . . . In this passage, for συμπόλιντοισι, it appears to me to be necessary to read συμπόλιντοισι. So that the meaning will be, that *Crotopus and the philosophers from Clazomenia, are analogous to pastoral souls; [i. e. to such as human souls] and to such as are conversant with nature, because they have a rank similar to that of these philosophers, who were physiologists, no being of the Ionic school.*

P. 26. l. 19. καὶ οὐκ ἀναλογον ὡς ὁ δημιουργὸς πρὸς τὰ ἐγκοσμια, οὐ αὖ πρὸς πάντα οὐδὲν δὲ οὐκ ἐντὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν καὶ οὐτος; ὁ γὰρ κατὰ τὸ ἐν θεῷ, οὐ τις θεός, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν καὶ οὐτος. κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἐν δημιουργῷ, ὡς οὐδὲν καὶ οὐτος [ἴδε τὰς] αὐτῶν φύσεως ἢ δημιουργημάτων ἄλλαν αὐτῶν φύσιν, ὡς οὐδὲν καὶ οὐτος δημιουργῶν. . . . This passage some words are wanting, and there is also in it an erroneous punctuation. The words which I conceive to be wanting are τοῦ δημιουργοῦ ἐνός τινος οὐτος, which should be inserted immediately after τὰ ἐν πρὸς πάντα. And the erroneous punctuation is in τις γὰρ θεός καὶ οὐτος, and also in τις δὲ θεός ὁ δημιουργός, neither of which is interrogative. Hence the whole passage will be accurately as follows: καὶ εἶναι ἀναλογον ὡς ὁ δημιουργός πρὸς τὰ ἐγκοσμια, τὸ ἐν πρὸς πάντα τοῦ δημιουργοῦ ἐνός τινος οὐτος, ἀπλῶς δὲ οὐκ ἐνός τις γὰρ θεός καὶ οὐτος, ὁ γὰρ κατὰ τὸ ἐν θεῷ, οὐ τις θεός, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς θεός. τις δὲ θεός ὁ δημιουργός, διότι θεοῦ τινος ἐστὶν ἰδιότης, κ. τ. λ. i. e. "As the Demiurgus is to mundane natures so is the one [or the ineffable principle of principles] to all things; the Demiurgus being a certain one, but not simply one. For the Demiurgus is a certain God. For the God which subsists according to [or is characterised by] the one is not a certain God, but simply God. But the

Demiurgus is a certain God, ' because the demiurgic peculiarity is the peculiarity of a certain God, there being also other peculiarities, which are indeed divine, yet not demiurgic." What Proclus here says, necessarily follows from the Platonic theory, that as the first God is *the one*, all the other Gods are *unities*, proceeding from and at the same time rooted in *the one itself*.

Page 38. l. 1, for *ευμορφίαν*, the Harleian Ms. has *αμορφίαν*, which is the true reading. But the passage in which this word occurs is the following: τα μεν γαρ εστι θεια και εν τη απλοτητι του ενος ιδρυμενα, την ακαλλωπιστον ευμορφίαν, [*αμορφίαν*] ως φησι τις των τα οσια σοφων, διαφερόντως αγαπώντα και προτεινόντα τοις εις αυτα βλέπειν δυναμένοις. i. e. "For some things are divine, being established in the simplicity of *the one*, transcendently rejoicing in, and extending to those who are able to survey them, an unadorned privation of form, as some one of the piously wise says." That *αμορφίαν* is the true reading, is evident from this, that according to the Platonic philosophy, divine natures are more properly celebrated by *negations* than by *affirmations*.

P. 40. l. 2. for *ονοματα των θεων*, the Harleian Ms. has rightly *ονοματων των θεων*.

P. 41. l. 3. *ευδιαστροφων*, which is also the reading of the Harleian Ms., should be *αδιαστροφων*. This will be evident from an inspection of the passage in which this word occurs, viz. *ενι μεν τω την διαλεκτικην μηδαμως προσηκειν παραδιδοςθαι νεοις, ως ο Σωκράτης εν Πολιτεια φησι, μη λαβωσιν εις παρανομιαν ελασσαντες, τη δυναμει των λογων χρωμενοι προς την των ευδιαστροφων [*αδιαστροφων*] εννοιων εν ημιν ανατροφην*. No expression is more common in Platonic writers than *αδιαστροφοι εννοιαι*, *unperverted conceptions*. And that this is the true reading is evident from the place in the Republic of Plato which forms a part of that to which Proclus alludes: for it is the following, *εστι που ημιν δογματα εκ παιδων περι δικαιων και καλων, εν οις εκτεθραμμεθα, ως περ υπο γονευσι, πειθαρχούντες τε και τιμώντες αυτα* (lib. vii. p. 146. Cantab. 1713). For these dogmas concerning things beautiful and just, in which we have been nourished from our childhood, are *the unperverted conceptions*, mentioned by Proclus.

¹ For according to Plato the Demiurgus is not the supreme God; since in the *Timæus* he says, "that it is difficult to discover the Demiurgus and father of the universe, and when found, impossible to reveal him by language to *all men*; but in the *Parmenides*, he celebrates *the one*, or the first principle of things, as perfectly ineffable. For he says, at the conclusion of the first hypothesis concerning it, "Neither therefore does any name belong to it, nor discourse, nor any science, nor sense, nor opinion."

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P. 57. l. 12. τῶν ἀνομιῶν; but the Harleian Ms. has rightly τῶν αἰωμάτων. For Proclus says, τῶν μὲν γὰρ φυσικῶν ἰδῶν το πλῆθος τῶν ἀνομιῶν [αἰωμάτων] χεῖρον, μετεχει δὲ το πλῆθος τοῦ συντεταγμένου ἐνὸς τοῦ ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς, πρὸ δὲ τούτου ἐστὶ το ἐξηρημένον ἐν, το πρὸ τῶν πολλῶν, ὃ θὲ ἰδέα ἐστὶ παρα Πλάτωνα, ἢ. e. "For in physical forms multitude [i. e. the multitude of them] is less excellent than the individuals [in which these forms are inherent]; but the multitude participates of that one which is co-arranged with the many. Prior, however, to this [i. e. to this co-arranged one], is the exempt one, antecedent to the many, which with Plato is *idea*." For forms when materialised become inferior to their recipients, because they are wholly dependent on them for their subsistence, having departed from their own simplicity and indivisibility into foreign compositions and intervals.

P. 80. l. 12. For ἐξηρημένως, which also the Harleian Ms. has, it is necessary to read ἐξηρητημένως. The erroneous substitution of one of these words for the other, frequently takes place, not only in the manuscripts, but also in the printed copies of the writings of Proclus.

P. 88. l. 20. πρὸς το ὄν, so the Harleian Ms., but it is requisite to read πρὸς το ἐν, as will be at once evident to the Platonic reader from an inspection of the following passage in which these words occur: ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς θεοῖς, τὰ δευτέρᾳ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἐστὶ, καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς σὺνῶνται πρὸς το ὄν [ἐν] αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ προόδος καὶ ἡ ἐκτασις τοῖς οὐσίῃ.

P. 94. l. 13. Proclus, here speaking of the arrangement of the persons of the dialogue, and what the arrangement indicates, says: τίνος οὖν ἐνδείξιν ἔχει το τοιοῦτον, καὶ διὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης τῷ Παρμενίδῃ συντετακται καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνου ὠφελεῖται. Πυθώδωρος δὲ τῷ Ζηνῶνι πρὸ Σωκράτους προτέρος γὰρ διακίχου τῶν λόγων, Σωκράτης δὲ ἀμφοῖν τοῖν σοφοῖν, προκαλουμένος μὲν τὸν Παρμενίδειον νοῦν, ἐπαπορῶν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ζηνῶνος λόγους. In this passage, it appears to me, that between the words Σωκράτης δὲ, and ἀμφοῖν τοῖν σοφοῖν, it is necessary to insert το μέσον ἐστίν.

P. 111. l. 15. Proclus in this place, speaking of the difference between the dialectic of Zeno, and that of Parmenides, and having observed that the former is more *logical*, but the latter more *intellectual*, adds: ὁ δὲ Παρμενίδης αὐτῷ μόνῳ τῷ νῷ χρωμένος, αὐτὴν τὴν ἐνώσιν εἶεατο τοῦ ὄντος, τῇ νοερᾷ διαλεκτικῇ χρωμένος, ἐν ἀπλῶς ἐπιβολαῖς το κυρὸς ἐχούσῃ· διὸ καὶ ὁ μὲν [i. e. Zeno] εἰς πλῆθος κατῆι λόγων, ὁ δὲ [i. e. Parmenides] τῆς νοερᾶς ἐπιβολῆς αἰετῆς αὐτῆς, μονοειδῶς ἀντειχέτο τῶν ὄντων. In this passage,

instead of ο δὲ τῆς νοερῆς ἐπέβαλεν καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς, I conceive it necessary to read, ο δὲ δια τῆς νοερῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἀπτήτου εὐνοῆς. For the energy of νοερα ἐπιβολῆς, by which Platonic writings usually express the intuitive perception of intellect, is *intuitable*, because it is superior even to scientific demonstration.

P. 121. l. 12., &c. Ὅτι δὲ εἶναι δεῖ το ἐν ἡμῶν προ τοῦ πλῆθους, λαβῆς ἀνδία μας μεν ἀφοδὸν λογικῆς τολαντηῆς ἢ οἰσῶντως; λέγεται το ἐν κατὰ τῶν οὐτῶν πάντων, ἢ συνονυμῶς, ἢ ἐκ τῶν εἰς καὶ πρὸς ἐς· ἀλλ' οἰσῶντως· ἀδυνάτον, σπερ το μεν μάλλον οὐ φαρεν, το δε ηπῶν το γαρ μάλλον καὶ ηπῶν· οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς οἰσῶντως· εἰς δε συνονυμῶς ἐστὶν ἡμῶν κατὰ πάντων λογομενῶν. In this passage there are three mistakes, and they also occur in the Harleian MS. For instead of οἰσῶντως, in ἀλλ' οἰσῶντως· ἀδυνάτον, it is necessary to read συνονυμῶς; since being itself is not predicated of all beings synonymously, for the reason assigned by Proclus, viz. that one thing is *being* in a greater, but another in a less degree. And for the same reason in το γαρ μάλλον καὶ ηπῶν οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς οἰσῶντως, we must substitute συνονυμῶς for οἰσῶντως. But for συνονυμῶς· ἐστὶν ἡμῶν κατὰ πάντων, in the last part of this passage, it is obviously requisite to read οἰσῶντως; the former emendations being admitted.

P. 122. l. 15., &c. Proclus, in speaking in this place of the opinion of the vulgar, who survey multitude as having a dissipated subsistence, but do not see the abundances which must necessarily ensue, from separating multitude from unity, observes as follows: Ζηνοῦ δὲ πρὸς τὴν Παρμενίδαιον θεαν εὐδο αὐτίβλαστην ἔχει· πᾶντε τῶν πολλῶν δεῖαν· ἀμάρτυχε· καὶ πολλὰ καὶ διασπαρμένα· ἀετῶνται, καὶ ταυτὴν ελεγχῶν, ἀνήγειν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ το ἐν, τοῖς πολλοῖς· ἐνδείκνυμενός· ὡς αὐ μὴ χωρίζεται· τα· πολλὰ τῶν εἰς, πολλὰ καὶ ἀποκα· συμβῶσται τῶν λόγων. Here instead of ἀνήγειν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ το ἐν, τοῖς πολλοῖς· ἐνδείκνυμενός· καὶ τ. λ., it is necessary to read ἀνήγειν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ το ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἐν δείκνυμενός· καὶ τ. λ.; and then this passage will be, in English, "Zeno does not oppose the position of Parmenides, but confutes the opinion of the vulgar, who survey multitude and things which are dispersed, or have a dissipated subsistence, and elevates them to the one which is in the many, indicating that if the many were separated from the one, many absurdities would follow." For the proper ascent is from the one or the incorporeal form which multitude participates, and by which it is connected and held together, to the form or idea which is exempt from multitude, and which has a subsistence αὐτο καὶ αὐτο.

P. 125. l. 14. For κατ' αἰτίαν ἐστὶν ἐν, which is also the reading
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passage differs from the reading in the Harleian MS. For this instead of *σώμασι δ' οὐ πως, καὶ αυτοῖς τοῖς ἀψυχῇς*, has *σώμασι δὲ πως, καὶ αυτοῖς τοῖς ἀψυχῇς*; which appears to be the true reading. For then Proclus will say, "For justice [which is one of these middle forms,] is indeed inherent in souls, but how is it present with bodies, and inanimate natures themselves?"

P. 169. l. 7, &c. *λέγει δὲ οὕτω τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀμετέχοντι καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ μετεχόντι δευτέρων τῶν ὄντων εἶδων ἀπ' ἐκείνων*. In the Harleian MS. *δευτέρων* is omitted, and also *τῶν ὄντων*, so that the reading there is *τὰ ἐν τῷ μετεχόντι εἶδων ἀπ' ἐκείνων*. And this appears to be the true reading,

P. 169. l. 18. *ταῦτα ὁρθῶς εἰρηται*. But the Harleian MS. has, very properly, *ἐ τάνυν ταῦτα ὁρθῶς εἰρηται*, as will be evident from a perusal of the words which immediately follow.

P. 174. l. 12. *ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸσοῦτον ἑκάστον τούτων λέγεται ὁμοίαν καὶ ἀνομοίον, καθ' ὅσον αὐτὸν μεταλαμβάνει τῆς αὐτοῦ ὁμοιοῦστος τὰ μὲν μᾶλλον, τὸ δὲ ἥττον*. So likewise the Harleian MS. But there is evidently an omission in this passage of *καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀνομοιοῦστος*, immediately after *αὐτοῦ ὁμοιοῦστος*.

P. 184. l. 7. *τὰ δὲ κοινὰ τὴν ἐνώστιν ἔχει τὴν αὐτοῖς πρεπουσίαν, καὶ τὴν ἀσυγχύτον δι' ἀλλήλων δεῖξιν*. Thus too the Harleian MS. But for *δεῖξιν*, I read *διεξῖν*. So that the meaning of Proclus in this passage will be, "that intelligibles possess an union adapted to their nature, and pass through each other without confusion."

In p. 186. Proclus shows that similitude and dissimilitude participate of each other; and in line 10th observes, "that if similitude imparts itself to other things, it becomes dissimilar to them [because it is different from them]: for thus the former will impart, but the latter receive." *ὅπως γὰρ εἰ μεταδίδωσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡ ὁμοιότης αὐτῆς, ἀνομοιοῦται αὐτοῖς: οὐ γὰρ (sic Harl. MS., sed lege οὕτω γὰρ) ἀν' ἡ μὲν μετέδιδου, τὰ δὲ μετελαμβάνει*.

P. 188. l. 1. *Καὶ οὕτω ἡ ὁμοιότης ἀνομοιοῦστος ἐστί, οὐτε γὰρ αὐτὸ ἡ ὁμοιότης*. So also the Harleian MS.; but it is necessary to add after *αὐτὸ ἡ ὁμοιότης* the words *ἀνομοιοῦστος ἐστί*. Thus too in l. 3, &c. of the same page, *ἀνομοιοῦστος* is wanting immediately after *ὁμοιότης*. So that instead of *οὐδ' ὅπως ὁμοιότης, ἀλλὰ μετέχει τῆς ἀνομοιοῦστος καθ' ὅσον αὐτὴν*, we must read *οὐδ' ὅπως ὁμοιότης ἀνομοιοῦστος, ἀλλὰ μετέχει κ.τ.λ.* For the design of Proclus in this part of his commentary is, to demonstrate that similitude itself and dissimilitude itself participate of each other, yet so as not to confound their proper natures in the participation.

P. 192. l. 10. Proclus having observed, that the different intellectual orders are to be surveyed, in which the form of similitude subsists, adds, *καὶ τοῦτο τὸ εἶδος ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῷ κατὰ θεογονίαν*

of the Harleian MS., it is requisite to read κατ' αὐτοῦ τὸ αὐτὸν ἐστίν. But the whole passage is as follows: ἡ δὲ αὐτὴ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἐστὶ πῶς καὶ αὐτὴ κατ' αὐτὴν τὸ ἀληθὺς, ὡς περ καὶ τὸ ἐν ταῖς αἰτίαις τῆς ἐνοίας κατ' αὐτὴν ἐστὶν ἐν. The causal subsistence of a thing is better than that thing when it has proceeded out of its cause—i. e. than when it subsists καθ' ὑπαρξιν. Hence the one being the cause of union, is more excellent than union, and is therefore κατ' αὐτὴν ἐνοίας.

P. 141. l. 11, &c. ὁ καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ὑπερὸν ἀρετῆς, ὡς Πυθαγόρας καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν, σφαίρον ἀκτῆλαι παντὸς τοῦ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν συνάγειν τὸν καλλοῦσι καὶ ἀσώτῳ φαινομένου καλλοῦσι ἔσθαι. So likewise the Harleian MS.; but for καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν συνάγειν κ. τ. λ., I read, καὶ ὡς αὐτὸν δυνάμει συνάγειν καὶ τὸν καλλοῦσι καὶ ἀσώτῳ τὸν καλλοῦσι ἔσθαι.

P. 154. l. 9. ἐστὶν ἀπὸ ἐν τῷ δημοσουργικῷ τῆς δυνάμεις καὶ αἰσθητικῆς τῶν δὲ δημοσουργημάτων, κ. τ. λ. But the Harleian MS. has, for δημοσουργικῶν, δημόσουργων, which is the true reading.

P. 156. l. 14: Proclus, in speaking of demiurgic similitude and dissimilitude (ομοιότης δημοσουργικῇ καὶ ἀναμοιωτικῇ), says, καὶ ἡ μὲν συναγωγὴ—ἡ δὲ διακριτικὴ, προοδὸν δὲ χαίρει καὶ ποικιλιᾷ καὶ κινήσει κ. τ. λ.: i. e. “And the former indeed is of a collective, but the latter of a separating nature, and rejoices in progression, variety and motion.” The Harleian MS. has in this place οὐκ ἐστὶν κινήσει; but κίνησις is obviously the true reading: In l. 19. also of the same page, he speaks of the powers of similitude and dissimilitude, and observes: καὶ δυνάμεις ἀναλογεῖν τῇ εὐνοίᾳ τῇ μὲν, ὡς εἰρήτης, συναγωγῆς καὶ ἐνοίας καὶ περὶ τῶν καὶ ποικιλιᾶς τῆς δὲ, διακριτικῆς καὶ ἀλλοιωτικῆς, καὶ ἀπεριπέρας καὶ ἀσώτου. But in this passage for ἀσώτου, which the Harleian MS. likewise has, it is requisite to read ἀσώτου. For as the powers of similitude are μενοειδῆς, those of dissimilitude are θύοειδῆς; that which is more excellent being every where characterised by the *monad*, but the less excellent by the *duad*.

P. 157. l. 13. μέσα δὲ, ὅσα τούτων μὴ ἐπιπλεον ἐκτείνεται, μὴ εἰς πάντα δὲ τὰ ὄντα ἐνεργεῖ τὸ γὰρ δίκαιον, εἰ βούλει, ψυχαῖς μὲν ὑπάρχει, σωμασὶ δ' οὐ πῶς καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀψυχοῖς. In this passage the Harleian MS. has also μὴ ἐπιπλεον, but erroneously; as it should be μὲν ἐπιπλεον. For Proclus had a little before been speaking of the most generic forms, viz. essence, sameness, and difference, and also of the most special, which he denominates the monads in individuals such as man, dog, &c. (μοναδὲς ἐν τοῖς ἀτομοῖς) and then he observes, that the media between these, are such forms as extend farther indeed than the latter, but do not [like the former] energize on all beings. The last part of this

passage differs from the reading in the Harleian MS. For this instead of *σώμασι δ' οὐ πως, καὶ αυτοῖς τοῖς ἀνύχοις*, has *σώμασι δὲ πως, καὶ αυτοῖς τοῖς ἀνύχοις*; which appears to be the true reading. For then Proclus will say, "For justice [which is one of these middle forms,] is indeed inherent in souls, but how is it present with bodies, and inanimate natures themselves?"

P. 169. l. 7. &c. *λέγει δὲ οὕτω τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀμεικτέῳ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ μετεχόμενῳ δευτέρῳ τῶν ὄντων εἶδων ἀπ' ἐκείνων*. In the Harleian MS. *δευτέρῳ* is omitted, and also *τῶν ὄντων*, so that the reading there is *τῶν ἐν τῷ μετεχόμενῳ εἶδων ἀπ' ἐκείνων*. And this appears to be the true reading.

P. 169. l. 18. *ταῦτα ὀρθῶς κηρύσσεται*. But the Harleian MS. has, very properly, *ἐν ταύτῃ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς κηρύσσεται*, as will be evident from a perusal of the words which immediately follow.

P. 174. l. 12. *ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸσούτων ἐκαστὸν ταύτων λέγεται ὁμοῖον καὶ ἀνομοῖον, καθ' ὅσον ἂν μεταλλάττονται τῆς αὐτοῦ ὁμοιοτήτος τὸ μὲν μᾶλλον, τὸ δὲ ἧττον*. So likewise the Harleian MS. But there is evidently an omission in this passage of *καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀνομοιοτήτος*, immediately after *αὐτοῦ ὁμοιοτήτος*.

P. 184. l. 7. *τὰ δὲ νοήτα τὴν ἐνώσιν ἔχει τὴν αὐτοῖς πρεπούσαν, καὶ τὴν ἀσυγχύτου δι' ἀλλήλων δεῖξιν*. Thus too the Harleian MS. But for *δεῖξιν*, I read *διεξιν*. So that the meaning of Proclus in this passage will be, "that intelligibles possess an union adapted to their nature, and pass through each other without confusion."

In p. 186. Proclus shows that similitude and dissimilitude participate of each other; and in line 10th observes, "that if similitude imparts itself to other things, it becomes *dissimilar* to them [because it is *different* from them]: for thus the former will impart, but the latter receive." *ὅπως γὰρ εἰ μεταδίδωσι ταῖς ἀλλοῖς ἢ ὁμοιότης αὐτῆς, ἀνομοιωταὶ αὐτοῖς: οὐ γὰρ (sic Harl. MS., sed lege οὕτω γὰρ) ἂν ἢ μὲν μετεδίδου, τὰ δὲ μετελαμβάνε*.

P. 188. l. 1. *Καὶ οὕτε ἢ ὁμοιότης ἀνομοιωτής ἐστιν, οὕτε καθ' αὐτὸ ἢ ὁμοιότης*. So also the Harleian MS.; but it is necessary to add after *αὐτὸ ἢ ὁμοιότης* the words *ἀνομοιωτής ἐστι*. Thus too in l. 3., &c. of the same page, *ἀνομοιωτής* is wanting immediately after *ὁμοιότης*. So that instead of *οὐδ' ὅπως ὁμοιότης, ἀλλὰ μετέχει τῆς ἀνομοιοτήτος καθ' ὅλην αὐτήν*, we must read *οὐδ' ὅπως ὁμοιότης ἀνομοιωτής, ἀλλὰ μετέχει κ. τ. λ.* For the design of Proclus in this part of his commentary is, to demonstrate that similitude itself and dissimilitude itself participate of each other, yet so as not to confound their proper natures in the participation.

P. 192. l. 10. Proclus having observed, that the different intellectual orders are to be surveyed, in which the form of similitude subsists, adds, *καὶ τοῦτο τὸ εἶδος ἐν ἐκαστῷ τῶν θεωρουμένων*

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οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπερκόσμιος μὲν ἐν ταῖς ὑπερκόσμοις· ἐγκόσμιος δὲ ἐν τῷ
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ κόσμου μετεχόμενος. In which passage, for ὑπὲρ τοῦ κο-
 σμου, it is necessary to read ὑπο τοῦ κόσμου.

P. 193. l. 5. ἑκάστον δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ οὐκ ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἔχει μετὰ τῆς
 κοινωνίας καὶ τὴν ἀμειξίαν. So likewise the Harleian MS.; but
 for οὐκ ἔχει, I read οὐκ ἔστιν.

P. 194. l. 1. το γὰρ κοῖνον τίνος μετελχόντες, ἐν ἐστὶ κατ' αὐτο
 τούτο το κοῖνον ὥστε εἰ κοῖνον αὐτοῖς το οὐχ ἐν ἐστὶ, ἐν τὰ πολλὰ
 κατὰ το οὐχ ἐν. καὶ πάλιν το οὐχ ἐν ὡσαύτως ἐν τῷ ἐν πασὶν εἶναι
 ταῦτον. This is also the reading of the Harleian MS., but it is
 in more respects than one erroneous. For in the first place the
 punctuation is wrong in ὥστε εἰ κοῖνον αὐτοῖς το οὐχ ἐν ἐστὶ, ἐν τὰ
 πολλὰ, κ. τ. λ., which should be ὥστε εἰ κοῖνον αὐτοῖς το οὐχ ἐν,
 ἐστὶ ἐν τὰ πολλὰ κ. τ. λ. And in the next place, for ἐν τῷ ἐν
 πασὶν εἶναι ταῦτον, it is necessary to read ἐν τῷ ἐν πασὶν οὐχ εἶναι
 ταῦτον. For the design of Proclus in this part, is to illustrate
 the reasoning of Zeno, in confuting those who separate *the many*
 from *the one*. Hence, after having observed that things which
 thus subsist, are *many*, in consequence of not participating of
 unity: for things in which unity is not predominant are many; and
 since it is common to them not to be one, again, they are on this
 account one,—he then adds, "For that which participates of a
 certain something which is common, is one through this some-
 thing common: so that if the not being one is common to *the*
many, *the many* will be one, through the not-one [being common
 to them.] And again in a similar manner they will not be one,
 in consequence of there not being in all of them the same thing
 [because where there is the same thing in the many, there is a
 participation of unity.] For sameness, as it is accurately defined
 by Aristotle in the 6th book of his Metaphysics, is a *participa-
 tion of unity*.

P. 195. l. 15. καὶ το αὐτοζων πρὸς το ζῶν. So likewise the
 Harleian MS. But for πρὸς το ζῶν, it is necessary to read πρὸς το
 αἶζων. This will be evident from what Proclus says prior to this.
 For a little before, he had observed, that each of us is both *one*
 and *many*, and that we are evidently so through a similitude to
 the universe. And he then adds, πολλὰ γὰρ πρότερον ὁ κόσμος
 οὗτος ὁ παμμεγέθης εἰς ἐστὶ καὶ πολὺς· πολὺς μὲν, οὐ κατὰ το σωματι-
 κόν μόνον· καὶ κατὰ τούτο μὲν γὰρ τσακότην ἔχον ἐξάλλασιν, ὅσῃ το
 κιδίον πρὸς το φθάρτον, καὶ το αὐλόν πρὸς το ἐνυλόν, καὶ το αὐτοζών
 πρὸς το ζῶν [αἶζων], ἀπο τῆς οἰκείας συστάσεως.

P. 198. l. 20. καὶ γὰρ το ἐνοκοῖον τοῦ πληθοῦς περὶς ἐστίν,
 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀναπαλιν. This is also the reading of the Harleian

MS. But after *περας εστιν*, it is requisite to add, *και το πληθον απειροποιον εστιν*; and after *αναπαλιν* to add, *το απειροποιον πληθον εστι*. This will be obvious to the Platonic reader, from an inspection of the reasoning of Proclus in this place.

P. 205. l. 5., &c. *επ' αυτην την τελευτατην ο Σωκρατης αναδεδραμικεν υποθεσιν περι της κοινανειας των ειδων, και συγκρινεσθαι παντα ειπων ταυτα γαρ υπαρχειν αμα, αμφοι δε τοις θειοις εκεινοις πραγμασιν, ενωσιν τε ασυγχυτον και διακρισιν αδιαιρετον, ινα και εν αλληλοις η και σαζη την καθαροτητα την αυτων*. So the Harleian MS.; but after *των ειδων*, it is necessary to add *διακρινεσθαι*; and after *διακρισιν αδιαιρετον*, something is obviously wanting, and this I conjecture to be the word *παρεχουσι*. So that what Proclus says will be, in English, as follows: "Socrates recurs to the most perfect hypothesis concerning the communion of forms, asserting that all of them are separated from, and yet mingled with each other. For these properties are at one and the same time present with them. And both these impart to those divine things; unconfused union; and an indivisible separation or distinction, in order that they may subsist in each other, and yet preserve their own purity." But that it is necessary to add *διακρινεσθαι* in the place above mentioned, is evident from the following text of Plato, the beginning of the Commentary on which, is the passage I have quoted: *εαν δε τις ων δη εγω ελεγον, πρωτον μεν διαιρηται χωρις αυτα καθ' αυτα τα εδη, οιον ομοιοτητα τε και ανομοιοτητα, και πληθος και το εν, και στασιν, και κηνησιν, και παντα τα τοιαυτα· ειτα εν αυτοις ταυτα δυναμενα συγκεραννυσθαι τε και διακρινεσθαι αποφαινη, αγαμηνην εγωγε θαυμαστως, εφη, ω Ζηνων*.

P. 205. l. 19. *ταυτην ουν ζητει την συγκρασιν ο Σωκρατης μετα της διακρισεως ιδειν επι των αμερων και νοητων υποστασεων, και επι ταυτην προκαλειται τους ανδρας· και ταυτην αγαται την θεωριαν την ενιζουσαν αμα και διακρινουσαν τας νοερας δυναμεις των αισθητων, ομοιοτητα εκεινην και ανομοιοτητα, πληθος το εκει και το εν, στασιν την θειαν και κηνησιν*. In this passage for *αισθητων*, which is also the reading of the Harleian MS., it is necessary to substitute *νοητων*. This is evident from the above words of Plato, in which, as Proclus justly observes, Socrates is represented as admiring the theory which unites and at the same time separates the intellectual powers of intelligibles; which powers are similitude and dissimilitude, the multitude and the one which are there, and divine permanency and motion.

P. 206. l. 12. *παν το ισταμενον εν τινι εστιν ενι, και παν το κινουμενον εξισταται του ενος, ωστε τα πολλα ει μη μετεχοι τινος ενος, αστατα εστι· και παλιν ει αυτο ταυτο εχει κοινον το μη μετεχειν τινος, εν*

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τινι εσται. So the Harleian MS. But for παν το σταμενον ἐν τινι κ. τ. λ. It is necessary to read παν το σταμενον ἐν τινι κ. τ. λ.; "every thing which stands still is in a certain thing." And for το μη μετεχειν τινος, ἐν τινι εσται, it is requisite to read, το μη μετεχειν τινος ενος, ἐν τινι εσται, "if it is common to the many not to participate of a certain one, they will be in a certain thing." For that which is common comprehends the multitude to which it is common.

P. 208. l. 15. α δε και εδραζει τον ολον κοσμον κ. τ. λ. In the Harleian MS., by an unaccountable mistake, these words, and all that follows, are omitted, as far as to the words ταυτα μεν ουν επιρησθη κ. τ. λ. in l. 19. p. 212.; and then all that is here omitted is to be found in what follows in p. 220., after the words οτι εξηκασατε ημας ως κ. τ. λ., in the last line of that page.

P. 209. l. 1. ει δε και, ως φησιν κεινος, οιον ζωη των ασωματων εστιν η κινησις. So the Harleian MS.; but for ασωματων it is necessary to read σωματων. For Proclus is here citing the well-known saying of Aristotle, "that motion is as it were the life of bodies."

P. 209. l. 14. αλλ' οτι μεν εστιν εκει και στασις και κινησις, δηλον δια τούτων, και ως η μεν εστι το αιωπιον της δημιουργικης νοησης και το της προνοιας ενεργον. But for προνοιας in this passage the Harleian MS. has ενεργιας, which I have no doubt is the true reading: for as permanency is the perpetuity of demiurgic intellection, so motion is that which gives efficacy to the energy of the Demiurgus.

P. 216. l. 15. τελωτατοι τουντο το, ω Ζηνων, δια της ανακλησεως προσρησιν εμφανει της επιστημης αυτου κ. τ. λ. So the Harleian MS. But for προσρησιν I read πρόκλησιν.

P. 221. Proclus, speaking of Pythodorus, one of the persons of the dialogue, says of him; ουδε αφιλοσοφος εστι κατα το ηθος, ουδε σοφιστικος, αυτος γουν την σπουδαν απαγγελων, ουδε το εκλυτο καθος απεκυρην, να πασιν εξαγγελη την ζωνη και εσφηνη των τις την πρωτην ουσιαν τετελειωκυος. This is likewise the reading of the Harleian MS.; but instead of εις την πρωτην ουσιαν it is necessary

Thus too in the Commentaries of Proclus on the Timæus, as I have observed in my translation of that admirable work, after the words δια πας το λογιον υδραβαταρας καλει τους θεους τουτους (p. 270), the words το δε ουτως και δια ταυτα immediately follow, which belong to the Commentary in p. 266. And the part which should immediately follow υδραβαταρας, and begins with οτι δε των εταμενων τοις θεοις γωνω, is to be found in p. 272. line 6. from the bottom.

to read *ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συνουσίᾳ*, as will be evident from a perusal of the commentary of Proclus on the introductory part of the Parmenides.

P. 223. l. 2. Proclus having observed, that Socrates could not endure to remain in visible objects, nor to be busily employed in the monads which are coarranged with them, adds, *ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτὰς τὰς αὐλούς καὶ ἀμερίστους καὶ νοεράς μονάδας ἀναφεραντες τὸν ἑαυτοῦ νοῦν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς προόδου τῆς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος, κατὰ δὲ τινὰ κύκλον, ἐπ' αὐτὸ καλὴν τὸ ἐν ποιοῦμενον τὰ θὰ τα μετὰ τὴν γονίμην δύναμιν τῶν δευτέρων, τῆς προόδου τὸ πέραν, ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀρχὴν ἀνελίσσονται*. So also the Harleian MS. But after the words *ἐπ' αὐτὸ καλὴν τὰ ἐν ποιοῦμενον*, I conceive the words *τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν μίμουμένων* are wanting. So that the whole passage in English, thus amended, will be: "But elevating his intellect to the immaterial, impartible, and intellectual monads, and from a progression according to multitude; and in a certain circle again making a regression to the one itself; [in so doing] imitating divine natures, who after the prolific power of secondary natures convolve the end of the progression to the proper principle of it." For in every divine order there are *μονή, πρόδος, καὶ ἐπιστροφή*, permanency, progression, and regression.

P. 223. l. 12. *οἰκεία γὰρ τοῖς μὲν πατρικοῖς καὶ μοναδικοῖς δευτέροις ἀπὸ τούτων ἡ γονίμος δύναμις, καὶ ἡ μεχρὶ τῶν πλῆθους*. So likewise the Harleian MS. But after *πατρικοῖς καὶ μοναδικοῖς*, it is requisite to add *ἡ μόνῃ*, and also after *δευτέροις* to add *δε*. So that this passage will be in English, conformably to what we have above observed of every divine order, as follows: "For permanency is adapted to paternal and monadic natures, but prolific power, and a progression as far as to multitude, to the natures which are secondary to these."

In the last line of the same page, I conceive with the Professor, that *ποιούσι* is wanting after the word *συαρχῇ*. And there is the same deficiency in the Harleian MS.

T.

REMARKS ON LIVY.

LIB. III. C. 5.

Two able correspondents having already discussed this passage in the two former numbers of the Journal, I almost despair of being able to throw any further light upon its obscurities; but, as neither the conjectures of the one, nor the explanations of the other, appear to me at all satisfactory, I will hazard a few observations. *Scribimus indocti doctique*. The passage in question stands thus:

"Interim in castris Furius consul, quum primo quietas obsidionem passus esset, in incautum hostem decumana porta erupit, et, quum persequi posset, metu substitit ne qua, ex parte altera, in castra vis fieret. Furium legatum (frater idem consulis erat) longius extulit cursus: nec suos ille redeuntes, persequendi studio, neque hostium ab tergo incursum vidit: ita exclusus, multis sæpe frustra conatibus captis, acriter dimicans, cecidit. Et consul, intus circumventi fratris conversus ad pugnam, dum se temere magis, quam satis caute, in mediam dimissionem infert, vulnere accepto, ægre ab circumstantibus ereptus, et suorum animos turbavit, et ferociores hostes fecit: qui, cæde legati et consulis vulnere accensi, nulla deinde vi sustineri potuere, quum compulsi in castra Romani rursus obsiderentur, nec spe, nec viribus pares: venissetque in periculum summa rerum, ni T. Quinctius peregrinis copiis cum Latino Hermicoque exercitu subvenisset."

Of the above quotation, J. W. in the last Number, p. 29., very considerably favored the public with a translation; the accuracy of which in some few respects, with due deference to its general merits, I must take the liberty of questioning. J. W. thus commences:

"In the mean time the Consul Furius, after having at first *unmolested* (by assault) suffered siege in his camp, sallied from the Decuman gate upon the incautious enemy:" and so convinced is he of the propriety of this interpretation of *quietus*, that he recurs to it in the conclusion of his article: "Now the writer plainly narates, that Furius and his forces were really besieged at the arrival of Quinctius; and brings in view before his readers the falling fortune and sad dilemma of the Roman army, now:

trated with their situation at the former period, when they were indeed besieged; but, as pointedly remarked, *quieti*, unmolested; the enemy durst not attack them." The obvious contradiction involved in the application of the epithet *unmolested* to a besieged army, J. W. has endeavoured to obviate by the introduction of the words "*by assault*" in a parenthesis; there are however other objections equally obvious, but not equally surmountable: 1. There is a manifest opposition between the passive submission of the Consul to the blockade in the first instance, and his subsequent sally on the unguarded enemy. 2. The adjective *incontum* is by no means indicative of alarm on the part of the besiegers, but rather of the blind and presumptuous confidence arising from previous successes; it being evident, that, if the Romans had been so formidable, that "they (the besiegers) durst not attack them," they would either have been apprehensive for their own safety, or have been on the watch for some favorable reverse to present itself. 3. On which side fear was most predominant, is clearly deducible from the weak and irresolute conduct of the Consul, whose extreme terror *ne qua, ex parte altera, in castra vis fieret*, (lest "an attack from some other quarter might be made on his camp," as J. W. translates it, but which would have been more correctly rendered *the other*, that is, *the opposite* quarter) totally incapacitated him from following up that advantage which he had most decidedly obtained. 4. In opposition to J. W.'s assertion that "the enemy durst not attack them," we are distinctly informed in the commencement of the chapter that an assault was actually made upon the camp: "*Multi per eos dies motus multique impetus hinc atque illinc facti, quia, superante multitudine, hostes carpere multifariam vires Romanas, ut non subfecturas ad omnia, adgressi sunt: simul castra obpugnabantur.*" That *obpugnabantur* is distinct from *obsidebantur*, I presume, J. W. will not question. The following passage from Livy, lib. xxi. c. 8., clearly points out a difference: "*Obsidio deinde per paucos dies magis, quam obpugnatio fuit, dum vulnus ducis curaretur.*" And, which is still more decisive, in the chapter preceding the one under discussion we have this sentence: "*Primo concursu pulsus se in castra recepit: neque is finis periculi fuit: namque et proxima nocte et postero die tanta vi castra sunt circumsessa atque obpugnata, ut ne nuncius quidem inde mitti Romanam posset.*"

That J. W.'s interpretation of *quietus* in the present instance is incorrect, I consider as clearly proved; that the word may sometimes have the meaning which he has affixed to it, I do not

deny. Its primary sense, however, as derived from *quietus*, is undoubtedly a middle one; but as he who keeps himself quiet, is in general in the least danger of being molested, we may thus arrive at this secondary signification. In Livy, lib. ii. c. 24., we have, "*quam et foris quieta omnia a bello essent*," where *quietus* may be rendered *unmolested*; and similarly in the passage before us, had the words of Livy been *quietus ab oppugnationibus*, J. W.'s translation might have been valid, but without such an adjunct cannot possibly be so.

Facciolati has noticed one of the uses of *quietus* to be *de his qui bello abstinent*, of which he gives the following instances: *Sallust. Or. 1. ad Cæs. de Rep. ord. 2. Homines concurrere in castra tua, et aperte quietis mortem, rapinas imitari. Justin. 7. fin. Non contentus submovere bella, ultro etiam quietos lacescit.*

J. W. thus proceeds in his translation: "This sally carried out too far the Lieutenant Furius, (brother of the Consul) and, [who] in the eagerness of pursuit, noticed neither his own men retreating, nor an assault of the foe in his rear. Thus intercepted, after repeated efforts to make his way to the camp, he fell while vigorously encountering the enemy. And the Consul, on the information of his brother being surrounded, resolved upon battle, and hurrying with more temerity than caution, into the midst of the engagement, he received a wound, and was with difficulty rescued by his soldiers around him."

Dr. Adam, in his *Roman Antiquities*, p. 371., renders *Legatus* by *Lieutenant-General*, which certainly conveys a more adequate idea of the rank of a Legate, who was next in command to the Consul, than our title of *Lieutenant*.

As J. W. expresses a wish to be very exact in the use of *particles*, I would suggest to him, for the words "*and the Consul*," to substitute "*the Consul also*," which, I think, without excessive refinement, will be found, on an examination of the passage, to be better adapted to the sense of the original.

Conversus ad pugnam, resolved upon battle. From this singularly erroneous interpretation, it would be inferred, that such an idea had now for the first time entered into the mind of the Consul; whereas, from the narrative of Livy, we learn, that an engagement had actually taken place a very short time previous; that, in consequence of the cowardly retreat of the Consul, the more enterprising Legate had been surrounded by the enemy; but that, on the news of this disaster, the Consul resumed his courage, and returned to the fight, with the vain hope of retriev-

ing his former errors, and rescuing his brother from his perilous situation.

The remainder of J. W.'s translation stands thus: "This both depressed their spirits, and rendered the enemy more ferocious: who, elated at the death of the Lieutenant, and the Consul's wound, could by no effort any longer be kept in check: when the Romans driven back into their camp were again suffering siege, with prospects and forces unequal to their opponents: and their very existence would have been at stake, unless T. Quinctius with the foreign troops, and the army of Latium and of the Hernici, had reinforced them."

More ferocious, though a very literal, is scarcely a correct translation; *more confident*, *more determined* is rather the sense of the original; the following passage is exactly parallel: Livy, xxxix. 31., Atrox in principio proelium fuit, et Hispani recenti victoria ferocibus, et insueta ignominia milite Romano accenso: Cf. xxi. 54. ii. 56. i. 53. iii. 47.

We now arrive at the more prominent difficulties of the chapter: "Qui, cæde legati et consulis vulnere accensi, italla deinde vi sustineri potuerit, quam compulsi in castra Romani rursus obsiderentur, nec spe, nec viribus pares: venissetque in periculum summa rerum, ni T. Quinctius peregrinis copiis cum Latino Hernicoque exercitu subvenisset." The "*arising changes*" of *cum* into *tum*, and again of *cum* into *tuis*, proposed by D. B. H. in No. XLVI. p. 278., J. W. has satisfactorily shown to be inadmissible. In stating his objections, however, he has not expressed himself with sufficient accuracy. I allude to the following passage: "If Livy had intended to inform us that the Romans would have been besieged again in camp, unless the arrival of Quinctius had taken place, then *tum* might have been used: but the verb *obsideri* must indispensably have been in the perfect tense *obsessi essent*, as a correlative with *subvenisset*." Now if J. W. will reconsider the subject, he will find that the correlative to *obsessi essent*, would be the pluperfect tense *venisset*. J. W. farther observes: "To render the passage unexceptionable, I would merely, after *viribus pares*, substitute a colon for a comma." J. W. will perceive that I have adopted this punctuation, and if he will take the trouble of examining Drakenborch's text, he will find that it also corresponds with his suggestion. On the other hand, I would recommend the substitution of a comma for a colon, in his own translation, before the words "when the Romans driven back," &c. the adverb *when*, sic nude positum, being totally devoid of meaning. J. W. seems evidently to have imagined that the obscurity in

Livy's language was to be obviated by the nice construction of the verb *obsiderentur*, which he renders *were again suffering siege*; but it was incumbent upon him to point out the possibility of understanding the words in a different sense, which, if I am not greatly mistaken, he would have found no trivial *onus probandi*. The force and perspicuity of the passage appears to lie in the connexion between *deinde* and *cum*, and its obscurity in the position of the adverb *deinde*, which generally terminates a sentence; this is further apparent from the various emendations and alterations of the punctuation, as detailed by D. B. H., all of which aim at making *sustineri potuere* the close of a sentence. The following loose translation will perhaps serve to show the consistency of the text as it now stands: "Who, when they had driven the Romans within their intrenchments, and had a second time reduced them to a state of blockade, could no longer be effectually resisted, elated as they were with the death of the Legate and the wound of the Consul, whereas the Romans were dispirited, and by no means a match for their opponents in point of numbers." The proper meaning of *sustineo* in the above passage appears to be, *to prevent the enemy from bursting through the outworks, and in this sense it is parallel to the Greek verb στήνω*: Æsch. S. c. Th. 220., *Δυσμενίαν δ' ὄχλον πύργος ἀποστήγιοι*: Ibid. 202., *Εἰργον στήγειν εὐχεσθε πολέμιον πόρῃ*: 798., *Στήγει δὲ πύργος*. See Blomfield's Glossary, who renders the word by *sustineo, non admitto*.

The concluding words, "*ai T. Quinctius peregrinis copiis cum Latino Hernicoque exercitu subvenisset*," are very deficient in perspicuity; which deficiency is mainly attributable to the ambiguity of the expression *peregrinis copiis*, which the reader on the first view of the passage would suppose to be a dative dependent on the verb *subvenisset*, did not the sense negative this idea, the forces whom Quinctius relieved being the flower of the Roman army. The omission of a dative after *subvenisset* may be defended by the following instance from Livy, xiv. 31.: "*Quod (frumentum) ni tam in tempore subvenisset, victoribus victisque pariter pernicioosa fames instabat*." And from a reference to the preceding chapter, it appears that *peregrinae copiae* is equivalent to *socialis exercitus*. We there read: "*Ipsam consulem Romæ manere ad conscribendos juvenes, qui arma ferre possent, optimum visum est; pro consule T. Quinctium subsidio castris cum sociali exercitu mitti: ad eam explendum Latini, Hernique, et colonia Antiam dare Quinctio subsidio milites (ita tum repentina auxilia adpellabant) jussi*." D. B. H.'s proposed emendation of *suis* for *cum*

evidently proceeded on the supposition that the *Latini Hernici* *exercitus* were the same as the *peregrina copia*; which is decidedly opposed by the above quotation; the Latins and the Hernici being merely *subitarii milites*, *repentina auxilia*, raised merely *ad explendum numerum*, and therefore not likely to prove of efficient assistance to the Romans in their present calamitous situation.

To conclude. *Summa rerum*, is a very vague and indefinite, but a very favorite, phrase of Livy's. Ernesti in the present instance considers it as equivalent to *exercitus cum castris*. The following examples are intended to show the peculiar application of it by Livy: i. 36. *Concilia populi, exercitus vocati, summa rerum, ubi aves non admisissent, dirimerentur*: 'Dicitur de bello rite, h. e. non nisi auspicato, incipiendo.' Ernesti. xxx. 3. *Quia ibi summam rerum bellicque verti cernebant*. xxi. 29. *Hoc principium simul omenque belli, ut summæ rerum prosperum eventum, ita hæud sane incruentam ancipitiisque certaminis victoriam, Romanis portendit*. Cf. viii. 14.

M.

NOTICE OF

The LIFE OF WILLIAM SANCROFT, Archbishop of Canterbury; compiled principally from original and scarce documents. With an Appendix, containing Four Prædestinatus, Modern Policies, and Three Sermons by Archbishop Sancroft. Also, A Life of the learned Henry Wharton; and Two Letters of Dr. Sanderson, now first published from the Archbishop's Library at Lambeth Palace. By GEORGE D'OOLY, D. D. F. R. S. In Two Vols. 8vo.

Dr. D'OOLY, who has on many occasions conferred signal services on the practice of sound religion and on the doctrines of the Church of England, acquires in this publication a new claim to the general esteem. The age of Archbishop Sancroft was distinguished by several religious and political revolutions, and the facilities of access to the Lambeth library, which the author possesses, have enabled him to throw a great light on the transactions which he describes.

From the Appendix we shall insert some part of *Excerpta ex Vita MS. Henrici Whartoni, A. M. a seipso scripta*. Of this the Editor says :

" This piece of self-biography must be considered as a great literary curiosity, as well from the celebrity of the person who has thus recorded the events of his own life, as from the classical character of the style, and the interesting nature of many of the remarks, and of the matter contained in it.

" Natus in agro Norfolciensi, oppido de Worstead, die ix Novembris, 1664, patre Edmundo, A. M. Rectore villæ de Upton, in agro Suffolciensi, et postea Rectore de Sloley, et Vicario de Worstead, quæ beneficia postrema cum rectoria de Saxlingham permutavit.

" Matre Susanna Burr, filia Johannis Burr, pannificis satâ opulenti in oppido Dedham Comitatus Essexiensi.

" 1670. Traditus disciplinæ Magistri Eldred publicæ scholæ Norwalthamensis præpositi, sub quo annum fere eruditus est, et postea sub patre suo.

" 1676. Feriis natalitiis ducenta disticha de quatuor anni temporibus confecit.

" 1677. Feriis natalitiis poemata de XII Herculis laboribus plusquam MCC versibus constans composuit.

" 1678. In Saturnaliis poem. de bello Trojano MMM circiter versibus comprehensum condidit.

" De moribus suis hæc scribit.

" Immensa ac effrænis illa, quæ in me semper viguit, audacia cupido; immoderata illa animi ferocia et princeps iracundia, quæ mihi in ætate puerili ædmodum effræta, adeo ut sæpè titulo a familiaribus diu notarer, crebrasque eo nomine patris animadversiones perferrem. In hoc tamen veniam aliquantum mereri censendus, quod effrænis ille animi impetus paucis momentis defervescere soleret, et, sedato semel æstu, in gratiam iterum redire adeo non recusarem, ut summiis etiam id votis (sic mihi semper natura tulit) expeterem, ut eo saltem modo injuriam alteri ab iracundia factam, compensarem. Ceterum, quod summæ felicitatis loco habendum duxi, postquam e domo paterna exieram, et inter academicos versari cepi, deferbuit et evanuit ille animi æstus, mitemque deinceps, comem, et placidum apud omnes me exhibui; adeo ut integro fere abhinc septennio, nulli me temere iratum meminerim, cunctorumque, quibuscum mihi res erat, amorem et benevolentiam facile demererer.

" Id maxime vero notandum venit, quod, cum ob athleticum corporis robur, et calorem plus justo vigentem, in mulierum

aporem sim perquam proque, nulli tamen unquam mulieri, nisi perquam invitae, in colloquium descenderim, neque ullam ne verbato quidem lubenter salutarium: ita denique versatus sim, ut qui me intus et in cute nosse sibi videntur, me pessimum habeant *μωρότατος*. Nescio an id factum fuerit odio superbiae, petulantiae, et inuictarum, quae mulieribus jamdiu inoditae in naturam fere jam transierunt, quodque serviles illas blanditias et obsequia demissa, quae a viris sibi exhiberi sequior sexus expetit et exigit, longe infra virilis sexus majestatem posita existimantem. Forsan et isti animi fastidio nonnihil contulit mei ipsius arrogantia, literatorum consortio penitus indignum judicantis sexum illum, de quo generosa indolis mulier sententiam dudum tulit, nil scilicet dignum exinde edisci posse. Certe toto, quo Cantabrigiae vitam egit sexennio, quum et ansa crebro daretur, et latebrae non deerant, nulli unquam lasciviae muliebri, ne osculis quidem, me indulgisse memini. Id certo novi, me ad hunc usque diem (vigintiannum tertium aetatis annum tam egit cum hac scriptis) virginitatem illesam et intactam conservasse.

“... Tanto erga Ecclesiam (Anglicanam) zelo praeditus, schismaticos, quos Reformatos vocant, angue et cane pejus, semper odi.

“ 1680.—xv Februarii, ad Academiam Cantabrigiam; a patre deductus, et tutelae Johannis Ellys, Collegii Gonvillii et Caii Socii senioris, commissus, et xviii die togam academicam primum induit, in pensionariorum minorum numerum cooptatus.

“ Novembri, Collegii scholaris factus, dato scholasticum 35s reditus annui.

“ 1681.—Februario, philosophicis et mathematicis se applicat; et, paulo post, linguam Gallicam proprio Marte didicit.

“ 1682.—Octobri. Isto circiter tempore, severam, quantum hactenus colui, et illibatam conservatam temperantiam paulatim amittere incepti, genioque indulgere, inter aequales comessari, bacchoque strenue litare, haud amplius dubitavi. Factum id primo, ne merosior, et plus justo subtristis existimaret. Forsan et accessit victoriae amor, quam et in minimis etiam rebus stultus ambivi. Id enim mihi a natura datum est, ut praegravem vini mensuram illato cerebro perpetrare possem; vini

“ Mr. H. Wharton's father had formerly been fellow of Gonvill and Caius College. Mr. John Ellys, the tutor, is described as a person of eminent learning, singular piety, and strictness of life; and one who deserved highly of the public for his unwearied pains and most exact diligence in the education and government of youth. See Life of H. Wharton, prefixed to his Sermons.

tamen adeo non appetens, ut nunquam ad pocula nisi perquam invitatus descenderem; certe consuetam legendi scribendique diligentiam nunquam intermitterem, quin potius temporis poculis dati jacturam duplicato posteriori diei labore resarcirem. Utinamque tamen, seu nimia id animi facilitate, seu amicorum consortii amore factum, labem istam ante relictam penitus academiam excutere non potui.

“ 1683.—Die ix Maii, in scholis publicis respondentis vices obii, et de sono aliisque duabus questionibus philosophicis, miro applausu disputavi.

“ Postero die rus me proripui; deservientibus enim in opido et collegio variolis, pater me domum jamdiu evocarat.

“ Sub id circiter temporis a juvencula quadam virgine, formæ satis liberalis et illibatæ hactenus famæ, summis blanditiis sæpe invitatus, parum abfuit quin pudicitie naufragium fecerim.

“ Exeunte Septembri, ad academiam me contuli, et x die Decembris, primarii opponentis munere mihi demandato, de cometis, Dei existentia et terre motu, contra Nath. Tate, S. Johannis Collegii alumnus, juvenem doctissimum, summo applausu disputavi.

“ 1684.—Mense Januario, baccalaureatus¹ pileo donatus.

“ 1685.—Mortem ejus (Caroli II.) immaturam summo animi dolore excepi (quod sequitur linea obductum est,) Pontifici Hæredis fraudes et versutiam et secutura exinde mala tum temporis etiam facile auguratus.

“ Mense Martio, linguam Italicam intra quinque septimanas didicit.

“ 1686.—Mense Martio, Academiam reliquit hac occasione.

“ Sub initium ejusdem mensis, Guil. Cave, S. T. P. Canonicus Windesoriensis, et Ecclesiæ de Islington prope Londinum Vicarius; vir ob multifariam eruditionem ac penitissimam antiquitatis Ecclesiasticæ scientiam celeberrimus, grande ac prolixum de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis opus jam diu meditatus, amicis suis, ac imprimis Mag^o. Barker, Collegii nostri socio, et nominis mei studiosissimo operam dedit, ut sibi juvenem inter academicos non ineruditum qui sibi opus conceptum parturienti suppetias ferret, et ad manum esset, conquirerent. Istam mihi provinciam

¹ The writer of his life (see the last note) says, that, on taking his bachelor's degree, he had deservedly the first place given him by the proctor of the University, the learned Mr. William Needham, fellow of Emanuel College, who was afterwards his dear friend, and fellow chaplain at Lambeth to Archbishop Sancroft.

demandavit Barkerus, quam quidem libentissime accepi, eo usus consilio, ut efformatis in melius ac feliciter inchoatis sub tanti viri auspicio studiis theologicis, post semestrem moram ad collegium redirem, ubi me (ut tunc non vana ferebant auguria) socii locus proxime vacaturus manebat. Salarium mihi decem librarum annum promisit Dr. Cave, aliaque exinde commoda statim obventura exaggeravit Barkerus; adeo ut, convasatis moribus, abitum molirer. Die itaque 24 Martii, Londinum eques perrexi, ac die proximo in Doctoris Cave familiam me dedi.

“Duram sane mihi bique ingratham admodum provinciam in introitu nactus sum. Doctor enim ille, rejecto in Septembrem sequentem operis sui inchoandi consilio, levia plerumque et desultoria instituit studia. Me sibi itaque diu noctuque assidentem varios subinde libros sibi obambulanti et plerumque dormitanti adlegere volebat. Morosum adhuc viri ingenium et protervos mores, avaritiam autem turpissimam, odio habui. Latentem tamen animi ægritudinem hilari fronte obvelavi; quin et ille maximum semper erga me affectum professus est, et (uti credo) infucatam habuit. Ego interim studiorum theologicorum fundamenta posui, ab Arminii, Episcopiique operum et Grotii in Novum Testamentum annotationum lectione auspicatus. Linguaeque Hebraicae elementa didici, adeo ut, continuato per semestrem spatium horis subsecivis literarum Hebraicarum studio, accuratam satis linguae istius notitiam consecutus fuero.”

“Die 29 Octobris Islingtonam reversi, post quadriduum Historiam Literariam (id nominis enim operi nostro imponendum erat) iterato auspicati sumus. Scriptorem fere omnium a Christo ad annum 370 historiam antea conscripserat Cave, et penes se manuscriptam habuit. Hanc paucis additis descripsi, integramque lucubrationum ab istis scriptoribus exaratarum seu iis suppositarum historiam proprio Marte concinnavi. Raro enim illa in Cavi autographo habebatur. Præterea, addendi erant minoris notæ scriptores quam plurimi, et in his omnes hæretici, quos intactos omiserat Cavi. Hoc mihi muneris plerumque datum est, quod et sedulo perfeci. Summo enim animi studio in hoc opus consummandum incubui. Postquam annum 370 transieramus, integra et de novo nobis erat condenda historia, cui ad annum usque 400 juncto opere desudavimus. Plures ille suo, haud pauciores et ego meo, Marte descripsi. In majoribus vero scriptoribus, puta Hieronymo, Augustino, &c. hanc inimus viam, ut ego vitam illorum perlegerem, et in compendium quoddam contraherem; ille ex compendiolo isto historiam scriptoris illius concinnaret; quod plerumque fecit, resecta unica aut altera sententia. Mihi tamen semper librorum

historiæ et critices contexendæ data erat provincia. Quod ut efficerem, innumeros fere tam veterum quam recentiorum tractatus mihi pervolvere necesse erat.

"Sæculorum priorum quatuor historiam exeunte anno complevimus.

"1687.—Dein, toto mense Januario ac Febuario dimidio sequentis anni eam relegimus et elimavimus, nactique Cl. Usserii bibliothecam theologicam Ms. eam accurate pervolvimus, quæque nostro proposito idonea viderentur, excerptimus.

"His finitis, ad historiam literariam ulterius continuandam nos accinximus, eadem fere usu studiorum methodo et ratione, qua ab anno 370 ad annum 400, nisi quod Cavi studium et diligentia paulatim refrigesceret, ac tandem penitus evanesceret; adeo ut in sæculi quinti historia texenda permodicum fecerit; in sexto sæculo, parum; in sequentibus fere nihil. Illi enim plerumque moris erat mihi scribenti, librósque pervolutanti, tacitum assidere, aut fabulas enarrare, foco somniantis ad instar insidere, aut per bibliothecam obambulare, libros mihi afferre ac referre; de re dubia consulenti quæstionem solvere, et, quandocunque res tulerit, Londinum ad amicos invisendos se subducere; vel, si domi manendum esset, ægrotum se seu simulare, seu somniari.

"A fellowship in his college being expected to be vacant, and being intended for him, it was necessary to qualify himself by going into orders; for which purpose, on the 18th of February, 1686-7, he applied himself to the Bishop of Durham (Crew), Peterborough (White), and Rochester (Spratt), who had the administration of the see of London, 'loco episcopi legitimi iniquitate regia anno præcedente suspensi.' The Bishops of Durham and Rochester objected to the ordaining him, as being uncanonical, since he had not completed his twenty-third year. But the Bishop of Peterborough insisting that he should be examined, he passed through his examination relating to the ancient discipline of the church, the old errors, heresies, and writers, and especially concerning the opinions of Origen and Arius, with such success, that all the bishops resolved to give him orders.

"Finito examine, Episcopus Dunelmensis, quem summa mei admiratio ceperat, atque ideo forsitan major, quod indoctus præ aliis præsul esset, summa mihi coram reliquis episcopis pollicitus est, si in manus ac familiam ejus memetipsum traderem, se nempe beneficium Ecclesiasticum opimum mihi, quam primum ætas mea id permetteret, donaturum esse. Libenter quidem et sponte mea, et Petriburgensis admonitu id feci, summisque ab eo promissis cumulatus discessi."

“Examined the next day by Dr. Beveridge, Archdeacon of London, and, on the 26th of February, ordained deacon by the Bishop of Peterborough, at St. Peter's, Cornhill.”

“Historiæ interim literariæ, juncta cum Cavo opera, insudavi, licet ipse post annum millesimum aut parum aut nihil conferret. Medio circiter Maio, historiam ad annum usque 1275 deduxeramus, cum Windesoram pro more abeundum fuit. Die itaque 19 Maii Windesoram profectus, ubi post bidui moram Cavi desiderium alta jamdiu mente repostum mihi exposuit. Cum me enim e familia ejus sub sequentis mensis exitum (prout ipsi denuntiaveram) egressurum expectaret, de incepto opere ad umbilicum perducendo desperare cœpit. Me itaque rogavit ut Islingtonam reversus finem communi operi propediem imponerem. Postulatis ejus haud invitus concessi, quippe ut opus inchoatum tandem aliquando solveretur, e communi re erat.”

“1688.—Die 7 Martii.—Observationibus in Ignatii vitam scribendis finem imposui.

“Die 10.—Doct^{or} Cave Islingtonæ invisi; cumque ex nonnullis indiciis suspicionem conciperem illum me debita famæ parte in editione Historiæ Literariæ indies festinata defraudatum ire, colloquium cum illo ea de re habui. Et labor enim a me susceptus, et ab illo sancte data fides postularunt, ut nomen meum in fronte operis poneretur. Re vero illi demum proposita a fide pariter ac justitia resiliit vilissimum gloriæ mancipium, meque nihil omnino istius operis ante annum 1275 conscripsisse præter Pontifices Romanos fere omnes, asserere non erubuit. Effrictam viri frontem miratus, maximam indignationem concepi: iram tamen utcunque compressi, deque injuria mihi facta expostulavi. Graviter aliquandiu altercati sumus; tandem ille se prælo obicem positurum, opusque nunquam editurum esse, comminatus est. Tot mensium laborem interire ægre tuli; Pontificiorum sarcasmata in utrumque sum veritus, apertoque memet bello immiscere nolui. Postquam igitur rixatum est satis, ut nomen meum e titulo tolleretur consensi, ea conditione, ut in præfatione operis, præclara mei mentione facta, totum opus ab anno 1275, omnesque ab anno 400 Pontifices Romanos sola mei opera confectos esse luculenter agnosceret. Sancte id promisit ille (ipse enim prius obtulerat), sequæ formulam mihi intra dies paucos missurum esse in se recepit.”

BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

WITH a faint hope of throwing a little light on the obscure passage 1 Cor. xi. 10, I propose the following queries to the Correspondents of the Classical Journal. 1. May not the 10th verse be read with a note of interrogation, or, what will come to the same thing, may it not be supposed to proceed from the mouth of an objector, the words 'Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τις, or some similar phrase being tacitly understood? 2. Do not the words διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους refer to what our Saviour has said, Matt. xxii. 30, of the change in the relation which man and wife shall bear to each other in a future state of existence? 3. May not the 11th verse be considered as the Apostle's answer to the preceding question or objection?

There were some among the Corinthians who said there was no resurrection: there were others at Ephesus (the place from which this epistle was written) who said that the resurrection was past already (2 Tim. ii. 18). This strange error has been supposed to originate from these persons having confounded the doctrine of a resurrection *proper* with that of a *figurative* resurrection, a resurrection from the death of sin unto the life of righteousness. Now as extremes are sometimes found to meet, it is possible, that amid the general licentiousness prevailing at Corinth, there might be some married persons who affected a superior degree of purity, and who aspired to be "as the angels of God in heaven," even in this present life. To such persons we may conceive to be addressed the prudent admonition in chap. vii. verse 5. of this epistle. And with these ideas in his mind, I suppose the Apostle, in the passage under consideration, to have expressed himself in language which I would paraphrase largely thus: "But some one will say, perhaps, that *for this reason* a woman ought to have power over her own head, (to wear a veil or not at her own discretion, regardless of her husband's honor, which may suffer by the public exposure of her face in a promiscuous and crowded assembly) *because* the man and woman have attained to such exalted purity, that they are already become angels, or as the angels of God in heaven. To which I answer, that in the Lord, or according to the teaching of Jesus Christ, the man and the woman, so long as they both live, are inseparably united, and consequently the woman can never cease to be in subjection to her husband."

I have only now to observe, in conclusion, that whatever may be the weak parts of this hypothesis, it has at least the merit of leaving the sacred text inviolate, and of interpreting every single word and phrase in that text according to its ordinary acceptance.

APEMANTUS.

TURKISH MEMOIRS OF EWLIA EFENDI.

AMONG the most rare and valuable compositions in the Turkish language, may be classed the Memoirs of *Ewlia Mohammed Efendi*, a work comprised in four parts or volumes, and peculiarly interesting, as they contain the records of his travels through various regions during the space of five-and-twenty years; from 1041 of the Musulman era (corresponding to the year of Christ 1631) until 1066 (1656). We have just learned, with much satisfaction, that a gentleman in this country has lately received from Vienna an English translation of Ewlia's work, made from the original Turkish by that learned Orientalist and eminent linguist Mr. Hammer, so well known for the universality of his literary acquirements. It appears from a notice communicated by one of our foreign correspondents, that Mr. Hammer had long explored the book shops of Constantinople and of Cairo in hopes of discovering some Turkish manuscript that might illustrate the subject of Eastern geography, and more particularly assist him in his researches respecting the topography of Asia Minor, and such parts of Africa and of Europe as constituted the Ottoman empire. But his inquiries, however diligent, were attended with but little success until the year 1804, when he fortunately discovered in Constantinople, the fourth or last portion of Ewlia Efendi's memoirs, and procured it at the price of one hundred piastres. The perusal of this part most strongly excited his desire to possess the entire work; but a perfect copy, supposed to exist only in the Seraglio library, was therefore inaccessible. During ten years Mr. Hammer and his friends sought in vain the first, second, and third parts; at length they were obtained through the exertions of Mr. John Argyropolo, late Turkish minister at Berlin, who purchased for the library of Count Wenceslaus Rzewuski a complete copy,

filling two large folio volumes; from these Mr. Hammer has made his translation.

Ewlia Efendi lived in the reigns of Sultan Murad IV, Ibrahim, and Mohammed IV; and he travelled through the Turkish empire in Asia Minor, Africa, and Europe, and finished his journey with an expedition to Persia. The Bibliographer, Hadji Khalfa, mentions, in his history of Turkish literature, two writers named *Ewlia* (see Eichorn's Hist. of Lit. vol. 111. p. 1229. 1243); but it appears from a comparison of dates, that neither can have been our traveller; whence the rarity of his memoirs may be inferred, and the bad taste that noticed trifling works of poetry or dull Mohammedan theology, neglecting such a rich topographical treasure as the Travels of *Ewlia*:—thus a short and meagre account of *Seid Ali Capitan's* journey from the Red Sea to India, and thence to Constantinople, is celebrated, though for the greater part fiction, and extremely scanty in geographical information. But *Ewlia* abounds with topographical, historical, and philological notices; he gives specimens of different languages, the Curdish, Mongol, and Tartar dialects; also many statistical accounts of the various countries that he surveyed; biographical sketches of distinguished persons, not only his contemporaries, but those whose tombs had already been objects of pilgrimage and religious veneration. Most of his remarks, founded on actual inspection, are such as none but an intelligent and native Musulman could have made. This will appear on comparison of his travels with those published by several Europeans who have visited the same countries.

The first part of *Ewlia's* work contains an account of his birth-place, the city of Constantinople, its fortifications, gates, talismans, and ancient monuments; the various sieges which this great capital has suffered; its mosques, and other principal edifices; the old and new Seraglio; the neighbouring country; description of the Black Sea, and its communication with the White; soil and natural productions in the vicinity of Constantinople; statistical tables; public revenue; military forces of the empire under Sultan Murad IV; many curious anecdotes, and some hints on the probable relationship between the King of France and the Sultan through a Sultana; history of the Ottoman sovereigns, particularly of Sultan Murad IV, where the author, in a distinct chapter, relates his own introduction as page into the Harem, with many remarkable circumstances. Then follow the histories of Sultan Ibrahim and Mohammed, until the conquest of Candia, where *Ewlia* was present, in 1074 (A. D. 1633). He then describes the minor edifices of Constantinople, the religious

houses, fountains, tombs, barracks, &c. He enumerates the most celebrated poets from the time of Mohammed II, to that of Mohammed IV; and illustrates the topography of the Bosphorus, the gardens, summer palaces, the markets, the castles situated on the Straits; the topography of Scutari; the order of Dervishes; the trades and manufactures minutely detailed.

The second part relates Ewlia's journey to Brusa, and a full description of that first capital of the Ottomans; an account of Olympus, and the famous warm baths of Brusa; his journey through Nicæa and Nicomedia to Amasia, Sinope and Samsan; with an account of the intermediate places; of the Lezgheis of Georgia and Mingrelia; the towns and people of those countries described, and specimens of the Abasi language. In the year 1643 Ewlia was engaged in the campaign against Azoff, and passed through the Crimea, of which he describes the chief places. He then resumes his account of Asia Minor, noticing particularly the Lake of Sabanja, and the project of uniting it with the Black Sea (here the reader will recollect the canal of Pliny); a journey to Boli, Tussia; specimens of the language of wandering Turcomans; Amasia, Erzerum; the river Euphrates. He assists in the campaign of Erzerum; describes the castles and towns on the road; makes a journey into Persia; visits Nachjewan, Tebriz, and Ardebil; wandering tribes; specimens of Katayan language; account of Mount Caucasus. He returns through Baku to Georgia, Teflis, Mingrelia; a specimen of the Mingrelian language; arrives at Constantinople. He then describes Angora, and the route from that place to Constantinople, introducing anecdotes of Sultan Ibrahim; and the accession of Sultan Mohammed IV. concludes the second volume. In the third we find our author undertaking the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1038 (A. D. 1648), through Asia Minor and Syria; but he was not able to accomplish this design. In the following year he accompanied the Basha sent against the Prince of the Druses (Faccardin) to Libanus and Anti-Libanus: here he notices various tombs of prophets in Syria; the Druses and their dialect; Akka and its environs; Jews; Jaffa; the Dead Sea; Ramla; Haleb or Aleppo, which is minutely described. Specimens of the dialects of different wandering tribes, Cesarea, Armenians, Divregi, Charbut, Laghman; statistical accounts and historical digressions, Ewlia follows the deposed vizier Melek Ahmed Pasha to Ocza-kow, through Rumelia. From Constantinople his route led to Selivri, Tschululu, Burgas, Paravadi, Schumna, Hesargrad, Rustschuk, Giurgire, Sistou, Nicopolis, Silistria, Hadji Ogli Bazari, Baltschik, Kavama, Mankalia, through the Dombrowsky

Tartary ; specimens of different dialects ; he describes Kustendchi, Karu, Chirmlu, Babataghi, Sagra Yenichehri, Filibe, Sofia, and lastly Adrianople, the old metropolis of the Ottomans in Europe. All these are circumstantially, topographically, and statistically described ; so that this portion of Ewlia's manuscript furnishes a more copious and authentic account of Rumelia than any work hitherto published, not excepting even Hadji Khalfa's description of Rumelia and Bosnia, which appeared at Vienna in 1812.

When Melek Ahmed Pasha was appointed (A. H. 1065, A. D. 1654) to the government of Van, our author attended him as imam, or reader ; and their journey is related in the fourth volume, of which the completion seems to have been prevented by his death. He describes the route and stations to Van by way of Diarbekir ; specimens of Turkish dialects ; account of mosques, schools, and other public edifices, and various institutions at Teflis ; journey to Erivan ; digressions and anecdotes ; description of Malatia, Shat-al-arab, Mardin, the supposed throne of Alexander, at Derbend ; language of the Curds, and their peculiar forms of expression ; an excursion to Persia, Tabriz, Hamadan, Baghdad ; ruins of the royal palace of the Cosroes or Sassanidan kings of Persia ; Basrah ; journey from Hosa Keif to Diarbekir, Mosul, Hamadan, and Tabriz, with accounts of various other places on the road ; lastly, a description of Tekrit, and the productions of Irak, the province which included the ancient Assyria, Chaldea, Mesopotamia, &c.

However inadequate to the merits and extent of Ewlia's original work, the sketch here given will show its importance as serving to illustrate history, geography, and philology ; while from the miscellaneous anecdotes profusely scattered throughout its pages, the lover of less serious studies may expect to derive an ample harvest of entertainment. We sincerely hope that so rich a literary treat as Mr. Hammer's translation of Ewlia's Memoirs will not be much longer withheld from the public.

FLORILEGIUM HIBERNICUM.

"These are thy gods, O Israel!"

A LEARNED correspondent in No. XLVI. p. 224, has communicated an extract from the late Mrs. Piozzi, of which he observes, that "few authors now living, and fewer author-esses, are capable of a similar display of erudition in so small a compass." The observation is prudently and properly limited. We met lately with one of Lady Morgan's novels, and curiosity tempted us to a cursory perusal. We had heard of this lady, as the greatest dealer in what (for want of a politer word) we are obliged to call blunders, at present existing; but we confess, that the specimens we met with, in number at least, exceeded our expectation. We have been induced to select a few of the most striking, which are here subjoined.

Introduction. "He who agonised on the bed of Pro-crostat." "Amandatus est ad *disciplinum* in Hibernia."

Vol. 1. "I can support this wretched state of non-existence, this *articula mortis*, no longer." "Torquatto Tasso." "The dusky *horison* of life." "Sylphid elegance of spherul beauty." "For once the wish of Romeo appeared no *hyperbola*." "The *vivida vis anima* of native genius." "She possesses that *lumine purpureo*, which," &c. "Cai-phas." "The *cithera* (harp) of the Greeks." "The most *esient* of all created beings." "St. Augustus," for Augustine.

Vol. 2. "Canæ," for Cannæ. "The seeds of dependence sown irradically (ineradicably) in his mind." "St. Crysostom." "The temple of Solyman." "Nor indeed does the Roman *floralia* differ," &c. "The Attila (Atala) of Chateaubriand." "The same votive gifts as *Pausanius* tells us obscured the statue of *Hygëia* in *Secyonia*." "Like the *assymtotes* of an *hyperbola*, we are gradually approximating closer and closer towards each other." "Weisland," for Wieland.

Vol. 3. "Garcilorssso de la Vega." "It (Ireland) was the *Nido paterno* of Western literature." "The complaints of the mother of Euriales in the *Æneid*." "Breviare," for breviaire, *passim*. "Darkened by a previous excess of lumination." "Their lightened hearts shall again throb with the cheery pulse of national exility."

ZOILUS.

! The fair writer perhaps meant this as Italian.—Ed.

REMARKS ON CLAUDIAN,

CARM. I. 18—22.

Nec quisquam procerum tentat, licet ære vetusto
 Floreat, et claro cingatur Roma senatu,
 Se jactare parem ; sed, prima sede relicta
 Aucheniis, de jure licet certare secundo.

IN order to remove all the difficulties of this passage, Burmann would make both *floreat* and *cingatur* refer to *Roma*, although he acknowledges that "*durius dictum, Romam florere ære vetusto*." The construction may be paralleled by Horace, 1 Od. xxvii. 15.

— Quæ te cunque domat Venus,
 Non erubescendis adurit
 Ignibus ; ingenuoque semper
 Amore peccas :

and the sense in general terms appears to be this : " Let none of our nobles (for I would read with Heinsius *tentet*), from however ancient a family he may be descended, and it must be confessed that Rome can boast an illustrious body of senators, presume," &c. This use of *tento* in the sense of *audeo* is rather peculiar ; somewhat analogous is that of the Greek verb *τολμαῖν*, Thuc. i. 32. *Καὶ ξυγγνώμη, εἰ μὴ μετὰ κακίας, δόξης δὲ μᾶλλον ἀμαρτία, τῇ πρότερον ἀπαγγευσμένη ἐναντία τολμᾶμεν, we venture upon, hazard, make trial of*. Both Burmann and Gesner seem to find a difficulty in the word *cingatur*. The former observes : " Mihi aliquando incidit, quia *Romam cingi senatu* non concoquebam, posse legi :

————— licet ære vetusto

Floreat, et claro *pingatur* *stemma* senatu :

sed quia codices non addicunt, nihil audeo mutare, et *cingatur* hic cum Barthio capere debemus pro *compleatur* : " which is directly reversing the meaning of the word. The latter thus explains it : "*cingatur* tanquam corona. Viri illustres, quibus constat Senatus, sunt velut gemmæ in corona Romæ deæ : " which is too fanciful. Why may we not understand the senators to be here represented as the *guardians, the defenders, the body-guard*, as it were, of Rome, personified as a queen ? This meaning of *cingo* is not rare Cic. de Nat. Deor. iii. 40. Diligentiusque urbem religione,

quam ipais incenibus cingitis. *Se jactare parem* corresponds to Homer's *ισοφαρίζειν*.

II. Z. 101. — *οὐδὲ τις οἱ δόναται μένος ἰσοφαρίζειν.*

II. Φ. 194. *Τῷ οὐδὲ κρείων Ἀχαιῶν ἰσοφαρίζει.*

Delrius explains *prima sede* as the right of first delivering their opinions in the senate; whence it might be inferred that he read *voce*: it is very probable that such deference was paid to the Anchenii, but the obvious and simple meaning is, that they *took precedence* of the rest of the senators: thus Carm. xxxvi. 9.

Coelestibus ordine datur

Prima sedes; tractum procures tenuere secundum
Æquorei.

M.

LYRICORUM GRÆCORUM FRAGMENTA DITHIRAMBICA.

EDITIONIS SPECIMEN. A G. B.

PLUS semel jam monui in hoc Diario meas inter schedas esse haud pauca literis mandata, unde Lyricorum Græcorum Fragmentis inopina lux afferri posset; et in N. 44. p. 338. Simonidea perexiguo specimine exposui, quomodo Poëtæ verba ipsa, et ratio metri, diu tenebris involuta, tandem aliquando enitescerent. Hodie quoque libet alia generis ejusdem carmina tractare, eaque præcipue, quæ recenseri debent inter Dithirambica; hoc enim nomine, cujus originem alibi exponam, cantus illos intelligas, quos ita veteres composuerunt, ut versus prior distichi primi posteriori similia esset, neque ratione alia distichorum reliqua paria ordinarentur. Initium igitur faciam ab iis, quæ Jacobus inter Epigrammata edidit, mox Pindarica, quæ, mendis omnigenis obsita, vix et ne vix quidem ab aliis intelligi possunt, dein reliqua Lyricorum fragmenta suo quæque ordine tractaturus.

Ob eam ipsam legem, quam mihi circumscripsi, carmen Monostrophicum, quod Arionis esse fertur ab Æliano N. A. xii. 45., debui minime prætermittere, eoque minus, quod testatur Herodot. i. 23. *Ἀρίων ἐστὶ δεινὰρ ἄνθρωπον, ὃν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, ποιήσαντα.* Verum ipse, licet cum Schneidero hymnum

Arioni abjudicem, tamen non recusabo, quin reddam emendatiora Poëtæ ignoti verba conjecturis paucissimis levissimisque; nempe legi debet Πόσειδον γαίηοχ', εὐ κοίμα μοι ἄλμαν βρύχιον. vice ἑγκύμον' ἄλμαν βράγγιοι: quæ verba misere corrumpit Brunckius in Analect. 111. p. 327. Pro meis vero sama ratio fortiter pugnat; etenim Arion, jam in undas coactus præcipitare se, nihil aliud precari debuit, quam ut Neptunus mare tranquillum redderet. Similes sunt preces Danaæ, filium arca inclusum fluctibus commissuræ, εὐδέτω πόντος. Mox vice σισμοι lege ισάνεμοι: cujus interpretatio αἰκνύδρομοι est delenda.

Hoc igitur carmine, sæculi recentioris foetu omisso, tractari debet ordine suo hymnus

ARIPHRONIS.

Ἑγλεία πρεσβίστα μακάρων,
 μετὰ σοῦ τὸ λαιπόμενον βιοτᾶς
 ναίοιμι, κάμοι πρόφρων σὺ σύνοικος εἷης·
 εἰ γάρ τις ἐστὶν πλούτου χάρις ἢ τέκνων τις
 τᾶς τ' ἰσοδαίμονος ἀνθρώπων
 οἰς βασιλεὺς ἀρχᾶς
 ἢ πόθων,
 οὐς κρύφ' ἰ-
 οῖς Ἀφροδίτης τ'
 ἄγκυρσι θηρεύ-
 ομεν, ἢ εἰ τις ἄλλα
 θεόθεν ἐν βροτοῖσιν
 τέρψις ἢ πόνων τις
 ἀμνηστὰ πέφανται,
 μετὰ σοῦ, μάκαιρα θεᾷ, τέθλε πάντα, καὶ λάμπει
 χαρίτων ἔαρ, σέθεν δὲ χάρις οὔτις εὐδαίμων

Hoc carmen Aripbronis Sicyonio tribuit Athen. xv. p. 702. A. at Licymnio cuidam Sext. Empiric. p. 447. C. Verum Licymnius est nihil aliud, quam Sicyonius prave scriptus. V. 4. Vulgo τεκνῶν: et sic Plutarch. 11. p. 450. B. ubi tamen Ms. Bruxell. τοκίων: quocum facere videtur τοκίων apud Sext. Empiric.: sed τέκνων metrum postulat. V. 8. Vulgo κρυφίοις. Contra metrum. Legi poterat κρυφαλοῖς. Reposui κρύφ' ἰοῖς. De Veneris sagittis vid. Eurip. Med. 635. ἡμέρῃ χρίσασα (scilicet Κύπρις) ἄφυκτον οἰστὸν, et Hipp. 531. βέλος—τὸ τᾶς Ἀφροδίτης—ἴησιν Ἐρως. V. 10. ἢ corripitur ob ei. V. 12. Vulgo θεόθεν ἀνθρώποις contra metrum. V. 13. Vulgo deest τις. V. 15. Vulgo Ἑγλεία vice θεᾷ, quod hic monosyllabon est. Hoc carmen probe sequitur hymnus

ARISTOTELIS.

Ἀρέτα πολύμοχθ',
 ἐγένου βροτεῶ
 θήραμα κάλλ-
 ιστον βίῳ
 σᾶς περὶ, παρθένε, μορφᾶς καὶ θανεῖν ζηλ- 5
 αὐτὸς ἐν Ἑλλάδι πότμος, καὶ πόνους τλήν-
 αι μαλερούς· ἀκαμάτῳ τ'
 οἰστὸν ἐπὶ φρενὶ βάλλεις
 κρείοτερον θανάτου χρυσοῦ τε κρείσσῳ
 καὶ τεκέων μαλακαυγήτοιο θ' ὕπνου· 10
 σοῦ δ' ἐνεχ' οὐκ Διὸς Ἡρακλῆς κόροί τε
 Λήδας πόλλ' ἀνέτλασαν, σὰν ἐν ἔργοις
 ἀγορεύοντες
 δυναμιν· σοῖς δ' ἐν
 πόθοις Ἀχιλεὺς Αἴας τ' 15
 Ἄδαο δόμους ἦλθον
 σᾶς δ' ἐνεκεν φιλίου μορφᾶς Ἀταρνείας
 οὐντροφος ἀελίου χηρῶσατ' αὐγᾶς·
 τοίγαρ αἰδίδιμος ἔργους
 ἀθάνατόν τε μιν αὐξή- 20
 σουσι Μοῦσαι, Μνημοσύνας θύγατρ-
 es, σέβας Διὸς ξενίου φιλί-
 ου τε γέρας δέξ-
 ουσι βέβαιον.

Hunc hymnum conservaverunt Diogen. Laert. Vit. Aristot. p. 272. Athen. xv. p. 696. B. inter Scolia, Stob. i. p. 2=6. V. 1. Vulgo πολύμοχθε γένει βροτεῖω. V. 7. Vulgo μαλερούς ἀκάμαντας. Ipse dedi ἀκαμάτῳ—φρενὶ, memor Horatiani, *tenacem propositi*, et mox *mente solida*. V. 8, 9. Vulgo τοῖον—καρπὸν τ' ἀθάνατον. At καρπὸν nequeo intelligere. Reposui οἰστὸν—κρείοτερον θανάτου, *morti superiorem*. Innuit Aristoteles amorem virtutis ne morte quidem domari. V. 11. Huc respexit Horatius, *Hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules Invictus* (ita enim legi debet ope editionis Zarotianæ, ubi legitur *invisus*) *arces attigit igneas*. V. 12. Vulgo ἔργοις σὰν ἀγορεύοντες. At Diog. et Stob. ἔργοις ἀναγορεύοντες. V. 18. Vulgo χηρῶσεν. Ratio linguae postulat χηρῶσατο, se privavit. V. 20. Ita Diog. et Stob. pro αὐξουσι. Hinc fortasse Horatius, *Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori*. V. 22. Vulgo φιλίας. Dedi φιλίου, scil. Διός. V. 23. Vulgo Αὐξουσai. Reposui Δέξουσι, memor Horatiani, *Virtus recludens immeritis mori cælum*.

In eundem censum venit et

BACCHYLIDES.

Hujus e Fragm. 1. et 11. prius ita legendum est, quod servavit Stob. Ecl. Phys. p. 11 = 131.

θητοῖσιν οὐκ αὐθαίρετόν ἐστ'
οὔτ' ὄλβος, οὔτ' ἀκαμπτὸς Ἄρης,
οὔτε κάμφορος στάσις,
ἄλλοτ' οὐ χρίμπται νέφος,
ἄλλοθ' ὑπ' ἡλύγην τιν'
ἂ πανάωρος Δίση.

5

V. 1. Vulgo θητοῖς οὐκ. At e Cod. Vat. edidit F. Ursin. δ' οὐκ. At δ' est ex *in* compendiose scriptis. Mox vulgo deest ἐστ'. Quod ad αὐθαίρετον—ὄλβος, cf. illud Virgilianum *Dulce satis humor*, et Euripideum *Δυσάρεστον οἱ νοσούντες*. V. 3. Vulgo κάμφορος. Vox est nihili. V. 4, 5. Vulgo ἀλλ' ἐπικρίμπται νέφος ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἄλλαν γᾶν. Inde erui, quæ vides. De voce ἡλύγη alibi depravata dixi ad *Æschyl. Suppl. 759.*, unde corrigi debet et Eurip. Cycl. 676. legendo Οὔτοι σιωπῇ τῇ πέτρῃ ὑπ' ἡλύγην λαβόντες, vice ἐπὶ ἡλύγα. V. 6. Vulgo πάνωρος. Reposui πανάωρος. Secundum vero fragmentum, quod conservavit Stob. p. 567 = 451., ita legendum est,

εἰς ὄρος, μία βροτοῖσιν ἐστ' εὐτυχίας ὁδὸς,
θυμὸν εἴ τις ἀνέχων, ἀπενθῇ τελείει βίον·
ᾧ δὲ μυρία μὲν ἀμφοικολεῖ φρενί,
δάπτεται κέαρ, ἄκαρπον ἔχων πόνον,
οὐδὲ τῶν παρ' ἡμᾶρ τε καὶ
νόκτ' ἀεὶ μελλόντων χάριν
ἀνότειν
δύναται.

5

V. 2. Vulgo εἴ τις ἔχων ἀπενθῇ δύναται διατελεῖν. Ipse reposui ἀνέχων necnon τελείει, et δύναται transposui. V. 4, 5. Hic quoque verba transponuntur. Vulgo τὸ δὲ παρόμαρτε νόκτα μελλόντων χάριν ἀνὸν δάπτεται κέαρ. Inde feliciter Grotius παρ' ἡμᾶρ τε.

De Lyrici vero fragmentis brevioribus nihil pro liquido cerni potest; de longioribus tamen dubitari nequit, quin ita sit legendum Fragm. IX.

τίκτει δὲ θνατοῖς
Εἰρήνη μεγάλη πλοῦτον, θεοῖσι τ'
ἐκ μελιστογλώσσων ἀνθημ'. ἀοιδῶν,
δαιδαλέων τ' ἐπὶ βωμῶν αἰθέτος ἐκνέ-

ᾗ φλογὶ μῆρια, δαῖς εὐαχία τε 5
 συμποσίαν ἐράων βρίθοντ', ἀγυίας
 αὐλοῖς καὶ κέρασιν φλέγοντί θ' ὕμνοι,
 γυμνασίαν δὲ νέοις μέλει τε κώμων,
 ἐν δὲ σιδαροδέτοις πόρπαξιν ὄπλων 10
 κηθουσᾶν ἀραχνῶν ἱστοὶ πέλονται,
 ἔγχρεια λογχωτὰ ξίφεα τ' ἀνέκει
 εὐρὸς δάμνησιν, χαλκίαν δὲ σαλπίνγγ-
 ῶν κτύπῳ οὐκετι συλαῖται μεταγχερᾶς
 ὕπνος ἀπὸ βλεφάραν, ἀλλ' ὅσσ' ἐφέλκει.

Hoc carmen venustissimum servavit Stob. p. 367=209. V. 3. Vulgo μελιγλώσσων. Metro officit. Exstat μελιτόγλωσσον in Eumen. 940., ubi emendatur Prom. 179. legendo Καί μ' οὐ μελιτογλώσσοις παιδοῦς Ἐπαιδαῖσιν μή τις θέλξει : emendari quoque debet Pindar. Nem. x1.23. legendu καὶ μελιγλώττοισι δαιδαλθέντα μελίξμεν αἰοδαῖς vice μελιγδούποισι, necnon in Ol. vi. 155. γλυκὺς κρητήρ μελιφθέγτων αἰοιδᾶν vice ἀγαφθέγτων : collato Isthm. 11. 5. μελιγάρυας ὕμνους. V. 3. Vulgo αἰοιδῶν ἀνθεα. Hoc stare fortasse poterat, quod ad sententiam, collato Pindar. apud Athen. 1. p. 25. P. ἀνθεα ὕμνων : minime vero quod ad metrum. Verum hic sermo est de rebus ad sacrificia pertinentibus. Vatis ἀναθήματα sunt carmina. Similiter Horatius, *Donarem pateras—Donarem tripodas—Sed non hæc mihi vis—Gaudes carminibus, carmina possumus Donare* ; quæ sunt adumbrata ad Bacchylidis Fragm. x111.

οὐ βοῶν πάρεστι σώματ',
 οὔτε χρυσὸς οὔτε πορφύ-
 ροι τάπητες, ἀλλὰ θυμὸς
 εὐμενὴς, μοῦσά τε γλυκεῖ,
 ἐν Βοιωτικαῖς σκύφοισιν
 οἶνος ἡδύς.

quibuscum confer Horatiana *Non ebur, neque aureum Mea renidet in domo lacunar—Nec Laconicas mihi Trahunt honestæ (lege onusta) purpuras clientæ*. V. 4. Illud δαιδαλίαν tuetur ipse Bacchylides suo Fragm. x1v.

οὐχ ἔδρας ἔργον οὐδ' ἀμβολᾶς,
 ἀλλὰ χρυσαίγιδος Ἰτωνίας
 χρεὶ παρ' εὐδαιδαλον ναὸν ἔλθ-
 όντας ἀβρόν τι δεῖξαι [μέλος] :

ubi Homericum βωμὸς περικαλλῆς imitatur. V. 4. αἶθεται est emendatio verissima P. Leopardi iv. 21. p. 114. vice τίθεται. Cf. Simonid. Fragm. 212. παρὶαν δεδαυμένων. Mox vulgo βοῶν ξανθᾶ φλογὶ μερίδες εὐτρίχων τε μήλων. Hic quoque feliciter

Leopard. *μηρία* eruit; at non vidit *βοῶν* τε *μήλων* huc irrepsisse ex Homericis *Μήλων* ἢ δὲ *βοῶν*: neque perspicacior fuit Blomfieldus¹ ad S. c. Th. 531. emendando *μηροὶ δασυτέρησαν μήλων*: qui tamen probe corrigere poterat Simonid. Fragm. 230. de Mulieribus legendo τὴν μὲν ἐξ ὕδ' *δασύτριχος*. vel *πυκνότριχος* vice *τανύτριχος*, collato Hom. *Il.* 1. 547. *Ἀμφὶ σὺδ'—δέγματι λαχρήνenti*. Ipse vero e vestigiis vulgatæ lectionis erui *μηρία δαίς* *εὐωχία* τε: quibuscum, ut omnia melius conspirent, refero huc voces, quæ vulgo exstant ad carminis finem, *κίαρ συμποσίαν δ' ἐράτων βρῖθοντ' ἀγυαὶ παιδικοὶ δ' ὕμνοι φλέγοντι*. Ibi vero ineptum est *ἐράτων*, facillime in *ἐράων* mutandum; neque *ΠΑΙΔΙΚΟΙ* stare potest, ubi *ΑΥΛΟΙΣ* *ΚΑΙ* *sensus* postulat: facile quoque *κίρασι* eruitur e *κίαρ*. Quod ad *ἐράων*, consule Lexica: quod ad *ἀγυαὶς ὕμνοι φλέγοντι*, cf. Pers. 401. *Σάλπιγγ' δ' αὐτῇ πᾶν τὸ κῦμ' ἐπέφλεγεν*; ita enim emendavi in *Classical Journal*, N. xxviii. p. 239., collato Virgiliano *Clamore incendunt cælum*: neque distat metaphora in illo Aristophanico *ἐξέλαμψε τυμπανισμός*. Quod ad *κίρασιν*, cf. Ion. 882. *ἀγρᾶυλοῖς κίρασιν—ἀχρεῖ—ὕμνους*. V. 9. Huc retuli *αὐλῶν*, quod vulgo exstat post *νόις*, et in *ὄπλων* mutavi. Opportune Clarkius ad Od. xvi. 34. allegat Theocrit. xvi. 96. *ἀράχνια δ' εἰς ὄπλ' ἀράχναι λεπτὰ διαστήσαιντο*: opportune quoque Jacobsius citat Euripid. Erechth. Fragm. vi. *κείσθαι δόρυ μοι μίτον ἀμφιπλέκειν ἀράχναις*. Mox nequeo intelligere *αἰθᾶν ἀραχνᾶν*. Reposui *ἡθουσᾶν*. V. 11. Vice *ἀμφήκεια*, quod manifesto in tali re est vitiosum, etenim ærugine ensis hebescit, reposui *ἀνάκεια*: quod et metrum poscit. V. 12. Apud Stobæum deest *εὐδράς*. Id servat Plutarch. Numa c. xx. p. 159., uti monuit Leopardus: qui et Plutarchum voce *πέλονται* ditavit e Stobæo. V. 13. Quid sit *μελίφρων ὕπνος* nescio. Dedi *μελάγχρωος*. Photius *Μελάγχρωος καὶ Μελαγχρῆς*: ἀμφοτέρω *Ἀττικῶς*, μᾶλλον δὲ διὰ τοῦ *η*. *Κρατίνος*. Eustath. Od. p. 1799=601. *Ἀττικῶς δὲ ἀνὴρ συγκόφας τὸ μελαγχροῖς, μελαγχρῆς λέγει. ὅθεν καὶ Μένανδρος, μελαγχρῆς, φασὶν, εἶπε μεράκιον*. Hinc corrige et supple Etymol. *Μελαγχρῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ μελαγχροῖς συνεκόπη*, ubi Sylburg. in Indice “f. *μελαγχροῖς*,” allegato Antiphane apud Athen. iv. p. 161. A. V. 14. Vulgo *αμοσος θαλκει*. Inde erui *ἄλλ' ὅσ' ἐφέλκει*. Somnus oculorum palpebras contrahit. In fragmento emendando nihil profecit Boeckius ad Pindar. Vol. 11. p. 337. Quod ad metrum, est Hendecasyllabum, quo scriptum est Fr. xii. apud Athen. iv. p. 178.

¹ *Ἠλθε [πάλαι] ποτὶ τὸν Κήρυκος οἶκον*
στάς δ' ἐπὶ λαῖνον οὐδον, οἱ δὲ θοίνας

¹ We refer our learned correspondent to an article on the Latinisation of proper names, in No. II. of this *Journal*.—Ed.

ἐντύοντ' εὐόχθους, ὡδ' ἔφασκεν
αὐτομάτως ἀγαθὸν φῶτ' ἦν δίκαιον
δαίτας ἐπέρχεσθαι * * *

Vulgo ἦλθεν ἐπὶ—Versus suppleri potest legendo τῶν κοιρανούντων. Ejusdem quoque metri vestigia latent in Fr. xvii. apud Clement. Alex. Strom. v. p. 687.

Ἐξ ἑτέρου δ' ἕτερος σοφὸς, [λέλεκται]
τοῦτο πάλαί, τό τε νῦν οὐ γὰρ τι ῥᾶστον
ἀρρήτων ἐπέων πύλας ἐφεύρειν.

Sed magis notabile est Fragmentum xi., metrum idem exhibens, apud Athen. ii. p. 39. F. ita legendum,

πίνοντος μέγιστον
θερμαῖνοι τὸ κέαρ γλυκεῖ ἄν ἄχνα
γενομένα κυλίκων θάλησι θυμὸν
Κυπρίδος ἔρπιδι, κ' αἰθύσσει φρένας συμ-
μειγνυμένας Διονυσίοις δρόμοις, ἀνδρ-
ὸς δ' ἀπ' ἀσαροτάτω πέμπει μερίμνας
αὐτὸς μὲν πόλεων κρήδεμνα λύει,
πᾶσι δ' ἐν ἀνθρώποις μόναρχος εἴναι,
μαρμαίρειν δ' ἐλέφαντ' οἰκοί τε χροσῶ,
πυροφόρου δὲ κατ' αἰγλήσαντα πλοῦτον
νῆες ἄγειν οἱ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου δοκοῦσι.

5

10

V. 1. Initio reddidi voces, quæ finem vulgo claudunt, μέγιστον—πίνοντος ὀρμαίνει κέαρ: et mutavi ὀρμαῖνοι in θερμαῖνοι. V. 2. Vulgo ἀνάγκα. Id non intelligo. Dedi ἄν ἄχνα. Etymol. "Ἀχνη" πᾶσα λεπτότης ὑγροῦ τε καὶ ξηροῦ ἐπὶ μὲν ὑγροῦ, Ἀποπτύει δ' ἁλὸς ἄχνην (Il. Δ. 246.), ἐπὶ δὲ ξηροῦ, Κρίνει καρπὸν τε καὶ ἄχνας (Il. E. 501.) Apud Hesych. exstat Ἀχνη πυρὸς ex Æschylo, Ἀχνη ὕπνου ex Aristoph. Vesp. 92, Ἀχνην λίνου ex Hippocrate, Ἀχνη ἁλὸς ex Homero: exstat quoque apud Soph. Œd. C. 849. οὐρανίας—ἄχνης, in Trach. 850. δακρύων ἄχνη. Sed longe aptissimum est Euripideum illud in Œrest. 115. Οἶνωπον ἄχνην. Etenim de vini liquore hic loquitur Bacchylides. V. 3. Vulgo σευομένα. At Casaub. egregie γενομένα. V. 4. Vice ἔλπις dedi ἔρπιδι. Vocem satis exposui in Class. Journ. N. xviii. p. 299. Mox vulgo φρένας ἀναμειγνυμένα. Fugitivum sigma revocavi. V. 5. Vice δάροις reposui δρόμοις. Cf. Eurip. Bacch. 148. δρόμων καὶ χοροῖς. Hesych. Διονυσιάδες ἐν Σπάρτῃ παρθένοι αἱ ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις δρόμον ἀγωνιζόμεναι. V. 6. Vulgo Ἀνδράσι δ' ὑποτάτω. At minime curas hominibus affert, verum aufert, Bacchus. Ad rem nostram opportune contulit Jacobsius ad Anthol. i. 151. Horatii verba Ebrietas—Sollicitis animis onus eximit: necnon Panyasidis apud Athen. ii. p. 37. B. Πάσας δ' ἐκ κραδῆς ἁνίας

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2 B

ἀνδρῶν ἀλαπάξει. Exstat ἀσαροτέρας in Sapphūs Fr. xxvi. et exstare debet apud Hesych. ita ordinandum. Ἄσαρον λυπηρόν. Ἄσαρότερον μᾶλλον ἀηδές. Ἀσάς βλάψας. V. 7. Imitatur Homericum Τροίης—κρήδεμνα λύοιμεν. V. 8. Vulgo μοναρχήσιν. Inde erui μόναρχος εἶναι. Opportune Jacobs. allegat Platon. de Rep. ix. p. 573. C. καὶ μὴν ὄγε, scil. ὁ μεθυθείς, μαινόμενος καὶ ὑποκειννηκῶς οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ καὶ θεῶν ἐπιχειρεῖ τε καὶ ἐλπίζει δυνατὸς εἶναι ἄρχειν. V. 9. Voces transposui ob Alcæi Fr. xxiv. μαρμαίρει δὲ μέλας δόμος χαλκῷ. V. 11. Ex ἄγουςι effeci ἄγειν δοκοῦσι.

In hunc quoque censum referri debent et duo illa carmina inter Analect. 11. p. 253=230. sic legenda:

DIONYSII.

- I. Ἄειδε Μοῦσά μοι φίλη, μολπῆς δ' ἐμῆς κατάρχου,
 αὔρα δὲ σῶν ἀπ' ἀλσέων ἑμὰς φρένας δονεῖτω
 Καλλιόπεια σοφά, Μουσῶν προκατήγέτι τεργῶν,
 καὶ σοφὴ μυστοδότα Λατοῦς γόνε, Δήλιε, Παιῶν,
 [νῦν] εὐμενίς
 πάρεστέ μοι.
- II. Εὐφημῶμαι κᾶς αἰθέρ,
 οὖρεα, τέμπεα σιγάτω,
 γῇ καὶ πόντος καὶ πνοιῶν
 ἤχοι φθόγγοι τ' ὀρνίθων
 μέλλει δ', ὥς πάρος, ἡμᾶς βάλλειν 5
 Φοῖβος ἀκερσοκόμας ἀγλαΐαις.
 “χιονοβλαφάρου πάτερ Ἀοῦς,
 ῥοδόεσσαν δὲ ἀντυγα πάλων
 πτανοῖς ὑπὸ ποσσὶν
 χνόας τε διώκεις, 10
 χρυσέαισιν ἀγαλλόμενος κόμαις
 περὶ νῶτον ἀπείριτον οὐρανοῦ
 ἀκτῖνα πολύστροφον ἀμπλέκων
 αἰγλας πολυδερκέα παγὰν 15
 περὶ γαίαν ἀπασαν ἐλίσσων,
 ποταμοὶ δὲ σέθεν πυρὸς ἀμβρότου
 τίκτουςιν ἐπήρατον ἀμέγαν
 σοὶ μὲν χορὸς εὐδῖος ἀστέρων
 κατ' Ὀλυμπὸν ἀνὰ χροεῦσι,
 ἄμοτον μέλος αἰὲν ἀείδων, 20
 γλαυκᾶς δὲ πάροιθε Σελάνας
 Φοιβηΐδι τερπόμενος λύρα,
 χορὸν Ἐσπερος ἀγεμονεύει,
 λευκῶν ὑπὸ σύρμασι μόσχων, 25
 ἀντίστρ. β'.

γάνυται δέ τε οἱ νόος εὐμενῆς
πολυόμματος ἑσμὸν ἐλίσσαν.”

25

Hymnus est in Apollinis jam reducis honorem dictus. V. 3, 4. Vulgo πνοιαὶ ἤχοι. At metrum poscit πνοῖαν ἤχοι. Prætulērīm tamen ἤχος. Opportune Jacobs. citat Thesm. 41. ἐχέτω δὲ πνοᾶς ἡνέμος αἰθήρ. V. 5, 6. Vulgo δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς βαίνειν—ἀχέτας. Verum ἀχέτας, quo nomine appellatur vocalis cicada, vix et ne vix quidem Apollo dici poterat. Reposui igitur ἀγλαταῖς. Neque hic locus est unicus, ubi ἀγλαταῖς corruptūpitur. Nempe in Coluth. 285. legi debet Σήμερον ἀγλαταῖ διακοιρανέουσι προσώπου: necnon in Hec. 648. malim ἀνὴρ | Ἰδὰ κρῖνε τρισσὰς μακάρων | ἀγλαταῖς βούτας: cui respondere poterit Antitheticus — | τὰν καλλίσταν ἄν χρυσοφαῖσι | ἥλιος αὐγάζει. Reposito igitur ἀγλαταῖς, dedi paulo ante βάλλειν vice βαίνειν. Cf. omnino Euripid. Phaëth. Fragm. 1. χθόνα Ἥλιος ἀνίσχων χρυσία βάλλει φλογί. V. 9, 10. Vulgo πτανοῖς ὑπ' ἔχουσι διώκεις. Lacunam ipse supplevi arte qua potui. Meliora fortasse præbet MS. Paris. 3321. unde primus initium carminis supplevit Burette, *Mémoires de l'Académie. des Inscript.* T. v. p. 285. Certe χθόνας in hoc loco aliquatenus tuetur Soph. El. 745. ἄξονος—χθόνας. V. 14. Ita Fell. (in Appendice Arati Oxoniensis) e MS. Hibernico. Vulgo πολυκερδέα. At ecquis non meminit illius Ἥλιος δὲ πάντ' ἐφορᾷ? V. 19. Vulgo ἀνακτα. Dedi ἀναντα, ex aduerso. V. 20. Vulgo ἀνετον. Atqui chorea siderum est εὐτακτος. Reposui ἄμοτον, quod exponit Hesych. ἀπλήρωτον. V. 21, 22. Vulgo β'. α'. legitur quoque γλαυκά—Σελάνα, et mox Ὀριος vice Ἐσπερος. V. 26. Vulgo πολυμίμονα κόσμον. MSS. πολυόμματα. Dedi πολυόμματος ἑσμὸν. De ἑσμὸς, cætus, vid. mea ad Suppl. 215. Per ἑσμὸν πολυόμματος intellige multoculas stellas.

Carmen vero, quod jam tetigi, vix satis bene ad nostram rem accommodatum esse videtur. Minime etenim sermo est de cantibus antistrophicis. Pergo igitur ad duo carmina Dosiadæ, quorum alterum cum hac scriptione quadrat, alterum non. Quoniam vero mendosissimum utrumque opem Criticos præstantiores enixe flagitat, ea prætermittere satius est, donec melior dies proferat aliquid mihi aliisque satisfactorum. Nihil vero impedit, quin hodie exhibeam emendatius, quam vulgo, carmen

HYBRIDÆ.

Ἔστί μοι πλοῦτ-
ος μέγας δόρ-
υ καὶ ξίφος
καλὸν τε λαισ-
ήιον πρό-
βλημα χρωτός.

5

τούτω γὰρ ἀρῶ, τούτω θερῶ,
 τούτω πατίω τὸν Λυδὸν οἶνον
 ἀπ' ἀμπέλφ, τούτω δεσ-
 πότας μολίας κέκτημαι
 τοὶ δὲ μὴ τολμῶντες ἔχειν,
 πάντες ἐς γόνυ πεπτηότες
 ἡμὸν, κυνέοντι δεσπότην καὶ
 μέγαν βασιλῆα φωνέοντι.

10

Hoc conservavit Athen. p. 695. F. unde profecit Eustath. Od. p. 276, 47. V. 2. Ita Athen. at Eustath. μέγα. V. 4. Vulgo καὶ τὸ καλὸν λαισθήιον. At Lyrica rejiciunt articulos. V. 8. Vulgo τὸν αἰδύν. Dedi τὸν Λυδόν. Vinum Lydium fuit pretiosum. V. 10. In μολίας hic oi, et mox in πεπτηότες corrigitur η. Mox vice κέκτημαι dedi κέκτημαι. V. 11. Post ἔχων repetuntur δόρυ καὶ τὸ καλὸν λαισθήιον πρῶτον χρᾶτος. At Eustath. voces duas postremas omittit. Poterat omittere etiam quinque præcedentes. V. 12. Vulgo deest ἐς. Id restituit Hermannus de Metr. p. 338. ed. 1. at in 2da. p. 463. id rejicit, inductus Grotendorfio, qui perperam hæc antistrophica voluit. V. 13. Ita Eustath. et Athen. ἡμοί. Quod ad carminis sensum opportune Jacobs. citat Archiloch. Fragm. 45. 'Εν δορὶ μὲν μοι μάζα μεμαγμένη, ἐν δορὶ δ' οἶνος Ἰσκαρικὸς, πῖνα δ' ἐν δορὶ κεκλιμένος. Probe quoque ad μολίας intelligendum advocat Athen. vi. p. 263. F. τὴν μὲν κοινὴν, φησὶ, δουλείαν οἱ Κρήτες καλοῦσι μναίαν, et p. 267. C. μνῶτας, τοὺς εὐγενεῖς οἰκίτας.

• Venio nunc ad breve Scolion, ita facile ordinandum,

PITTACI.

Ἔχειν δεῖ
 σε τόξον,
 καὶ ἰοδόκον φαρέτραν
 στείχοντ' ἐπὶ φῶτα κακόν·
 πιστὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἢ γλῶσσ
 α δίστομος λαλεῖ τὸ
 διχόθυμον ἔχουσ' ἐν
 κραδίῃσι νόημα.

5

Neque difficilior est via ad veritatem in Scolio

SOLONIS.

Πεφυλαγμένος ἄνδρ' ἕκαστον ὄρα,
 μὴ κρυπτόν ἔχων ἔγχος κραδίας
 παιδρῶ προσσαίνει τι προσ-
 ὤπων, γλῶσσα δὲ οἱ διχό-
 μυθ' ἐκ μελαίνης
 φρενὸς γεγωνῇ.

5

Cum Pittaci sententia conferri debet Epicharmi, ut videtur, dictum apud Plutarch. II. p. 534. A. *Ποτὶ πονηρὸν οὐκ ἄχρηστον ὄπλον ἡ πονηρία*: ita enim MS. Bruzell. pro *ὄπλων*. Ipse vero *δίστομος* exhibui vice *διὰ στόματος* apud Diog. Laërt. I. p. 49. Opportune Jacobsius citat Theognid. 91. *Ὅς δὲ μὴ γλάσση δίχ' ἔχει νόον*. Cætera levia, qualia sunt, ἢ, τὸ, ἐν a me inserta, nihil moror. Inter Solonis verba dedi *προσαίνει τι* vice *προσενέπη*. De verbo *σαίνειν* depravato nuper scripsi ad Eum. 667. Vid. et Blomfield. ad S. c. Th. 379. Quod aliterum illud Pittaci Scolium *Συνετῶν μὲν ἔστιν ἄνδρῶν, πρὶν γενέσθαι τὰ δυσχερῆ, προνοῆσαι, ὅπως μὴ γίνηται, ἀνδρείων δὲ, τὰ γενόμενα εὖ θίσθαι*, manifesto ibi ne vestigia quidem metri latent; utrum vero dici, necne, idem posuit de Scolio Biantis *Ἀστοῖσιν ἄρσκει πᾶσιν, ἐν πόλει αἱ καταμένεις*; *πλείστοι γὰρ ἔχει χάριν αὐθαδῆς διὰ τρόπον, πολλάκι βλαβερὰν ἐξέλαμψεν ἄταν, νix definio*. Certe ibi Scolorum metricam rationem video nullam, quam primus egregie detexit Hermann in Scoliis *περὶ οἰκίας*; quorum omnia probe disposuit in libro de Metr. p. 694. et seqq. ed. 2da.

MISCELLANEA CLASSICA.

No. XIV.—[Continued from No. XLVII. p. 13.]

HERODOTUS, after relating the tragical death of Cleomenes king of Lacedæmon, proceeds to mention the opinions current in the different republics respecting the particular crime, which, in the common Grecian method of accounting for extraordinary calamities, by regarding them as punishments for special acts of enormity, was supposed to have drawn down upon him the anger of the gods: vi. 75. sqq. *Κλεομένης—ἀπῆλθε τὴν Πυθίην ἀνέγνωσε τὰ περὶ Δημάρητον γενόμενα λόγειν ὥς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι μῦθοι λέγουσι, διότι ἐς Ἐλευσίνα ἐσβαλὼν, ἔκτεινε τὸ τέμενος τῶν θεῶν ὥς δὲ Ἀργεῖοι, ὅτι ἐξ ἱεροῦ αὐτῶν τοῦ Ἀργεῖον Ἀργείων τοῦς καταφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης καταγινέων, κατέκοπτε, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἄλσος ἐν ἀλογίᾳ ἔχων ἐνέπρησε:—αὐτοὶ δὲ Σπαρτιῆται φασὶ ἐκ δαιμονίου μὲν οὐδενὸς μανῆναι Κλεομένηα, Σκύθῃσι δὲ ὁμιλήσαντά μιν ἀχρηστοπότην γενέσθαι, καὶ ἐκ τούτου μανῆναι.—*Ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ τίσιν ταύτην ὁ Κλεομένης Δημάρητος ἐκτίσαι. (ed. Schweigh.)—a passage of which Miford has made good use in one of those occasional illustrations of Grecian unmanners, which render his work so interesting and valuable. Was this extract in the eye of Grotius, when he wrote the pas-

sage in his *Annales Belgici*, relative to the death of Philip the Second of Spain, which Gibbon has referred to as "judicious"? After a general view of the character and fortunes of Philip, he proceeds: "*Hæc ferme prudentiorum de eo judicia fuere. Alii, ob partes infensi, suscepta temere bella, perfide gesta, nec minus cruentam pacem per Hispaniam Belgicamque, in idem sævitæ concitas Gallias, pluraque mala publica et domestica, exprobrabant: ipsam exitus fœditatem in argumentum trahentes; innoxias scilicet filii, uxoris Isabella umbras, has patri, has marito poenas irrogare, quomodo olim Herodes (quicum pleraque morum et fortunæ comparabantur) et regina Cyrenæorum Pheretime parricidia luissent: aut hostem vero religionis, omnium qui unquam fuissent acerrimum, Antiochi Illustris et Herodis alterius Cæsarisque Maximini [exemplis sc.], aut tyrannum, Cassandri et Sulle libertatis oppressorum exemplis merito periisse.*"

2. "It is not the tears of our owne eyes only, but of our friends (friends) also, that doe exhaust the current of our sorrowes, which falling into many streames, runne (runnes?) more peaceably, and is contented with a narrower channel. It is an act within the power of charity, to translate a passion out of one breast into another, and to divide a sorrow almost out of it selfe; for an affliction like a dimension may be so divided, as if not indivisible, at least to become insensible." Sir T. Browne's *Religio Medici*, Part II. Sect. 5. (The Latin translation of this characteristic passage, which we happen to have by us, is worth quoting. "*Ad dolorum gurgites exhaustiendos, non nostri tantum, sed etiam amicorum fletus valent. Sic etiam in plures alveos ægritudo dilapsa tranquillius et sedatius fluit, unico et solo flumine rapidius fertur. Charitas animi dolores e pectore in pectus transferre potest, et ita concisim et minutim (minutatum?) discerpere, ut pæne nullibi sentiri queant. Dimensionum enim Mathematicarum modo dividi possunt afflictiones, donec quidem insensibiles sint, utcunque adhuc divisibiles.*")

Thus Casimir, in an ode, which, as it is short, we will extract whole.

Si quæ juvabit dicere saucium,
Permitte, Publi, compositam male
Loqui * cicatricem, et latentes
Parce animo sepelire curas.

* Is this Shakespeare's figure, attributing speech to the lips of a wound?

Secura ferri robora sæpius
 Occultus ignis subruit; et super
 Minora sylvarum caducam
 Traxit onus, nemonumque famam.
 Stravit virentem, quam tonitru levi
 Quondam favillâ lambere gestit.
 Impune. Te longus silendi
 Edit amor, facilesque Luctus
 Hausit medullas; fugerit ocyus,
 Simul negantem visere iusseris
 Aures amicorum, et loquacem
 Questibus evagnarâ iram.
 Olim querendo desinimus queri,
 Ipsoque fletu lacryma perditur;
 Nec fortis æque, si per omnes
 Cura volat residetque ramos.
 Vires amicis perdit in auribus,
 Minorque semper dividitur dolor,
 Per multa permissus vagari
 Pectora; nec rediisse quondam
 Pulus superbit. Vise sodalium
 Costas; et adis sic temere jace
 Infusus herbarum lacertis,
 Ad patrii leve murmur Hallæ.

LIB. III. Od. 5.

3. In quoting a passage from Plato (Misc. Cl. No. xlii: C. J. XLVII: p. 12.) as the original of one in Glover, we omitted to notice another imitation from Homer—remarkable only on account of the romantic beauty of both the passages. That of Glover occurs in the 3rd No. of the Retrospective, p. 132.

Six moons in deep obscurity she dwelt;
 Where, as a sea-nymph underneath a rock,
 Or Indian genie in the cavern'd earth,
 Her cell in conchs and coral she had dress'd,
 By gracious Pamphila supply'd, to cheat
 Time and despair.

Thus Vulcan, in the Iliad, relates the story of his concealment in the sea :

¹ For "voluit" or "cupiit:" this is in the manner of Claudian, and is analogous to his usage of "sudatus" for "elaboratus," &c. Thus Heber, in his Palestine, (a poem of which the diction bears somewhat the same relation to that of Pope as Claudian's to that of Virgil,) improves Pope's line (Iliad xi.) "And every plant that drinks the morning dew" into "And spake of every plant that quaffs the dew."

Τῇσι παρ' εἰνάτεσ; χάλκεον δαίδαλα πολλὰ

 ἐν σπῆϊ γλαφυρῷ· περὶ δὲ ῥόος Ὀλκιστοῖο
 ἀφρῷ μορμύρων ῥίεν ἄσπετος·.....

Σ. 400.

We have always been struck with the truly Homeric power displayed in the latter clause, *περὶ δὲ ῥόος*, κ. τ. λ. Its conciseness,—and how often is this the case with Homer's descriptions!—is unimproveable, and in modern languages almost inimitable.

With these instances, we conclude our series of parallel passages; a consummation, perhaps, devoutly wished by many of our readers. We must be allowed a few words in parting. To be a hunter of coincidences and imitations for their own sake, is trifling, and unworthy of a scholar; and it is very possible, that in this way we may have sometimes erred. Our object, however, in the generality of the instances cited, has been twofold; first, to point out *coincidences* worthy of notice, and which had never before been noticed;—and secondly, to indicate the most remarkable imitations, or plagiarisms, not previously discovered. Neither of these designs, we think, is without its interest. Unintentional resemblances in thought or expression tend to prove the affinity of genius in various and unconnected ages and countries;—the agreement between languages in some respects dissimilar;—and the tendency of human nature to think, and feel, and express itself more or less in one and the same manner. The detection of latent imitations, again, has its use in establishing charges of plagiarism—in proving that writers of one age or country were acquainted with those of another, where such an acquaintance was not suspected—in illustrating the diversity of styles, and the artifices by which later authors endeavour to improve upon the conceptions of their predecessors—with other similar uses, which need not be here enumerated. With the exception of some instances hardly worth transcribing, and of others which (as we have since discovered) had been noticed by former writers, we consider our collection as, in both these respects, not unworthy of the reader's attention, and as such, we commend it to his candor. Should materials occur, we may occasionally resume our parallelisms.

In No. XLVI. p. 204, Note, for “Ad Claudiani Uxorem,” read “Ad Claudiam Uxorem.”—p. 296, in the second metrical line, *τοῖς ἀπὸ χρησμῶν* is not admissible.—p. 297, art. v. in the line from Virgil, for *Chloresque* read *Chloreaque*.—p. 299, in the lines quoted from the Satirist, read

——— so foully fit
For the grand artisan of mischief, *Pitt*.

ADDENDA.

"These mountains," says Mitford, *Hist. Vol. II. p. 151*, note, speaking of those adjoining to Thermopylæ, "according to all travellers, are now woodless. Nor has the destruction been a modern event: it is noticed by Statius, as in his time extensive in the Roman Empire, and especially in Greece:

Nusquam umbræ veteres; minor Othrys, et ardua *silent*
Taygeta; exuti viderunt aëra montes.

Jam natat omne nemus: cæduntur robora classi.

——— Ipsum jam puppibus æquor

Deficit, et totos consumunt carbasa ventos.

Stat. *Achill. 1. v. 426.*"

Statius, however, has no reference to any part of the Roman Empire but Greece; neither is he speaking of the desolated state of the Grecian forests in his own day, but merely describing, in a strain of characteristic hyperbole, the consumption occasioned by an event, long anterior to the period at which Herodotus and Mr. Mitford describe these mountains as covered with trees—the Trojan war. We also recommend to Mr. Mitford the correction of a gross error, one of the very few which occur in his correctly printed work—*silent* for *sidant*.

By way of a concluding bead to our long roll of parallel passages, (as Southey or any other Spanish writer might phrase it) we shall subjoin two instances, one partly classical, the other purely English.

Quandoquidem data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulcris.

Juv. *Sat. x. 146.*

Thus Jeremy Taylor, in his celebrated sermon on the death of the Countess of Carbery—"Every thing finds a grave and a tomb; and the very tomb itself dies by the bigness of its pompousness and luxury."

Conrad of Würzburg, (the poet compared in a former Number to Antimachus of Colophon) as cited by the Edinburgh Review there referred to, "is for ever complaining of the apathy of the great, who had ceased to cultivate poetry themselves, and left it unpatronised in others; yet he indignantly exclaims, 'he cares not for their gifts,—his tongue shall not be silent, since the art itself will reward him;—he will continue his

song like the nightingale,—she who sings for her own sake;—hidden in the woods; her notes assuage her cares, nor does she heed whether any stranger listens to the strain.” Edin. Rev. No. LI. p. 198. Thus in one of Cowper’s hymns :

The calm retreat, the silent shade,
With prayer and praise agree ;
And seem by Thy sweet bounty made
For those that worship Thee.
Thee, if Thy spirit touch the soul,
And grace her mean abode,
Oh, with what joy, and peace, and love,
She communes with her God !
There, like the nightingale, she pours
Her solitary lays ;
Nor asks a witness to her song,
Nor thirsts for human praise.

CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

NUGÆ.

FRAGMENT OF THUCYDIDES.

—Φωνᾶντα συνετοῖσι—

(WE give the following as a specimen of a Ninth Book of Thucydides, which has lately been discovered at a library in Munich. The writing, though in some parts extremely clear, is in others almost illegible; several names of persons, in particular, are lost, which, if preserved, would probably throw some light on certain dark parts of Grecian history. We have not room at present for farther particulars. The fragment before us, as we gather from the context, relates to a contest for the archonship of Logopolis, a colony of orators, as it appears, sent from the different republics of Greece for the purpose of perfecting themselves in that study. We are at a loss to explain, as the Platonic year has not yet revolved, the coincidence between the circumstances recorded in these chapters and others of more modern date; the only solution that occurs to us, is the maxim of the poet, that “the thing which hath been, it is that which shall be.”)

—Τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ —εἶπε. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Νομίδης ὁ Ἀνόμην, Μαντινέως, τοιαῦτα ἔλεγεν

106. “Ὅτι μὲν τῆδε τῇ πόλει μάλιστα πικρῶς ἐκείσθαι, περὶ τοῦ-
του, ὃ Λογοπολίται, οὐκ ἔχω ὃ, τι χρὴ συμβουλεύσαι, ἀπὸ οὐ σκοπδαίων
πραγμάτων ἔμπειρος ἂν· ὡς δὲ τοῦ Λογοπολιτῶν τε αὐτῶν, εἰ δὲ χρὴ
λέγειν, καὶ δὴ καὶ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀγαθοῦ μάλιστα διαφέρει,
ὁποτέραν τῶδε τῷ πράγματι τελευτὴν ἐπιθήσομεν, ἐκ τῶνδε τῷ τεκμη-
ριῶσαι πάρα. πυθάνομαι γὰρ——

(Here the orator appears to have recited his pretended in-
telligence from Scythia, Carthage, Taprobane, and the empire
of the king. This part is scarcely legible.)

—Εἰτ' οὖν Ἀριστοκράτης τῷ δοκεῖ παρανόμως τὸ πρότερον ἄρχει,
εἰτ' αὖ ὁ Φορμίαν τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ ἀδίκως τὰ νῦν ἐπιφέρεισθαι, (τοῦτο
γὰρ ἄδηλον) μήτε τις ἔχθραν του ἢ φιλίαν ἰδίᾳ προτιμήσας, τοῦ δι-
καίου τε καὶ πᾶσιν εὐπροκοῦς ἑαυτὸν ἀποστερείτω, μὴτ' αὖ ὀλιγαρχίας
τις ἢ δῆμου προθυμότερον ἐχόμενος, ὡς δὴ στασιασάρχων θατέρου ἢ τοῦδε
ἢ τοῦ ἐναντίου εἶδους καλῶς ἂν δοκοῦντος προεσταναι, ἀνεπιτηδεύτερόν
τι γινώσκω· ἀλλὰ τοῦ Λογοπολιτῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης
ἀγαθοῦ μεμνημένους, ὅτι μάλιστα ἐπινηφιζέσθω.”

109. “Τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Νομίδης εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ (ὅλον ὄχλος φιλεῖ) πολλῶν
τῷ γέλῳτι, περὶ τοσούτων ὅμως, ἐχρῶντο. ἦν γὰρ ὁ Νομίδης παντάπασι
τοιοῦτος· καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐν τῇ Λογοπολιτῶν ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ'
Ἀμφικτυσίῳ οὐχ ὅσον ὕστερον πυλαγορῶν, περὶ κοινῆς Ἑλλήνων
σωτηρίας βουλευομένοις, ἅτοπα πολλὰ τινὰ καὶ ἀνεπιτηδεῖα συμβου-
λεύσαι λέγεται, γέλῳτος χάριν· ὥστε καὶ Μωμίδην ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων
ἐπικαλεῖσθαι. διὰ δὲ τοιοῦτό τι ὑπονοεῖται καὶ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τὰς μὲν
πρώτας οὐκ ἀπενεγκεῖν, τὰς δὲ ἴσας, τοῦ ἄθλου τότε πρῶτον διχοτομη-
θέντος. ξυνισταμένου γὰρ τοῦ ἀγῶνος, ἵππων δὲ ἐν δρόμῳ ὄντων, δεινὸν
τινα αὐτῶν καὶ ἀκορεστὸν γέλῳτα θείᾳ τύχῃ ἔμπεσεῖν, ὥστε καὶ μικροῦ
θεῖν ἐξ ἄρματος ἐκβληθῆναι· τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλανοδίκας, τέρας τοῦτο ἡγουμέ-
νους, ἀπ·.....

.....
——μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον·....., ...μολπιδης ἀπ' Ἀθ·...ων, ἔλαγε τοιαῦτα·

121. “Τὴν μὲν ἀντιστασιωτῶν μακρολογίαν, ὃ Λογοπολίται, οὐχ
οὕτω μέμφομαι· περὶ γὰρ τοσούτων, ἀρχῆς, καὶ δόξης, καὶ ἐναντιαντιμα-
ρίας ἀγωνιζομένους, ἀφρόνῳ λόγῳ χρῆσθαι καὶ οὐχ ὅσον ἐπεσταλμένα,
πολλὴ ξυγγνώμη. τὸ μέντοι πρᾶγμα, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ νῦν ξύνεσμεν—κ.τ.λ.”

We omit the speech of the Eumolpid, together with those of
several other Boeotian and Athenian orators, containing a curious
picture of the state of Greece in the 92nd Olympiad. This
portion of the book concludes in the usual manner:

“Τοιαῦτα μὲν περὶ τε τῆς Φορμίανος ἀρχῆς, καὶ τῆς Ἀριστοκράτου
ξυνωμοτῶν ἀναστάσεως ἐγένετο· καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα, καὶ δευτέρῳ
καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε, ὃν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψε.”

(From the many grammatical inaccuracies in this Fragment, the transcriber appears to have been an illiterate person.)

ON THE QUANTITY OF CEDRINUS.

The writer of the Life of Thomas Warton, in the London Magazine for August, (No. xx. p. 126,) mentions the fact of Warton having, in some Latin verses, made the penultima of "cedrinæ" short, which he is inclined to consider as an error in quantity. This is a mistake: *cedrinus* is derived immediately from the Greek; and adjectives in *ινος*, expressive of the materials of which any thing is made, have the penultima short. So Homer, of an apartment in the palace of Ulysses—*Κέδρινον, ὑφ' ἄροφον, δὲ γλήνεα πολλὰ περ ἄνθει*. We should not have thought this error worth correcting, were it not that the writer of the article is obviously a scholar.—We were struck with the happiness of the following image, illustrative of the style of Warton's lyrical pieces: "Though his diction is rugged, it is like the cup in Pindar, which Telamon stretches out to Alcides, χρυσῷ πεφρικυῖαν, *rough with gold*, and embost with curious imagery."

SPECIMENS OF THE BATHOS IN VIRGIL.

Virgil has been the object of eulogy among critics for the last two millenniums; as the poet, *κατ' ἐξοχὴν*, of good taste; and yet there are some passages in his poems which, to modern perceptions at least, appear to be signal instances of the figure above mentioned. We shall not quote the description of the storm in the first Georgic, as it has been already commented on by greater hair-splitters than themselves; and perhaps the simile of the two Centaurs descending the mountain, (*Æn.* vii. 676,)

— dat euntibus ingens

Sylva locum, et magno cedunt virgulta fragore— may be considered rather as a juxtaposition of two different but equally striking effects, than as a climax ascending from one to the other—though we remember a school-boy being censured for imitating it. But what shall we say to—

Nascetur pulchra Trojanus origine Cæsar,

Imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris;

Julius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo. *Æn.* i. 286.

On the following, which is something like a repetition of the above:

En hujus, nate, auspiciis illa inclyta Roma

Imperium terris, animos æquabit Olympo,
Septemque una sibi muro circumdabit arces. VI. 782.

To a Roman, probably, the effect of the latter bathos would be lessened, if not entirely removed; and indeed the idea of a capital comprehending, as it were, seven cities in one, is magnificent enough, and might have stood excellently well by itself, without the injudicious addition. This last line reminds us of another of Virgil's faults—the repetition of a favorite line or lines, in connexion with a subject very different from that to which it was at first applied. (Georg. II. 535.) Such repetitions produce an effect injurious to the poet. The reader naturally reverts to the former topic—compares it with the latter—and can discover no connexion between the two, except the poet's wish to ingraft on both his *pet* image or expression. Not only is the latter passage, by this means, deprived of all appearance of a natural effusion (to use a hackneyed term), but the original passage itself, on recollection or re-perusal, loses some of its effect. We all admire the magnificent line with which, in the spirit of Lucan, Virgil concludes the proœmium of his epic:

Tantæ molis erat Romanam condere gentem!

and yet, had the same verse recurred in any subsequent part of the *Æneid*, half its beauty would be forfeited. It is as if an act of favor, conferred specially on one friend, and thence the more valuable, were to be made common to many. Nor is this effect lessened by the comparative rarity of such repetitions, which gives them an appearance of art and choice:—they do not occur, like those of Homer,¹ in the course of things; we see that poet has in his stores a certain number, and only a certain number, of *very good things*, and that he watches his time to exhibit them. We are reminded of Ephraim Jenkins's learned discussion on the cosmogony; or of the artifice by which the people of Egesta deluded the Athenian ambassadors into an opinion of their immense riches; *ἰδίᾳ ξενίσσεις ποιοῦμενοι τῶν τριηριτῶν, τὰ τε ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἐγέστης ἐκπώματα καὶ χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ συλλέξαντες, καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἐγγυὲς πόλεων—αἰτησάμενοι, ἐσέφερον ἐς τὰς ἐστιᾶσεις, ὡς οἰκίᾳ ἑαστοί, καὶ πάντων ὡς ἐπιτοπὸν τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρωμένων, μεγάλην τὴν ἐκπληξιν—Ἀθηναίους παρδείχει.* (Thuc. vi. 46.) Whether our readers, and especially the peculiar admirers of Virgil, (of whom we were once among the most de-

¹ Homer repeats himself without end; but Homer can afford to do so. His repetitions are like Milton's imitations: we have implicit confidence in the boundless invention of the one poet, and the perfect originality of the other; and we allow them to take their own way.

voted) will acquiesce in these remarks, we cannot tell—Mais revenons-nous à nos moutons. There is a species of indirect bathos of which Virgil is occasionally guilty—the applying a line, or a couple of lines, to a trivial subject, and afterwards, with the requisite variations, to an important one. Thus in *Æn.* x. enumerating the Italian forces of *Æneas*,

Non ego te, Ligurum ductor fortissimus bello,

Transierim, Cinyra, et paucis comitate Cupavo. l. 185.

It is impossible not to recollect the corresponding lines in the catalogue of the different species of grapes, *Georg.* 11. 101.

Non ego te, Dis et mensis accepta secundis,

Transierim, Rhodia, et tumidis bumaste racemis.

Another example occurs in one of the most pathetic passages of the *Æneid*, the narrative of the death of Priam. The passage begins,

Forsitan et, Priami fuerint quæ sata, requiras. *Æn.* 11. 506.

Who does not perceive that this line is modelled on *Georg.* 11. 288?

Forsitan et, scrobibus quæ sint fastigia, quæras.

But we are weary of this trifling, and we fear our readers are weary of it too.

ERRORS IN THE ORTHOGRAPHY OF CLASSICAL NAMES.

Without referring to such unusual anomalies as “*Elysia’s* dews,” “*Castalius’s* spring,” and Mr. Pylades Galt’s etymological interpretation of *Lacedæmonia* (*Laconia*) “the country of devils,” there are several more common and less noticed errors in the orthography of Greek and Latin words, arising from various sources. *Delphos* (a form not yet obsolete) is alluded to in Bentley’s dissertation;¹ perhaps this originated in the frequency of Greek terminations in *os*. *Traxene* for *Traxen*, and *Mycene* for *Mycenæ*, may have been produced in a similar manner. *Alcestè* for *Alcestis*, is rather referable to the French *Alceste*. *Tusculum*, for *Tusculanum*, or the Tusculan villa of Cicero, is common. We have retained the Homeric forms of many early Greek names, and with propriety; but in the names

¹ *Æneidos*, which the Doctor mentions as an archaism, occurs as late as Charles II.

“Down go the *Iliads*, down goes the *Æneides*.”—Anon. Poem: where the old form *Iliads* is also observable. *Odysseus*, or *Odyseus*, was afterwards improved into *Odyssey*, which Mr. Mitford (on his system) would further improve into *Odysee*.

of the republican times, and in some barbarian ones, the Ionic dialect of Herodotus has betrayed us into a few errors, hardly worth correcting; as Timegenides (Herod. ix. 38, 86.) in Mitford for Timagenidas, a Bœotian name; Timoxeinus, in Mitford also (Herod. viii. 128) for Timoxenus; Ardyès for Ardyas (as Pactyas and Marsyas); perhaps also Gygas and Candaulas (as Pheraulas).

MISQUOTATIONS.

Errors in proverbial, and other trite quotations, are more numerous than is generally supposed. Numbers employ, on every fitting occasion, the pithy phrase "Ex uno disce omnes," without in the least suspecting that they have committed the double sin of misquotation and misinterpretation. The words occur in the prelude to Æneas's tale of Sinon, Æn. ii. 65.

Accipe nunc Danaum insidias, et crimine ab uno
Disce omnes :

sc. Danaos. The separation of the latter clause from its context has altered the immediate meaning of the passage; but the substitution of *ex* for *ab* has totally changed its purport.—That Sir Walter Scott should have fathered upon the same poet the half-line, "Maximus quæ docuit Atlas," (Æn. i. 741, see notes to the Lay,) or that his *alter idem*, the author of Waverley, should have put into the mouth of his Highland chieftain the words, "Moritur, et dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos," is not at all wonderful; as the good people of Scotland are notoriously deficient in metrical knowledge—witness, among others, the *Latin authors* in Blackwood's Magazine. The latter misquotation, however, is not peculiar to Scotland. Read,

Sternitur infelix alieno vulnere, cœlumque
Aspicit, et dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos. Æn. 781.

Our excellent and ingenious friends of the Retrospective Review (No. vii. p. 131, note) speak of an individual

Multorum mores hominum qui vidit, et urbes :

—a very good verse, but not Horace's. A writer in the London Magazine, on the other hand, has marred all metre by converting "Sed nunc non erat his locus," (Hor. Art. Poet. 19) into "Non tunc erat illis locus." (Lond. Mag. No. xxi. p. 472). Mr. Bland, in the notes to his Anthology, has committed a worse error, in substituting for the well-known sentiment, "Heu, quanto minus est cum aliis versari, quam tui meminisse!" the tame "Melius est tui meminisse, quam cum aliis versari;"

a transformation to which we *could* produce a parallel—but we will not.—John Wesley, in Southey's biography, (Vol. II. p. 63) quotes, as from Juvenal

————— Sensus communis in illa
Fortuna rarus:

—a transposition originating in the same cause as that above quoted from the Retrospective Review—the convertibility of the metre. We might also remark upon some prevalent mistranslations of common quotations, as of the line of Horace “Nul-
lius addictus jurare in verba magistri,” which appears to be under-
stood as signifying “not *addicted to swear to* (or *assent im-*
plicitly to) *the words* (dogmas, ipse dixit) of any teacher;” an
interpretation which agrees with Horace's meaning, but not
with his words, which it misrepresents in two places. Many a
heretic in classics, again, (to use the phrase of a periodical
writer) translates Calvin's “horribile decretum,” “horrible de-
cree;” we are not quite sure that the Bishop of Winchester
himself is not included in the number. But our recollection
does not supply us with sufficient materials for a treatise on this
subject.

To the misquotations above cited, add, from a late Number
of the Morning Chronicle, “Jucunda atque idonea discere
vitæ.”

SPECIMENS OF BOMBAST.

Lycophron thus versifies a well-known proverb:

ἔγνω δ' ὁ τλήμων σὺν κακῷ μαθὼν ἔπος,
ὥς πολλὰ χεῖλες καὶ δεπαστραίων ποτῶν
μέσῳ κυλινδεῖ μοῖρα παμμήτωρ βροτοῖς. p. 34. Meurs.

Valerius Flaccus somewhere panegyrises a skilful butcher,

————— quo non præstantior alter
Pinguia letifera perfringere colla securi.

Thus Claudian improves upon Homer and Virgil:

Non, mihi centenis resonent si vocibus ora,
Multifidusque ruat centum per pectora Phæbus,
Acta Probi narrare queam. De Cons. Prob. et Olyb. 56.

After these, our modern specimens may perhaps pall upon
the appetite.

————— the bulky chief o'erturns,
And Heaven, with heel of quick elation, spurns.
Brooke's Constantia.

In the same, a perplexed monarch summons a council.
 The sage, the bearded pillars of his state
 He calls, and privily unfolds his fate.
 We have more to produce—but we must here refrain.

BOINTOS.

ADDENDA.

Grecisms in English Writers.

Not all the oyntments brought from Delos isle;
 Nor from the confines of seaven-headed Nile;
 Nor that brought whence Phœnicians have abodes—
 W. Browne's Pastorals, Retrospect. No. iii. p. 156.

So in Southey's Roderick :

————— all day long
 Among the hills they travelled silently,
 Till when the stars were setting, at *what* hour
 The breath of heaven is coldest, they descried
 Within a lonely grove the appointed fire, &c.

Jeremy Taylor speaks of being "confined *into* a prison." This writer also makes frequent transitions from the singular to the plural, somewhat after the manner of the Greeks—an idiom visible also in the Old Testament. In the original poetry of Dryden many classical idioms, as well as allusions, occur; a peculiarity owing to his habit of translation from the classics. This propensity would perhaps have been more fully developed in his projected epic. There is a line in the Absalom and Achitophel which sounds like a literal translation from the Latin :

————— snatch'd in early time
 By *unequal* fates, and Providence's crime :
 a line otherwise remarkable for the Miltonian elision (an instance of which occurs also in Cowley's Davideis) and for the irreverence of the expression, which is less visible in a Latin garb—
 Cœlicolûm culpa, fatisque ereptus iniquis.

Since the paragraph on Misquotations was written, we have noticed another variation of the Virgilian proverb—Ab uno disce omnia.

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PUERILIA.

NO. II.

Babyloniados Fragmentum.

Ἔστι μαλ' ἀσπέτου ἄγχι πόλεως εὐρεῖα κολωνή,
 Ἐψηλή, χεῖρεςσι τετυγμένη· ἐνθα δὲ Μῆδοι
 Εἶατο βουλεύοντες, ὅπως πόλεως ἐπιβαῖεν.
 Αὐτίκα δὴ Κύρος προσέφη σκοπὸν, ἐγγὺς ἔοντα·
 Ἐρχεο νῦν, ὄφρα γνοίης νόον, ὅτιν' ἔχουσι
 Δῆιοι· ἢ φυλάκεσσι πεποιθότες, ἀλκῇ θ' αὐτῶν,
 Ῥώαται, ἥε καθεύδουσιν θαλιῇ ἐνὶ πολλῇ
 Οἰνοβαρεύοντες, τείχεσσι τε λαϊνέοισι
 Ῥύσθαι χαλκείησι τ' ἐπιτραπέουσι πύλῃσιν,¹
 Αὐτῶς ἀκλειεῖς· τὰ δὲ πάντα μοι, ὅσ' ἐμόγησα,
 Ξύμβηκε· ῥέα μὲν στρατὸν ὤλεσα, ῥεῖα δὲ χωρεῖς
 Ἐκπερσ', ἄλλη δὲ στρέψα ῥόον Εὐφρήταο.
 Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη Χαλδαῖος ἀμύμων·
 Καὶ τὰ μαλ' ἀσπετα σοι τελέσω, οὐχ εἵνεκα δῶρων,
 Ἀλλὰ κασιγνήτου θυμάρους, ὃν τέ με φημι,
 Γῆραϊ περ, ποθέειν²· σὺν γὰρ μάλα πάντα πέπρηκτο
 Ἡμῖν, οὐδέ τι νηπιέης χρόνω εἰν ἐρατεινῇς
 Σκιδνάμεθ', οὐδ' ἡβῆς ἐρικυδέος, ἀλλὰ μαλ' αἰεὶ
 Ἀλλήλοισιν ἐτέρφθημεν· τὰ δὲ πάντ' ἀνέκερσε
 Χαλδαίων βασιλεύς· τὸν μὲν κτάνεν οἰνοβαρεύων,
 Αὐτὰρ ἐμ' ἐν δεσμοῖσι κατέσχετο· νῦν δὲ μόγις σε
 Εἰσέφυγον τῷ μοι θανέειν φίλον, ὅποτε πρῶτον
 Αἶμα ῥέον βλέψαιμι Ναβαναδίου βασιλῆος.
 Τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα μένος Κύρου βασιλῆος·
 Μή μοι ταῦτ' ἀγόμευε, φίλος, φρεσὶν· αἶ γὰρ ἐγὼ σε
 Ὀλβου τε, πλοῦτου τε, καὶ ἡμετέροιο δόμοιο
 Μοῖραν ἔχοντα ἴδοιμι· τὸ μὴ θάνατόν μοι ἐνίσπε.

P. W.

¹ From Il. K. 420.πολύκλητοι ἱππικαυροί.
 Εὐδουσιν· Τρωσὶν γὰρ ἐπιτραπέουσιν φυλάσσουσιν.² For ποθέειν.

ORIENTAL LITERATURE.

IN our last Number, under the head of "Oriental Literature," (p. 181.) we gave some account of three publications, the works of Major Stewart, Professor of Eastern Languages at the East India College, near Hertford, reserving for the present Number a brief notice of his "Introduction to the Anvari Soohly of Hussein Vaiz Kashify." This work, published early in the present year, (1821) is a quarto volume, very handsomely printed by Bulmer, containing above 112 pages, of which 32 are wholly in the Persian character, being the text of the seventh chapter of Hussein Vaiz's celebrated Anvari Soohly. Six pages are devoted to the Arabic text of the corresponding section in the "Kalila Dumna," which we must consider as a valuable addition, that work being rare, and above one thousand years old. Of the Persian text Major Stewart gives a translation as literal as is necessary for the student, and consistent with the correctness or elegance of our language, and he has added tables and an analysis of the Arabic words. In his preface our ingenious translator remarks, that, with the exception of the Sacred Scriptures, no book has perhaps undergone so many versions as the Kalila Dumna, or Pilpay's Fables: "it exists," says he, "in all the known languages of the world, but is now universally acknowledged to have been originally written in Sanscrit, and is named *Puncha Tantra*." Early in the sixth century it appears to have been translated from the Sanscrit into Pehlevy, or ancient Persian, and in the eighth century, from Pehlevy into Arabic, by Abd Allah Ibn Almokuffa, a Persian who had become a convert to the Mohammedan religion. From the Arabic it was next translated into Persian by Abu al Maoly Nasir Allah, and from his version the celebrated scholar Hussein Vaiz Kashify composed the work entitled *Anvari Soohly*, or the "Light of Canopus," containing, besides a very flowery and beautiful preface, fourteen chapters, each inculcating some moral lesson or system of politics. Hussein Vaiz flourished in the fifteenth century. The seventh book or section, which Professor Stewart has here selected for the use of his pupils, treats "on circumspection and deliberation, and on the means of effecting an escape from the machinations of enemies, by stratagem." In the last number of our Journal we strongly recommended to students of the Arabic and Persian languages,

this fourth and latest work of the Professor; yet, as we have just heard with surprise, a writer under the signature of *Gulchin* has published in the *Asiatic Journal* for September or October last, a criticism on Professor Stewart's translation, presenting at the same time his own; but in what degree he is qualified to censure or correct others, will best appear on reference to an article published in the *Asiatic Journal* of this month, (November) where an Orientalist, who assumes the title of *Musnif*, undertakes to prove that in the small space of ten lines, as translated by Gulchin, there are no less than eighteen errors; at which rate his version of the whole chapter would furnish many hundreds.

We shall next proceed to notice the "Rudiments of Bengali Grammar," published in August of the present year, (1821) by another ingenious member of the East India College, near Hertford; Graves Chamney Haughton, M. A. Professor of Sanscrit and Bengali. This work is comprised in a quarto volume of nearly 200 pages, beautifully printed; and on the authority of two or three acquaintances, whom a long residence in Bengal, diligent study, and colloquial practice of the language, have rendered competent judges, we venture to affirm, that Mr. Haughton has executed his task with considerable skill; and the importance of this Grammatical Treatise will be fully manifest, when we consider, (in the words of our author's preface) "that the Bengali is the vernacular dialect of five and twenty millions of British subjects, of whom, perhaps, not above a fourth part is able to speak any other language."

In a future number of this Journal we shall call our readers' attention to the "Specimen Catalogi Codicum Mss. Orientalium Bibliothecæ Academiæ Lugduno-Batavæ," of which, though published in December of the last year, (1820) a copy has only reached us three or four days ago; and we shall therefore content ourselves on the present occasion, with mentioning, that it is the work of Mr. Hamaker, Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Leyden, where the volume, containing above 270 pages, quarto, was printed. However short the space of time that this work has been in our possession, we are enabled to pronounce it a rich treasure of Eastern Literature—the title above quoted has sufficiently explained the nature of its subject. In this "Specimen" the learned Professor has examined and described twelve of the precious works selected from the numerous Eastern Manuscripts preserved at Leyden. Those twelve Arabic. The titles and copious extracts are given in the same language, and faithfully translated. Biographical notices

of the authors, and a multiplicity of historical, geographical, philological, and critical illustrations, evince how admirably Mr. Hamaker is qualified for the great task which he has undertaken. "Si vita viresque supersint, totum aliquando Codicum Orientalium Catalogum, pari exornatum cura atque expolitum, tibi tradere decrevi," &c. (p. vi.) We learn from the preface, (p. vii.) that under the auspices of Professor Hamaker, a young and highly accomplished Orientalist, one of his pupils, named Uylenbroek, proposed to publish in the year 1821, a description of the province of Irak Agemi, or Parthia, derived from Eastern authors. We shall close this article with the mention of a letter lately received from one of our correspondents in Bengal, who informs us, that a very curious work on the religion and superstitions of those extraordinary Indian sects, called Jeynes and Boodhists, may shortly be expected from the pen of Colonel William Francklin, who has devoted particular research to the subject of serpent worship, which appears to have prevailed in most regions of the world: also to cavern and temple worship. Colonel Francklin has long been known and deservedly esteemed as the ingenious author of "Travels in Persia," the "History of Shah Aulum," and an "Essay on the Plain of Troy." He has also composed a "Dissertation on the ancient city of Palibothra," and other interesting works.

OBSERVATIONS

*On some Remarks in the last No. of the MUSEUM
CRITICUM.*

I **NEE** leave to offer, through the medium of your publication, a few cursory observations on an article headed *E. H. Barker O. T. N.*, which graces the last Number of that recently resuscitated work, the *Museum Criticum*, and which, from its dictatorial and arrogant tone, evidently emanates from a junta, in their own opinion at least, *præclarorum hominum ac primorum signiferumque*. Its

want of modesty, however, though its leading, is not its worst feature. The temper and the feelings, in which it originated, may be clearly deduced from the opening paragraph; which, in itself, independently of the circumstance that this periodical is under the direction of a *preux chevalier* of criticism, (not to hazard the conjecture that the article in question proceeded from him,) is far more illiberal and ungentlemanly than any thing, which has been laid to the charge of "Messrs. Burges and Barker."

That it may lose none of its force, I quote it at length:— "Our attention has been called to the following passage of a popular and entertaining work, called 'Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk:' the author speaking of the Literature of Edinburgh, says, 'Mr. D—, the Professor of Greek, has published several little things in the *Cambridge Classical Researches*, and is certainly very much above the common run of scholars.' Vol. I. p. 168. What 'the common run of scholars' at Edinburgh may be, we know not; but what Mr. D— is, the world has had some opportunity of learning, from a work, which he calls a continuation of *Dalzel's Collectanea Græca*. Our only wish is to contradict most positively the assertion, that he has ever been a contributor, small or great, to this publication. How such a strange mistake originated, we cannot form the least conjecture."

Would any one have expected that so trifling an error in Peter's Letters, of which there can be no doubt Professor Dunbar is wholly innocent, should be seized with such avidity for the unworthy purpose of being rendered subservient to an unhandsome reflection on the work of a contemporary scholar, and this too by men, who appeal to "the uniform tenor of their writings and their lives" in proof of their gentlemanly character? Having occasionally observed this gentleman's name in the *Classical Journal*, I can readily believe that this circumstance alone would be amply sufficient to provoke the above-cited splenetic effusion. It is scarcely credible that only a single page should intervene before we arrive at professions and protestations, such as the following:—"From all asperity of criticism, and indeed from the censure of contemporaries we have abstained altogether, as not calculated to advance the real purpose of the undertaking. If in any instance we have inadvertently suffered a sentence or a word to escape us, which could give uneasiness to any one, we feel sincere regret. To oppose or

discourage the writings of other scholars has been directly the reverse of our intention!!" If this amiable and inoffensive tone be not the mere *picta tectoria lingua*, we shall doubtless find in the succeeding Number a suitable apology to Professor Dunbar, for this wanton and unprovoked attack.

Leaving to Mr. Barker the explication of the mysterious initials O. T. N., and to this writer the undisturbed enjoyment of his vapid joke upon the subject, I proceed to notice an assertion equally hasty and positive, and equally unwarranted, with many, that occur in the few pages devoted to this subject in the *Mus. Crit.* Mr. Barker having been introduced as the author of that "extraordinary" Pamphlet, (a very convenient and ambiguous epithet,) entitled *Aristarchus Anti-Blomfieldianus*, it is remarked:—"But with the bitterness of his wrath, for which he cannot find a semblance of provocation, we have no wish to meddle." That Mr. Barker has found, not indeed "the semblance," but many real causes, of provocation, I am convinced will be readily admitted by all, who have given his book an attentive and unbiassed perusal; and in favor of this opinion a strong presumption may be derived from the confessedly unprecedented circumstance of an elaborate reply having immediately appeared in the *Quarterly Review*, expressly in vindication of the person, against whom the *Aristarchus* was directed. It may perhaps be a subject of regret to those, who are disposed to regard Mr. Barker's indefatigable exertions in the cause of literature with the favor and consideration, which they so eminently deserve, that his answer should not have been framed with that attention to politeness and refinement, which characterise the compositions of more designing writers; who thus evade all charges of personal animosity and uncharitable motives, by appealing to their mild and gentlemanly and polished phrases. The facts, however, which Mr. Barker has stated remain unrefuted, and he has merely spared his readers the trouble of affixing the terms of reprobation.

An "extraordinary" exemplification of the figure termed *Anacoluthon* occurs in the course of this brilliant apostrophe to Mr. Barker and the *Aristarchus*. We are first told that the extracts given in the Reviews, "have been sufficient to satisfy the world respecting the taste, the feeling, and the scholarship of *Aristarchus*, and have at once succeeded in procuring him a notoriety, which he had been so many years la-

bering to achieve in vain." Then comes the finishing stroke to this tirade, as follows:—"And as it concerns the interests of society, that slanders should not be vented with impunity, we have thought fit to hold up these personages for one moment to the public view, and then dismiss them into their natural *obscurity* for ever." Now, if the Reviews have already succeeded in procuring Mr. Barker a "*notoriety*," I cannot see on what grounds these gentlemen can be entitled to the merit of introducing him to the public; unless that Mr. Barker's previous "*notoriety*," being infinitely small compared with that, which the notice of so celebrated a publication as the *Mus. Crit.* will undoubtedly procure him, may be neglected in the calculation. But a difficulty still remains. By what magic spells is so "*notorious*" a character to become thus suddenly evanescent, and be lost for ever to the public view? This is truly a *ignis fatuus*.

The slanders alluded to are specified as "charges against us, (that is, against the whole body corporate of contributors to the *Mus. Crit.*) of wilful plagiarism, of bad faith, and of malignity towards contemporaries." These charges, if I am not mistaken, have been alleged against one individual alone, who, by his insufferable superciliousness, has become deservedly obnoxious to scholars both at home, and abroad: καὶ δεινὰς ῥήμασι δαίμων, Κούδεις ἀνδρῶν, ἰδίδασκεν: and of whom it may with truth be said,

ἐντὶ γὰρ πικρὸς,
καὶ οἱ αὖθις δριμύτι χολῇ περὶ βινὶ κάθηται.

The charge of plagiarism preferred against C. J. B. by Mr. G. Burges, was founded on coincidences equally striking with those, which induced the former to bring forward a similar allegation against Stanley; the only difference in the two cases being this, that C. J. B. is alive to publish his vindication in the pages of the *Mus. Crit.*, while poor Stanley, εἰς ἀνάγκην δαιμόνων ἀφιγμένος, is effectually precluded from uttering a syllable in refutation of his accuser, and therefore "must submit to his fate." (Vide *Mus. Crit.* No. VII. p. 497.) C. J. B.'s logic with respect to his attack upon Stanley, is perfectly applicable, *mutatis musandis*, to Mr. G. Burges:—"The literary property of numerous emendations is a question not unworthy of investigation; and, if it turn out that they do in fact belong to Porson, or Burges,

or Butler, or Dobree, and *not* to C. J. B., no blame can fairly attach to the person, who proves it."

The accusation against Mr. Barker and other writers in the *Classical Journal*, of a continued course "of insolence and detraction" towards the conductors of the *Mus. Crit.*, may gain credence with those, who are content to receive assertion for argument. A sufficient refutation of this charge, which is not now urged for the first time, has already appeared in the 46th Number of that work. As a constant reader of the *Journal*, in none of its contributors have I detected any symptoms of the spirit attributed to them by this *genus irritabile*; and least of all in Mr. Barker, against whom the fire of this tremendous battery is principally directed. In the strictures, which he took the liberty of offering to the public on Dr. Blomfield and Professor Monk's Editions, his objections were stated in an uniformly temperate and candid style, equally removed from hypercritical censoriousness, and degrading adulation. That a scholar of Mr. Barker's profound erudition and extensive research should discover omissions and inaccuracies in the writings of one, who confesses that "he has lived for several years in an obscure Country-Parish, at a considerable distance from any Library, and with a very imperfect collection of critical works;" and again, that "for the last ten years he has only been able to look into critical works by fits and starts, as he could find a spare half-hour," (*Mus. Crit.* No. vii. p. 505-6.) cannot be regarded as greatly surprising. The mysterious part of the case is, on what grounds a writer, who pleads these manifold disadvantages, is to be considered *infallible*, or on what principle of justice and propriety Mr. Barker is to be denounced as a detractor and a slanderer, for supplying his defects and correcting his errors, or still farther, why the *Classical Journal*, one department of which publication avowedly consists of "Criticisms on new Editions of the Classics," should not be the medium for conveying these animadversions to the public?

To conclude. The information sifted from the principal University Bookseller, and detailed with such exultation, respecting the sale of the *Classical Journal*, is clearly decisive of that character for decorum and gentlemanly feeling, which these writers so exclusively arrogate to themselves. It is in itself too contemptible to deserve any comments; and therefore, with many apologies to your

readers "for having devoted even a single page to such unworthy subjects," I subscribe myself,

ΦΙΛΑΛΗΘΗΣ.

AMERICAN PRIZES.

It has been observed that the progress of arms and arts has been from East to West. From Chaldaea, Egypt and Palestine it proceeded to Greece, then to Italy. France stood for a time on the pinnacle of military and literary fame, and has been lately rivalled by this country. How soon the American world may succeed to those high distinctions, we must leave to the course of events, and to the records of future history. Certain it is that North America has within these few years risen high in military exertions by sea and land. Whatever jealousy may exist in this country on account of those symptoms of greatness in arms, we must all rejoice at the attempts made by the Americans to deserve some credit in art and science. We hail with pleasure the improvements making in their colleges in classical knowledge, in the *litera humaniores*. One of our Correspondents in America has sent us two publications, containing prize compositions in prose and verse, in Latin and English, by the youths of New England, educated at Boston Public School. What adds to the credit of both masters and pupils is, that, as we understand, the latter are not so old as those, who leave our Public Schools for the University.

We shall produce a specimen of their Latin Poetry; and take the liberty of adding a few hints for the improvement of their style, which we shall record with pleasure on some future occasion.

PROSERPINA RAPTA.

AUCTORE BENJAMINE BRIGHAM.

"Quo fugis, ah! miseram, demens Proserpina, matrem?
Heu! nunquamne licet te rursus visere? nunquam

Maternis dabitur natam complectier ulnis ? Te magno frustra clamavi pressa dolore :	
Te frustra repetens, lustravi devia montis :	5
Claris te facibus cæcæ per tempora noctis, Te, dum saxa volant ruptis e faucibus Ætnæ, Nunquam cessavi dilectam quærere raptam ! O utinam liceat mihi te, carissima, rursus Aspicere his oculis, visuque levare dolorem !"—	10
Fudenti passis has crinibus ore querelas, Fulgens in summa Cyanes jam cernitur unda Zona, auro late distincta, et splendida gemmis ; Qua solita est olim semper Proserpina cingi, Cum campis Siculis, magna stipante caterva, Floribus implebat calathos, gremiove ferebat,	15
Aut variis ibat sertis ornata capillos. Nescia quid timeat, " Ditem nunc," inquit, " adibo, Acciderit proli si quis mihi casus amatae"—	
Plura locuturæ vox nunc pervenit ad aures, " Diva Ceres, o siste gradum, te cuncta docebo"—	20
Hisque Arethusa Deam compellat vocibus ultro : " Diva Ceres, lætis oneras quæ frugibus arva, Cinctaque per campos incedis tempora spicis, Nunc habitat Stygii Proserpina regna tyranni,	25
Atque parat vinco mox se sociare jugali. Connubiis aliquam voluit sibi jungere Pluto Jamdudum ; at sprevit cornubia quæque Dearum ; Nam visu horrendus, sed mente ferocior extat. Jam Rex Tartareus subitas impulsus in iras, Quadrijugo vehitur curru, medioque furore In campis subito florentibus adstitit Ennæ ; Inter Sicantias ibat quo tempore Nymphas Narcissum virgo croceum Proserpina carpens.	
Ut stetit hic, Cereris defixit lumina natæ ; Cumque diu spissis sese Deus abdidit umbris, Irruit, et frustra clamantem viribus aufert. Ingenti mugit tellus percussa tridenti, Nec mora quin dextra lævaque dehiscere cœpit :	35
Tum rapta gaudens Pluto descendit ad umbras.	40
At resonat magnis pulsus plangoribus æther, Et fugiunt Nymphæ pavidis terroribus actæ."	
Sic effata Arethusa, Ceres sed protinus alma His dictis Divum spatiosa ad limina tendit, Et sic alloquitur Superumque hominumque parentem :	45
" O Pater omnipotens, jam supplicis annue votis : Te facilem præbe, miseramque ulciscere matrem ! Oro te, liceat, si quid pia numina prosint, Plutoni sceleris meritas expendere pœnas,	

Qui mihi per facinus raptuit sub Tartara natam ;	50
Et jubeas miseræ salvam nunc reddere matri."—	
Hæc ubi dicta, sinum lacrymis implevit obortis ;	
Sed contra Cererem alloquitur mox Jupiter almam :	
" Cara Ceres, tandem nimium depone dolorem,	
Atque illas vultu lacrymas absterge decoro.	55
Tu descende Erebi ad sedes, noctemque profundam,	
Tartareumque jube regem tibi reddere natam :	
Illi iterum liceat vesci vitalibus auris !"	
Non invita Ceres patris præcepta facessit,	
Tartareas intrat sedes; Ditique propinquat.	60
" Huc venio mandata ferens tibi regis Olympi,	
Qui natam voluit mecum conscendere terras :	
Imperat hoc fieri Divum pater atque hominum rex."—	
Jam superas Cereris soboles venisset ad auras,	
Ni forte Ascalaphus funesto prodidit ore,	65
Decerpta ex ramis, fatalia pondera, mala !	
Nam poterat terras conscendere, dummodo nullas	
Contigerit dapes virgo Plutonis in umbris.	
Spes reditus miseræ matri jam deficit omnis :	
" Ah ! iterum," dixit, " fletus effundere cogor,	70
Sed frustra ; magnum regem jam denique adibo !"	
Adstitit ante pedes patris, supplexque dolores	
Narrat, et auxilium precibus votisque precatur.	
Non sinit ire preces incassum Jupiter æquus :	
" In terris, aliquot vivat Proserpina menses,"	75
Inquit, " et infernis totidem sub sedibus Orci."	

We wish to suggest to the young candidates for poetical fame, that a verse should not begin with a spondee closing the sense, as in No. 1. p. 41.—*Savis ? Fundis ?*

A short final vowel should not be followed by a word beginning with *sc*, *sp*, *sq*, *st*, as No. 1. p. 45.—*Astræ stateram*—No. 2. p. 41.—*tempora spicis* ; 44. *semina spargens—glaciale strinxit*.

The enclitic should follow the first word of a clause ; hence we would propose a correction in No. 2. p. 44. On this subject we beg to refer to the *Classical Journal*, Vol. 1x, p. 589.

In English Poetry it is scarcely necessary to guard the young writers against defective rhymes ; of which we observe several instances.

ON THE ELEAN INSCRIPTION.

IN one of your late numbers, I perceive that a correspondent has given another interpretation of my Olympian inscription, miscalled, as I now understand, the Elean. It may perhaps give some satisfaction to your readers to know its history, and that it was found at Olympia by a Greek, to whom I had given a commission to enquire for such treasures among the peasants and laborers of Antilalla. One of these, after a flood, found several articles of bronze, a helmet, a cauldron, and some inscribed plates. The former were brought to me, and the latter, supposed to be useless, as exhibiting characters which nobody could read, were left behind to be sold to a brazier. I dispatched a messenger immediately to the spot, who traced the bronzes up the valley of the Alpheius, to the shop of the brazier at Karitëna. The other pieces, which the owner would not believe could interest me, were described as broken and corroded, but they were inscribed, and may remain there yet, as I had not the means of sending again. On my return to England I endeavoured, in vain, to persuade several gentlemen to undertake an excavation at Olympia, where doubtless an invaluable treasure has been preserved by the deposit of the rivers Cladeus and Alpheius, and I had secured the friendship of the Agas of Lalla, who were then the independent lords of the country. The scheme was treated as visionary, and even my inscription, except with a few, was for some time in danger of passing for a forgery. In the mean time the revolution has put an end to all future hopes of discovery; for if the Greeks triumph, no government of theirs would ever permit an excavation by the Franks.—I shall conclude by expressing my astonishment that it has never occurred to any of the interpreters of this inscription, to look at any common map of the Peloponnesus for the state or city which was most likely to have entered into a treaty with Elis. They would surely have found that the assistance of the *ETFAOIOI* would have been of as little consequence to the Eleans as that of the Hivites, while they must have seen that the very next city on the bank of the river was Heræa, to the ruins of which the bronze returned in the hands of the brazier of Karitëna. They might then have been induced to look at the original, an impression of which I have now before me, where they would have found their *T* to have been

a P, leaning it is true to the right, but exactly like the second letter in line 4, and forming, with its adjuncts, the word *EPFAOIOIΣ*. This is so like the "Heræans," particularly when the digamma is pronounced in the English fashion, that I have never been able to account for the necessity of hunting up into existence an obscure and distant village in order to create a fresh difficulty. Possibly some learned doctor will discover that there is no instance of the *F* in such a situation; but these fancies, which may pass in regard to printed books, are contradicted by inscriptions every day, and this would not be the only word in the present inscription which appears in a new shape, should such an objection be offered.

Naples, Nov. 20, 1821.

WILLIAM GELL.

*On the confessed Plagiarisms and convicted Falsehoods
of CHARLES JAMES BLOMFIELD, by GEORGE
BURGES.*

AFTER the lapse of more than five years from the publication of the 6th, the 7th Number of the "Museum Criticum, or Cambridge Classical Researches," has at length appeared. *Parturiunt montes; nascetur—ridiculus mus*: which the Reviewer, in that Journal, of Bland's Anthology, would perhaps thus translate,

The mountains groan with more than usual throes;
When, (laughter all,) a mouse pops out its nose.

It were well, however, for the character of the author of the article facetiously headed, "Supposed Plagiarisms. Mr. George Burges," (as if, truly, G. B. were the supposed plagiarist) should C. J. B., the confessed plagiarist, excite no worse feelings than that of contempt for his talents in penning the weakest defence, that ever disgraced a hopeless cause; where, to bolster up a falling reputation, recourse has been had to deliberate falsehoods.

The charge of plagiarism, acknowledged in some instances, and effectually disproved in two alone, is nothing when compared with that now boldly thrown in the teeth of C. J. B., and to which I dare him to reply, if he can. Nor let him deceive himself, with more success than he can deceive others, by his threatened silence. It is true that, like Friar Bacon's brazen head, he has spoken once, to speak no more; yet speak again he shall, unless he is willing to have it said of him, that *debilitatus atque abjectus conscientia convictus conticuit*.

To those who are not conversant with the facts, it will be necessary, and to those who are, amusing, to read a recapitulation of the points alleged against the unfortunate culprit.

Be it known, then, that, on various occasions, I kindly cautioned C. J. B. against the indulgence of the habit, to which he was terribly addicted, of plagiarism. But finding all gentle and delicate admonitions useless, I deemed it necessary to expose at full length a portion of his numerous pilferings. And as the offender had, on every possible occasion, expressed his abhorrence of similar iniquity, in words equally strong, applied either to the living or the dead, I felt I was only following his own steps by adopting similar language towards himself. It seems, however, that C. J. B. *ἄλλων ἰατρὸς, αὐτὸς ἔλκεσιν βρώων*, a quack to others, though himself one sore, has, like some maniacs, seen in the person of his best, though severest physician, his deadliest enemy. For to an aberration only of intellect, can one in charity attribute the egregious folly of compromising his character for at least a common share of veracity.

Before entering on his defence of particular instances of plagiarisms, C. J. B. thus expresses himself: "Where plagiarism is laid to the charge of a scholar, the only thing he can do is, to deny the accusation; and if the number or nature of the instances alleged be such as to preponderate against his assertion, he must submit to his fate. I wish to premise, that where I am compelled to have recourse to simple asseveration, I make it upon the honor and good faith of a scholar and gentleman; and, having done so, its reception must be such as my readers think fit to give it."

Although an objection might fairly be taken to the justice of that course of defence, which relies upon a flat denial, as the only means of repelling an accusation, supported by

circumstantial evidence of an unexceptionable nature, yet, unwilling to press C. J. B. too hard, I will give him the benefit of his own rule, and consent that the whole question shall turn upon the quantity of credence due to his naked assertions. But unfortunately this boasted pledge of honor and good faith will not stand the test of a strict scrutiny; and C. J. B. must be content to find in the sink of dishonor

In the lowest deep a lower deep.

In one of the counts of the indictment, C. J. B. is accused of putting forth as his own, in the *Mus. Crit.*, No. II. p. 189, an emendation of Eurip. *Iph. A.* 1242, which I had long before published in my Appendix to the *Troades*, p. 129. To this C. J. B. replies, "I am not ashamed to meet this charge by stating the real fact. But I am afraid I shall not mend matters by confessing, that I had never read the Appendix. I never could get beyond the two first pages of it, as the present state of my copy, unviolated by the paper-knife, sufficiently testifies."

What the real fact is, which C. J. B. is not ashamed to state, unless it be the confession of wilful plagiarism, I leave to his ingenuity to explain; although, I fear, *eum ingenium propter vim sceleris manifesti atque deprehensi deficit.*

Is, then, C. J. B. so greedy of disgrace, that, to the confessed guilt of plagiarism, he will gratuitously heap upon himself the ignominy of falsehood? And does he really so soon forget his own writings, in his hot haste to transcribe those of others? or, carried away by his love of sneers, is he so little studious of truth as not to know, that, while he thus professes even his present ignorance of the contents of my Appendix beyond the 2d page, he has actually quoted that very Appendix beyond that luckless 2d page, twice in his notes on the *S. c. Th.* p. 187. and 188. ed. 1. and once in the *Edinburgh Rev.* No. XLII. p. 337?

Had C. J. B. been but moderately read in Euripides, he could never have exposed himself to the application of a bitter sarcasm, in thus appealing to his paper-knife for the truth of his assertions. But, accustomed as he is to use editions like those of the present occupier of Barnes's professorial chair, it is no wonder that he found not the words of the Tragedian, and, unassisted by the published or Mss. notes of others, caught not the sentiment so

forcibly depicted in the sneer of Theseus, who, to the exultatory language of Hippolytus,

*Would that the walls could speak, that they might tell,
For well they know, if I have baseness shown,*

replies,

*Εἰς τοὺς ἀφώνους μάρτυρας φέγγεις σοφῶς!
Τὸ δ' ἔργον εἰδὼν λέγον σε μὴνύει κακόν.*

Wisely thou fleest to tongueless witnesses;
The deed, too plainly speaking, proves thee base.

With such a proof of a total disregard to veracity, C. J. B. may pledge his honor upon any point he pleases, without gaining the least credence, except from his coadjutor, who, deceived by the evidence of the uncut copy, has, in the Quarterly Rev. No. XLVIII. valorously stepped forward the witless knight of plagiarists in distress.

But to the last-named *Theban* a separate article will be devoted; unless, like Bentley in the controversy about *Æsop's Fables*, *hostem acriorem profligare contentus, ab impari prælio recedam indignabundus*.

To return then to C. J. B.

He next asserts that, "previously to October, 1810, the date of the publication of his first edition of the *Prometheus*, he never saw one of the Porson papers."

Now in the preface to that very edition C. J. B. states that he not only saw, but actually extracted from the Porson papers whatever related to *Æschylus*. His words are:—

"In notis quædam sunt e Porsoni manu, cujus schedas ex hæredibus ejus redemptas Collegium nostrum mihi excutiendas concessit; ut, si quid in illis repertum esset ad Æschylum pertinens, id omne ad hanc editionem locupletandam et augendam decerpere."—"Et ne diutius aliquis, quam vellet, notis immoretur, dum Porsoni observationes quærît, has omnes—literis R. P. distinxi."

That these very *schedæ* are one and the same with the Porson papers, is put beyond all doubt by an inspection of the Porsoni *Adversaria*, p. 149-153, where are found all the notes marked R. P. in the edition of C. J. B.

With what face, then, dares C. J. B. say, that he never saw one of the Porson papers till after the publication of his *Prometheus*?

But, perhaps, he means that, as the notes of Porson

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on the Tragedians were mostly written on the margins of various editions, he might have extracted the notes on Æschylus, without having so much as seen those notes on other authors, which he is accused of pilfering.

If such be his meaning, mark how a plain tale shall set him down.

At Prom. 1051. C. J. B. thus writes, "Menander apud Alexandr. inter Rhetoras ab Aldo editos. 1508. i. p. 578. indicatus a Porsono."

Now this reference does not occur in any of the notes of Porson, extracted from the editions lent to, and used by, C. J. B., and therefore could not be obtained from the papers relating to Æschylus only; but it does occur in its proper place amongst the papers (p. 293.) relating to Menander, which he states he never saw.

I said further, that the whole of the Porson papers were put into the hands of C. J. B. This is sufficiently proved by the words in the title-page of Porson's *Adversaria*, which, "*ex schedis manuscriptis Porsoni—deprompserunt et ordinarunt*, J. H. Monk. C. J. Blomfield," yet, as C. J. B. says, he saw only a part of these papers, I will then answer this assertion, when I shall understand distinctly what part he did see.

The third instance of falsehood, and that too of so unfortunate a nature as to convict the Plagiarist out of his own mouth, even at the very moment when he is hoping to escape detection, is in his answer to the charge of purloining at Prom. 376. in Gloss. either from D'Orville's Chariton, p. 416, or Porson's *Adversaria*, p. 39, a quotation from Pausanias; "*for which*," says he, "*I was indebted to Gronovius, Obs. 11. 11, to whom I refer.*"

Now will it be believed that C. J. B., in that note, *does not*, but that Porson *does*, refer to Gronovius in the very passage, from which C. J. B. is charged with purloining, but which he says he never saw?

Had he been wisely silent on this reference to Gronovius, he might have obtained credence from those, who are unwilling to think that any *scholar and gentleman* would deliberately say the thing that is not.

Should C. J. B. here, as elsewhere, appeal to his third edition of the *Prometheus*, as containing the reference in question, to such an appeal justice must stop its ears. The charges were founded on the first and second editions,

and by them alone can they be disproved. All he can at present do, is to piteously cry,

Ἄρ' οὐχ ὑπ' ἑλλων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐμοῖς πτεροῖς Ἀλισκόμεσθα.

*No rival's hand hath struck the blow,
But mine own arm hath laid me low.*

I have now produced three distinct and incontrovertible proofs of the falsehoods of C. J. B., any one of which would weigh down with shame a man of ordinary feelings. But C. J. B. has too lofty a mind to yield to vulgar prejudices about the value of truth; and, therefore, not only infringes its laws openly, but even delights in falsehoods by implication. Of this an egregious instance may be found in the answer to the charge of pilfering the remarks on *Νεοβούλη* in Prom. 470, from the notes of Hemsterhuis on Hesych. v. Ἐργαίς; where C. J. B. states that, "in point of fact, he has referred in the Glossary to the Commentators on Hesychius." I reply that, in the first edition of the Prometheus, *no such reference is made at all*; and in the second, although the reference be made, in the delusive words, "adjice Interpretes ad Hesych.," it is made without any mention of Hemsterhuis, and in such a way as to conceal the extent of the obligation to the learned Tiberius.

To this class of falsehoods by insinuation I must attribute some observations of C. J. B. on my supposed plagiarisms.

He says, "In v. 26. of the Supplices Mr. Burges ingeniously reads *χθονίας*; but does not mention that Pearson had proposed *χθονίους*."

Had C. J. B. turned to the notes, he must have seen that I have mentioned *χθονίους*, as the reading of that unknown scholar, whose emendations, preserved in various copies of Æschylus, are attributed to Auratus, Casaubon, and Pearson. Further, had he deigned to read all the notes of that Editor, whom he finds fault with, he would have found at v. 858. the reasons why I preferred *χθονίους*, the reading which I am accused of neglecting to notice.

From this constant inattention of C. J. B. to the notes of a scholar, whom he in vain attempts to prove as careless as himself, C. J. B. has stumbled upon another falsehood by implication, when he states that, in the discussion about the elision of *ι* in the dative singular, I was not aware that Elmsley had been anticipated by Lobeck. For had he con-

sulted the Addenda, he would have found that I there referred to Lobeck, and that I advisedly used the expression; "Litem primus composuit Elmsleius." Since Elmsley was the first to settle the dispute, which Lobeck first raised, by correcting most of the passages hostile to the supposed law of metrical language. Conversant as I may be supposed to be with Elmsley's articles in the *Classical Journal*, No. xvi. p. 428, I could scarce have been ignorant that Lobeck had discussed the question. Had I turned to Lobeck sooner, I should have discovered to whom C. J. B., in the *Quarterly Review*, No. xviii. p. 360, was indebted for the exception to Elmsley's canon.

Again, it is hinted that, at Suppl. 46, I have been a plagiarist on Jacobs' notes on the *Antholog. Palat.* p. 967. But if I believed that the epigram, which I there corrected, was first given in the *Classical Journal*, I could not have known that the same correction had been made before by another scholar elsewhere.

Further, it is insinuated that on Suppl. 191. I stole *εἰς* from Sophianus. But when the authorities, on which the emendation rests, are given by me and not by Sophianus, it may be fairly supposed that, without his aid, I might have made the correction; especially as my stock of conjectures is known to be rather abundant than otherwise.

Another futile attempt is made by C. J. B. to hook me into the number of Plagiarists; not because I have neglected to name the author, from whom I am supposed to have pilfered, but because the name has been actually given. Such an instance of the misapplication of the word plagiarism, of the meaning of which C. J. B. seems to be ignorant, although very conversant with the thing itself, is too facetious to be omitted.

At Suppl. 20. I have printed *τί' ἂν οὖν χάραν εὐφρονα μᾶλλον τῆσδ' ἀφικομένα*, instead of *τίνα γοῦν*, and added this note. "Sermonis Græci ratio *ἂν* omissum non sinit. Mecum facit Aristoph. Av. 127. *ποῖαν τῇ οὖν ἥδιστ' ἀν οἰκοῖτ' ἂν πόλιν*. Et Bl. (i. e. C. J. B.) ad S. c. Th. 731. (read 701.) *τί' ἂν οὖν*." On which C. J. B. thus annotates:—

"This is a curious instance of that strict observance of the *sum cuique*, upon which Mr. Burges so clamorously insists. It is an old backneyed trick with critics of a certain description to propose an emendation as their own, and then to add, as it were by the way, that another scholar, who had

proposed it long before, *coincides* with them." That C. J. B. does not belong to the description of Critics thus sneered at, is evident from the fact of his neglecting to mention even the names of those, with whom he *coincides* so completely, as to pass off their emendations as his own. To what description, however, he does belong, may be collected from the *Classical Journal*, No. xv. p. 205, (a work, by the bye, which C. J. B. *professes* to be little acquainted with) where Elmsley's sentiments are thus expressed: "Gilbert Wakefield, after displaying his own sagacity through half a page, frequently ends by informing the reader that he has just discovered the same correction in some other book, which an ordinary editor would think it his duty to consult, before he began to arrange his notes for the press."

It seems, therefore, that C. J. B. not only steals emendations, but even adopts the language of others without acknowledgment: although in the present case, as in all others, he is unfortunate in his selections. For had he looked into the *Classical Journal*, No. III. p. 802, he would have found my objection to this verse thus recorded. "Sermonis Græci ratio postulat vel τίνα γ' ἂν ἀφικόμεθα vel τίνα ποῖ ἀφικόμεθα: vide Dawes, p. 207." Nor was it, until informed by Elmsley on Med. 1834, that γε, except in particular cases, could not follow an interrogative particle, that I felt disposed to adopt another reading. With what justice, then, C. J. B. can charge me with plagiarism, when I not only mention the author of the emendation, but give a reason for the change, which he has not given, and support both the change and emendation by a parallel passage, not quoted by him, I really am at a loss to discover.

Nor is this the only instance where C. J. B. exhibits his ignorance of the meaning of plagiarism, by accusing me of purloining at Suppl. 680. his notes on Pers. 674, merely because I have, as well as he, quoted Hesychius and Photius; as if these Lexicons were sealed books, accessible to C. J. B. alone. To show, however, the different manner in which a real and a pretended scholar handle Greek Lexicons, he has compared my note on Suppl. 920. with his own on Agam. 652. and with a view, no doubt, of proclaiming his knowledge of metre and syntax, he thus quotes, as mere prose, the following words of an unknown author *apud* Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 153. (et Suid. v. Βαυρό-

λημα) καὶ ὅπως ἔχη τι βουκόλημα τῆς λύπης ἀνέθηκε τοῖς τοίχοις ποι-
κίλας γραφὰς ζώων, ignorant all the while that Tyrwhitt (p. 40.)
had long since there detected a fragment of that very Ba-
brias, *the restitution of whose verses*, C. J. B. says, *is such plain*
sailing, that it is scarcely possible for any person, tolerably skilled
in iambic metre, to avoid the emendations suggested. In his
reprint of the Agamemnon C. J. B. will, doubtless, read
with me at Suppl. 920. *Χῶπως ἔχοι τι βουκόλημα τῆς λύπης,*
Ἐνέθηκε τοίχοις ποικίλας γραφὰς ζώων, in compliance with
Dawes' canon, which here requires ἔχοι on account of
ἐνέθηκε.¹

¹ Although subjects of merely a critical nature are here out of place, I
must still produce another instance of C. J. B.'s ignorance of the metre and
language of the Poets of Greece.

In the Mus. Crit. vi. p. 267. he has thus edited a fragment of Sto-
sichorus :

Ἄγε Μῶσα λυγία
ἔρπον δοιδῆς ἐρατῶν
ἔμους Σαμίων περὶ παιδῶν ἐρατῇ
φθεγγόμενα λύρα·

and although Gaisford in Hephæst. p. 310. had long since properly arranged
the verses thus,

Ἄγε Μοῦσα λυγί᾽ ἔρπον δοιδῆς ἐρατῶν ἔμους
Σαμίων περὶ παιδῶν ἐρατῇ φθεγγόμενα λύρα·

and Heyne had corrected Ἐρατῶ, νόμους, yet C. J. B. saw neither the beauty
of the arrangement nor certainty of the emendation, but went blundering on
with his ἐρατῶς ἔμους, as I gently hinted at Suppl. 874, where I thus printed
the fragment, as it ought to be read :

Ἄγε Μοῦσα λυγί᾽ ἔρπον δοιδῆς, Ἐρατῶ, νόμους,
Σαμίων περὶ παιδῶν ἐρατῶν φθεγγόμενα λύρα·

although I neglected to give all the support I might have done, by stating
that, when the Poet was about to sing the song of love, Erato was the only
muse proper to be invoked. I might have, moreover, quoted and corrected
the words of Alcman; by reading, instead of Καλλιόπα, whose presence ill
suits with words of love and strains of joy, and merry mazy dance,

Μῶσ' ἄγε, καλλιπαὶ δ' ὀύγατερ Διὸς,
ἔρχ' ἐρατῶν ἐπέων, ἐπὶ τ' ἱμερον
ἔμουν καὶ χαρίεστα τίθει χαρὴν.

I might have also quoted and corrected Sapph. Fragm. xvii. by reading

Ἄγε δὴ μοι χάλυς λυγία, φωνέσσέ τε γίνου,

and confirming the emendation by the Homeric Νῦν ἄγε δὴ μοι μοῦσα, and by
another fragment of Alcman, Δεῦρ' ἄγε, Μῶσα λυγί᾽, ἀπαλὰς μέλος | ἔρχε
νεοχμὸν παρθένους ἀεῖδεν· | καίνισεν ἀγνὰ, γὰς πύργον, Θεράπνας | thus emended
by the assistance of Meineke in Cnr. Crit. p. 29, who has with great inge-
nuity united the words of Priscian p. 546. Schol. Hermog. p. 400. Erotian.
v. Νεοχμῶς, et Etymol. p. 589. to which Kidd ad Dawes, p. 300, adds Schol.

Equally unfortunate is the endeavour of C. J. B. to make me, at Suppl. 62, a plagiarist on Elmsley, to whom all the credit of the emendation is given in the *Addenda*; as the exact reference probably escaped me while writing my notes in their *regular series*.

The last instance of plagiarism attributed to myself is in my note on Suppl. 63, where I am supposed to have stolen the reference to Babrias from the note of C. J. B. on Agam. 1113. But as my reading had lately led me to Babrias, for the purpose of detecting the plagiarisms of C. J. B., I might have met with the passage, without being indebted for its indication to another individual.

Having thus overwhelmed me by the mighty enumeration of six instances of my supposed plagiarism, C. J. B. gives vent to his feelings of mortified vanity by penning a sentence, in which all the force of the sneer is lost in the weakness of the reasoning.

"If I am not prepared with a longer list of instances from the writings of Mr. Burges, it is owing, in part, to the slight acquaintance which I have contracted with that gentleman's critical labors; and in part to the peculiar turn of mind, which has led him to make the generality of his emendations of such a cast, that they are not likely to have been anticipated by any former, or to be borrowed by any future critic."

If C. J. B. be not conversant with my writings, his opinion of the character of my emendations generally is worth nothing; but if his opinion be worth any thing, his assertion that he is not conversant with my writings is false.

To mortify, however, that spirit of envy, which has led C. J. B. thus to depreciate the generality of my emendations, I have amused myself with drawing up a list of more than 70 of my corrections, which have been confirmed by Mss. and anticipated by preceding or borrowed by succeeding critics, or simultaneously made by those, of whom I can-

Ven. IA. N. 588. Ἀλκμαν, Μῦσα Διὸς θυγάτηρ—λίγ' ἀέλομαι: and Welcker subjoins Priscian. p. 1328, and Harpocrat. v. Θεράπναι—Τόπος ἐστὶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι Θεράπναι, οὗ μνημονεύει καὶ Ἀλκμάν ἐν πρώτῃ; but as none of these scholars understood that the hymn of Alcman was written upon the rebuilding of the temple of the Dioscuri at Therapnæ, they did not see the right reading hidden in Priscian's words, καὶ νῦν ἀγνῶς εὐπύργῳ θεραπναίνας. With ἀγνῶ I understand Ἐλένα, who was the foundress of that shrine. As to the idea that a syllable can be shortened before μν in the same word, when C. J. B. shall produce satisfactory examples on this point, I shall be ready to give up my opinion respecting his ignorance of metre.

not by the most distant suspicion be accused of being the Plagiarist, except in the instances marked by an obelus.

Emendations by G. B.

Confirmed wholly or partially by

Of Eurip. Ion.	297.	at	Tro.	122	Schæfer in Præf. ad Anacreont. p. ix.
— Iph. A.	1141.	—	—	167	R. P. ad Dawes. Præf. p. vi. ed.
— Suppl.	532.	—	—	390	Kidd. Elmsley in Q. R. 14. p. 458.
— Tro.	—	—	—	407	J. Pierson in Not. Mss.
— Ion.	549.	—	—	494	Porson, Advers. p. 235.
— Helen.	1488.	—	—	498	Schæfer, Meletem. Crit. p. 56.
— Tro.	—	—	—	552	Seager in Cl. Jl. No. xl. p. 280.
— Æschyl. Agam.	879.	—	—	627	279.
— Soph. Cœd. T.	72.	—	—	664	J. Pierson in Not. Mss.
— Eurip. Tro.	—	—	—	727	Blomfield seems to approve.
— — — — —	—	—	—	784	V. D. apud Gaisford. ad Hephæst. in
— — — — —	—	—	—	791	Addendis.
— Æsch. Eum.	862.	—	—	950	Ms. Florentino—Voss.
— Eurip. Tro.	—	—	—	1001	Porson, Advers. p. 264.
— — — — —	141.	459.	931	791	Ms. Florentino—Voss. J. Pierson.
— Bacch.	310.	in Præf. Tro. p.	vi	950	in Not. Mss.
— Soph. Antig.	964.	—	xii	950	Butler in his edition.
— El.	723.	—	xxii	1001	Schæfer, Meletem. Crit. p. 132.
— Eurip. Orest.	67.	—	xxv	931	Seidler in his edition.
— — — — —	409.	in Append. Tro. p.	129	—	J. Pierson in Not. Mss.
— Iph. T.	240.	—	130	—	† Erfurdt in his edition.
— Heracl.	608.	—	137	—	Passovius in Hermann's edition.
— Aristoph. Lysistr.	1038.	—	161	—	Markland in Not. Mss.
— Eurip. Electr.	1221.	—	171	—	Markland in Not. Mss.
— Soph. Cœd. C.	504.	—	180	—	Seidler in his edition.
— Aristoph. Eq.	416.	—	194	—	Elmsley in his edition.
— Eurip. Phœn.	713. πολλῶν	—	—	—	Bentley in Cl. Jl. No. xxvii. p. 146.
— — — — —	1647. τὴν δίκην	—	—	—	† Gaisford in his edition.
— — — — —	1738. ἀμφιβαμύλους	—	—	—	Schæfer in his edition.
— Prom.	49.	in C. J. N. 1. p.	30	—	Blomfield praises in Edinb. Rev. No.
— — — — —	86.	—	31	—	xl. p. 337.
— — — — —	140.	—	—	—	Ms. Harl. 6300.
— — — — —	681.	—	—	—	J. Pierson in Not. Mss.
— — — — —	710.	—	—	—	Elmsley, in Cl. Jl. No. xv. p. 214.
— — — — —	933.	—	—	—	Blomfield in his edition.
— Philoct.	156. N. 2. p.	332	—	—	Elmsley, ad Bacch. 508.
— — — — —	367.	—	334	—	Blomfield approves and edits.
— — — — —	736.	—	337	—	Elmsley in Ed. Rev. No. xxxiii. p. 237.
— — — — —	895.	—	338	—	Blomfield calls ingenious.
— — — — —	896.	—	339	—	Elmsley in Ed. Rev. No. xxxiii. p. 241.
— — — — —	1250.	—	341	—	† Erfurdt in his edition.
— — — — —	1461.	—	343	—	† Bothe in his edition.
— Euripid. Philoct. Fragm.	—	—	346	—	Seidler ad Iph. T. 762.
— Eurip. Cretens. Fragm. N. 9. p.	197	—	200	—	Schæfer in his edition.
— — — — —	—	—	—	—	Valckenaer in Not. Mss.
— Aristoph. Acharn.	645.	10. p.	77	—	† Bothe in his edition.
— Eurip. Heracl.	14.	14. p.	304	—	† Bothe in his edition.

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true, that I once thought every scholar would, untainted by envy, cheerfully acknowledge the rising reputation of C. J. B. But is it my fault, if he has compelled me to blush for praises too early bestowed and too forcibly expressed, by willfully sinking from the pedestal, on which his young honors had placed him, to his present stool, the mark for scorn to point its finger at?

3. C. J. B. asserts, that at no time has he given me any cause of offence, either by word or deed.

With the exception of his note on Agam. 214, I remember no instance where he has directly mentioned my name in terms of disrespect; yet I could not miss the indirect sneer aimed at me in the Edinburgh Rev. No. XXXIV. p. 382. and in the Quarterly Rev. No. XVIII. p. 351.

It is true that the first allusion has been, and the second may be still, disavowed by C. J. B. When this is done, it will still be in my power to tell him, that *inest in nobis is animus, ut non modo nullius audaciæ cedamus, verum etiam ut improbos ultro lacessamus*. In the mean while, I shall doubt this disavowal of C. J. B. For though I may mistake in pinning one part of his sneers upon Seidler, *non constat* that I am equally wrong in taking the other part to myself.

4. During the whole of this contest, it has been my studious aim to prevent the introduction of a third party, fearful lest the due course of justice be perverted by interested feelings. Not so C. J. B., who has expressed his mortification at the difference of my conduct towards him and others, twice for my neglecting to accuse Elmsley of apparent plagiarism, and once for my insensibility to a sneer of Elmsley against myself.

The object which C. J. B. has thus had in view, does equal credit to his ingenuity and ingenuousness, in vainly hoping, and meanly attempting, to escape the vigilance of his pursuer, by calling off, when he finds himself hard pressed, my attention to other game newly started, or else to make a breach between those, whom he fancies to be more nearly united than is convenient for his purpose. Before my feelings could have permitted me thus to disgrace myself, by introducing into a literary contest all the mean spirit of party, I would have buried myself in the obscurity of a country parish, in hourly penance for the wrong thus done to the cause *Literarum Humaniorum*, by my inhuman attempt to embitter the sweets of social intercourse.

5. When C. J. B. is accused of making a needless display of learning, in quoting, from voluminous and, by him, unread authors, fragments of the tragedians, already to be found in their proper place in the edition of each poet respectively, he turns round with wonderful agility, and applies to me the old *Tu quoque*.

Although the power of that figure of speech has been justly questioned, as incapable of fairly answering a charge, yet he shall have the advantage of it, however small. But let him bear in mind, that in the instances adduced against myself, the case is widely different. For, in quoting fragments of various authors, I am led, by peculiar circumstances, to give, or not, the reference at full length. For example, in the case of Bacchylides, as Brunck quotes only from Grotius' Stobæus, I have thought proper to quote also the page of Gesner. Of the two fragments of Æschylus, in one I have referred to the Scholia on Aristophanes, because the fragment is wanting in Stanley; and in the other I have quoted Stobæus and Plutarch, to show that both alluded to the same passage, differently exhibited. In the fragments of Euripides, however, I am seldom found, like C. J. B., making a ridiculous display of apparently extensive reading, to excite the astonishment of the unlearned; and until he proves me guilty on this point, I shall treat his *Tu quoque* with the contempt it merits.

The two last observations, which demand a distinct notice, are those, where C. J. B., in one place, describes me as *a person who has been seeking to raise himself into notice by calumniating the fair fame of others*, and, in another, where, under the expiring agony of wounded vanity, he thus finishes his piteous defence, by confessing, *that he is not insensible of the disgrace of having been forced to descend into the arena with such an adversary as myself, and that the mortification which he experiences, of being compelled to appear in the character of my antagonist, is such as may satisfy even my spirit of malevolence*.

Although I must needs reprobate the impudence of C. J. B. in thus talking about men seeking to raise themselves into notice by calumniating the fair fame of others, as if he did not rise first into notice by his abuse of Butler, in the *Edinburgh Rev.*, yet I will express my satisfaction at finding that he can still feel the disgrace of being held up to general scorn as a paltry plagiarist. For my spirit of malevolence, I deem it needless to say one word of extenuation,

so long as the object of that malevolence is C. J. B., whose literary fame, if it be henceforth deemed fair, will prove the Æthiop's skin not black, and that *καὶ δίκαια καὶ πάντα πάντων στίγεται*. That in spite, however, of this alleged malevolence, I am still able to gain a fair reputation amongst scholars, may be seen by the preface of Kidd to the Miscellaneous Criticisms of Porson, p. LXXXIV. of Dobree to the Porsoni Aristophanica, p. v. and of Elmsley to Eurip. Bacch. p. 10. ; to which I might add even the testimony of C. J. B. himself in my favor, expressed in a letter of his, written subsequently to, and in consequence of, my appearance as his antagonist.

I have now touched upon all preliminary matters. It remains for me to discuss, one by one, the points of C. J. B.'s defence of each individual charge, and to state where he has been successful or not in repelling the accusation.

The charges, detailed at length, were,

1. That C. J. B. had purloined three emendations from the Porson papers, published by C. J. B. himself.

In his defence, C. J. B. asserts that he did not see these papers previous to the publication of his Prometheus. This assertion has been disproved above.

2. That C. J. B. found the clue to another emendation in the Porson papers published by Dobree.

He, in answer, *pledges his honor* that he never consulted those papers.

As the naked assertions of C. J. B. will not pass, so neither can his pledge of honor be accepted.

If I had said that the verse of Euripides in question was to be found in Porson's note on Aristoph. Eccl. 625, the answer that the verse is not there would have been decisive. But when I now add, what I ought not to have then forgotten, that the identical emendation of Iph. T. 1302, is to be found in Porson's note on Vesp. 349., he must defend himself from the charge of plagiarism by something more than his pledge of honor, the value of which is now fully known.

3. The plagiarism on myself C. J. B. seems to confess. But if his words are not to be taken as a confession, his defence must rest on other grounds, than those, which have been proved false.

During the course of his defence against this charge, C. J. B. accuses me of ignorance of the peculiarities of metrical language.

When he finds me introducing an anapaest into the last place of a senarian iambic, as he has done by his original emendation in the *Edinburgh Review*, No. XLII. p. 335, I shall then bow to his superior knowledge of Greek metre. For the present, he may be taught (for he confesses that I can teach him something), that, in dramatic poetry, a diphthong at the end of one word forms a *crasis* with a short vowel at the beginning of the following word.

4. C. J. B. asserts, that he did not obtain at Prom. 20. the reference to Menander from Butler.

But of the credit due to his assertions, ample proofs have been already given.

Yet, as if doubtful himself of the credit due to his veracity, he repeats, in his own behalf, what he had written in the *Quarterly Review*, No. xv. p. 217, in defence of J. H. Monk, against a similar charge of plagiarism urged by me in the *Cl. Jl.* No. xi. p. 80. and No. xxii. p. 256. and attempts to shelter the *par nobile fratrum*, by the similar practice of Porson. When C. J. B. and J. H. M. shall prove themselves Porsons, an event which those two scholars alone will deem probable, I will then acknowledge that they may pass off, as the result of their own reading, quotations from authors, of whom they know nothing but the name.

5. That, in the *Edinburgh Rev.* No. XLII. p. 336. the emendations on Photius were pilfered from the Porson papers published by Kidd.

C. J. B. asserts, that he never saw Porson's transcript of Photius till after the *Review* was published.

I never said that he had seen the transcript. This denial, therefore, is useless.

But he further says, that the emendations were communicated to Kidd by Maltby, who will testify that he never showed the emendations to C. J. B.

I reply, that, from the intercourse which is known to exist between the parties, as testified by Maltby in his edition of Morell's *Thesaurus*, it is more than probable that C. J. B., unknown to the possessor, saw Maltby's copy of Photius, with the emendations of Porson duly recorded; but which, transcribed by C. J. B. hastily and incorrectly, or purposely disfigured, as is wont to be done by persons fearful of detection, will account for that discrepancy between an emendation of C. J. B. and of Porson, on which

he partly rests his defence. With respect to the fancy of C. J. B. in supposing that I give him credit for finding the ten passages where Eupolis is quoted, I beg leave to undeceive him, by stating that I never did, nor do I now, give him credit for any thing but consulting the indices of the authors cited. As to the passage of Eustathius, although he might have found it, yet the fact of its containing the proper title of the play of Eupolis, was, I suspect, suggested by Porson.

6. C. J. B. is accused of pilfering at Prom. 59. ed. 2. an emendation from Jacobs. He asserts in reply, that he never saw the *Cura Poster. in Eurip.* till the accusation appeared.

I am free to confess, that the reference to Jacobs would not have been made, unless I had discovered the peculiar secrecy of C. J. B.'s plagiarisms. But when he rests his defence upon his asserted ignorance of the works, my suspicions as to the plagiarism require no confirmation.

Vexed that the emendation of Aristarchus is found not to be his own, C. J. B., with his usual proneness to groundless insinuations, accuses Jacobs of probable plagiarism on some person, but whom C. J. B. confesses he is unable to mention. Should Jacobs deign to answer such a charge, unsupported as it is by one particle of evidence, he will doubtless reply, that not only C. J. B. appears to have stolen the emendation from one scholar, but even to have obtained the reference from another. At least Porson, apud Kidd. ad Dawes, p. 87, seems to have quoted the identical Greek passage in his papers somewhere, and a parallel one in English:

Over floods that are deepest,
Which Neptune obey,
Over rocks that are steepest,
Love will find out the way.

7. The plagiarism at Prom. 105. on Alberti Hesych. v. Ἀδύπτρον is confessed.

In answer to this charge, C. J. B. takes occasion to accuse me of plagiarism on himself, by producing my note on the play, which, he says, I have written, and called the Supplices of Æschylus. This sneer is voted so vastly cutting that it is repeated in similar words, in the notice of my publication. Are, then, the editors of the Mus. Crit. determined to prove the adage, that a *fool's bolt is soon shot?* or do they think they can still cheat the world by the adoption

of a new reading in Pindar, *καὶ ῥά μοι ἔντος φαρύτρας βέλεια φανᾶν* ἄσυνέτοισιν? When this event, so hopeless, arrives, the editors will then be considered as better able to write a Greek play, than they are at present to edit one.

8. C. J. B. is charged with taking at Prom. 112. some remarks from an article of Burney in the Monthly Review.

He denies that he saw the article till the publication of the Agamemnon.

That he saw the article I cannot directly prove; but I strongly suspect that he did see it. At least, previously to the publication of the Prometheus, I lent J. H. Monk my copy of all Burney's articles in the Monthly Review, which were all duly returned, except that very article in M. R. Feb. 1796, which Monk probably forgot he had lent to C. J. B., and which was, therefore, not forthcoming, when required.

9. In endeavouring to fix a charge of plagiarism on C. J. B. at Prom. 109. I have failed for once.

10. The reference to Pindar, I said, was obtained from Duport. This C. J. B. denies, by stating, that Duport quotes Plutarch, and not Athenæus. But to Athenæus C. J. B. was led by Wytttenbach's notes on Plutarch, p. 91. A. and in S. N. V. p. 69.

The charges, on this occasion, brought against myself, of supposed plagiarism, have been disproved above.

11. In reply to the instances adduced from Prom. 302. 363. 386. 836. 865, C. J. B. says *they do not deserve notice*.

This answer, if it deserve the name of one, might with as much propriety have been given to every count of the indictment.

It is true, that a long enumeration of passages, from which nothing satisfactory is elicited, does, in the eye of a genuine scholar, deserve no notice. Yet, as the charge was, that the apparently extensive reading of the youthful editor was all a pretence, it was necessary to quote even minor instances in support of the accusation.

12. C. J. B. was charged with using at Prom. 321. Jacobs' Animadv. in Eurip. p. 328. What this reference means, he says he knows not. I will explain the difficulty. In his first edition, at Prom. 321, he quotes from Stobæus, i. p. 125. Grot. a distich, with a faulty reading *κλύει*, in the 2d verse, which, in the second edition, is silently corrected into *κλύει*, as Jacobs had quoted. Had my copy of Grotius' Stobæus not been lent to a friend, I should have known that

the error was merely typographical, and I should not have quoted this as an instance of plagiarism.

13. The reference to the Venetian Scholia at Prom. 467., C. J. B. says, he did not get, as was charged against him, from Schweighæuser's index to Athenæus, but 'from a book into which he had long before copied all the quotations contained in those Scholia.' Had I sooner known that an index of authors, quoted by the Venetian Scholia, has long since been made by Kuinoel, and published by Harles in Fabric. Bibl. Græc. tom. 1. p. 444, I should have been now more ready, than I once was, to believe, not that C. J. B. had carefully read those Scholia, but that he had rifled that store-house of varied information, as well on this occasion as in the preface to the Persæ, p. XIV, where the quotations from Arrian and Procopius are derived from Fabric. Bibl. Gr. ed. Harles, t. 11. p. 182, unless C. J. B. was indebted to Bast. Epist. Crit. p. 12.

14. The plagiarism at Prom. 470, on Hemsterhuis, at Hesych. v. *Ἐργαί*; is half confessed, and the defence of the non-plagiarism, if so it is to be called, destroyed above.

15. On this and five other counts (18, 19, 20, 24, 25.) C. J. B. pleads the certainty of detection as an argument against the probability of the commission of a theft.

Is, then, C. J. B. so ignorant of human motives as not to know that crimes are frequently perpetrated with the certainty of ultimate detection, yet with the hope that detection will come late, and that, in the interval, every benefit will be derived from villainy long concealed? If he knows not this, he is unfit to talk with men; and if, knowing it, he fancies he can play on the ignorance of others, he must fondly deem all men are born fools for the advantage of himself alone.

16. C. J. B. is accused of deriving the materials of his note on Prom. 878. ed. 2. from Porson's notes on Hec. 1161. Equit. 1046. and Pac. 690.

Although he denies that he ever saw the Porson papers on Aristophanes, yet, even if he had seen them, he wishes to know in what the plagiarism consists. The answer is obvious. Porson had insinuated that there was no difference between *ἐκμῆδμνον*, *ἐξμῆδμνον*, and *ἑξμῆδμνον*. This hint C. J. B. adopts, and quotes at Prom. 878. ed. 2. the same passage as Porson had quoted at Equit. 1046. from the Etymol. M., and corrects in Pac. 690. *ἐκμῆδμνον*, as Porson had done at Hec. 1161. And yet C. J. B., with won-

drons simplicity, asks where is the plagiarism in all this? Had he on this occasion been able to use a Greek lex. properly, even with the aid of the Porson papers, he would have seen that the gloss quoted by himself from Suidas *Ἐκμήνους*, is to be referred to Soph. Œd. T. 1137. where Porson in *Miscell. Crit.* p. 216. and Schæfer ad Bos. p. 312. correct *Ἐκμήνους χρόνους* into *Ἐκμήνους χρόνους*.

17. The plagiarism of C. J. B. at Prom. 27. in Gloss. on D'Orville, Chariton. p. 416=355 is confessed.

18. 19. The defence of the confessed plagiarism discussed at 15.

20. The plagiarism at Prom. 431. in Gloss. on Alberti and others, is acknowledged to be suspicious.

C. J. B. asserts, however, "that the passages quoted at Hesychius, V. *Ἀνδρόπαρος*, were collected by himself, and that he did not expect to gain much credit from the display of reading." How much credit he expected to gain it is difficult to say; how little he will gain may easily be guessed. When he shall wipe off the aspersions thrown on his veracity, I will listen to his assertions, that, at the period of his first edition, he had read the works of Aristotle, Plutarch, Ælian, and Theophylact, for the purpose of hunting out instances of *πρώτα* in composition.

22. C. J. B. is charged with purloining at Prom. 802. ed. 2. from Porson's *Advers.* p. 275, instances of *εἶτα* with a participle. He replies that six only out of nineteen belong to Porson. But he does not say how many belong to Dawes, p. 284=502, Kidd, and to Hermann. *Nub.* 857. The point, however, of the charge was meant to rest upon the hint suggested by Porson, and adopted silently by C. J. B., of defending Eurip. *Phaëthont.* *Fragm.* 8, against unnecessary emendations.

23. In reply to the charge of pilfering from Schneider's *Æsop*, the restitution of the verses of Babrias, C. J. B. says, that "he knew not even the existence of Schneider's work, till he learned it from myself." This may be true; and yet he might have obtained the idea of palming off the restitution of the fable about the *Χαράριδος*, from Schneider's *Aristot. Hist. Animal.* iv. p. 488, where that very fable is quoted at length, and the hint first thrown out that metrical fables existed in the collection, which De Furia first published from the Vatican Mss. Now Schneider's *Aristotle* bears date 1811, and might have found its way into the li-

brary of even an obscure country-parish priest before 1813, the date of C. J. B.'s plagiarisms.

24. Dobree's emendation in the *Classical Journal*, No. III. p. 654, says C. J. B., "ought to have been known to him."

By what compulsion he ought to have known the contents of a journal which he pretends not to read, I cannot discover. But that, at the period alluded to, he did not know the contents of that third number, he dares not assert; although at the moment when he was penning his article for the *Quarterly Review*, No. XVIII. p. 352, it was convenient for him to forget the author, and the place of the emendation; especially as in the *Quarterly Review*, No. XV. p. 217, he had alluded to the *Classical Journal* under the name of *an obscure publication*. Well, indeed, would it be for C. J. B. if he could, by a word of his, render that work obscure, which has brought his plagiarisms to light.

C. J. B., in defence of this acknowledged charge, says, that *he should hardly have had the assurance to pass off the emendation of a friend as his own*.

The man, who has the assurance to tell a falsehood in his defence, may be allowed the less assurance to steal an emendation; and if he has any wisdom, he will pilfer from a friend who will not, rather than an enemy who will, expose the iniquity.

25. In answer to the charge of conveying from the pages of the *Classical Journal*, No. VII. p. 159, to those of the *Edinburgh Review*, No. XXXVIII. p. 501, an emendation of *Æschylus*, C. J. B. says, that *he can, with the greatest truth, aver he was not indebted for it to the Classical Journal*.

Now as in that very number of the *Classical Journal* an article by C. J. B. was inserted, under the name of "*Diatriba de Antimacho*," it seems scarcely possible that, in running his eyes over the table of contents, he should not have seen another article entitled "*Conjecturæ Criticæ in Auctores Græcos*," and containing emendations on that very *Æschylus*, whom C. J. B. was, and is, in the course of publishing. If C. J. B. will enquire among his friends, he will find more than one, who think the plagiarism in this instance of rather a suspicious character, from the coincidence of not only the emendation, but the reason assigned for the corruption of *ἐκ πολλοῦ* into *ἐκ τινος*. Let the reader turn to my note on Suppl. 906, and decide for himself, whether the charge be not fully established.

On this, as on other occasions, C. J. B. has exhibited no inconsiderable degree of sophistry, in writing one thing and

meaning another. But he thinks too highly of his own, and too lightly of my talents, if he supposes me incapable of detecting his casuistry. At present I have confined myself to the fair and legitimate meaning, deducible from his supposed honest language. But if hereafter he resorts to any quibbles, he may rest assured that such an attempt will only bring additional discomfiture on his head.

C. J. B. says, that for the last ten years of his life his employments have rendered it utterly impossible for him to hunt through literary journals for the casual emendations of other scholars, and in many cases even to look at them.

This assertion, if it were true, would only prove that he is sadly negligent in his duty as an editor of a Greek author, for the improvement of whom some materials will be found in the periodical publications of that period. But what is really the fact? Nothing more nor less than this. That during the whole ten years past, not only has he read, but absolutely been continually writing in, various reviews, no matter how politically opposed to each other, yet to him all friends, as being equally the vehicle for his sneers and insinuations; and though it appears that he so little values his own writings, as not to remember them himself, yet, in the confidence of his own real, and on the part of others presumed, forgetfulness, he has thoughtlessly exposed his falsehoods to detection.

Thus have I not only supported the accusation originally made, but destroyed also every atom of the defence, two instances alone excepted, where I confess my zeal has outstripped my discretion. And I know not how I can better close the subject than by quoting the very words of C. J. B. himself in the *Edinburgh Rev.* No. XXXVIII. p. 508, with only such alteration as the present case requires:

"I now take leave of Dr. Blomfield; having to apologise to my readers for the extreme prolixity of this article, which I have protracted to so great a length solely for the satisfaction of the gentleman who is the object of it. Having given a sort of a general notice of his misdeeds, and pointed out a few of his principal plagiarisms, I was concerned to find that Dr. Blomfield accused me of acting too harshly towards him. I thought it, therefore, but justice to make amends, and, in the present article, to speak as mildly as I could, of his confessed plagiarisms and convicted falsehoods. It remains for Dr. Blomfield to judge whether he has gained any thing by the change."

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Calculating on the certainty that C. J. B. must reply to this exposure of his defence, I beg leave to forewarn him that in my rebutter to his rejoinder, he will find fresh instances of his Plagiarisms, and a collection of the Beauties of Blomfield, extracted from various Reviews, in which he has abused those alone, whom he deemed unwilling or unable to reply. Nor shall he derive the least benefit from the caution through which he has abstained from provoking by word or deed those, who, should he be disposed to retaliate for the acts of one upon the head of another, will bawl in his ear :

*Quid immerentes hospites vexas, canis,
Ignavus adversum lupos?
Quin huc inanes, si potes, vertis minas,
Et me remorsurum petis?*

But to triumph thus over a prostrate foe has been considered, from the age of Homer to the present period, as the mark of no generous mind. Nor should I have felt even the wish to use the language of exultation against a crest-fallen antagonist, were not C. J. B. that individual, who has shut himself out from all claim to mercy, by defying again the hand that has detected his former plagiarisms and his present falsehoods. Had he, indeed, in his defence, confined himself to an humble confession of his guilt, and pleaded for his manifold sins in pilfering, the poverty of his imagination, and his incurable desire to gain, without knowing how, the reputation of a first-rate Grecian, I could have viewed his errors with an eye of compassion, and would have gently rebuked him for his hopeless aspirations. But when, in utter forgetfulness of his own impotence, he has chosen to enter the ring against him, who has not unadvisedly commenced the fight, it is his own fault, if he has met with one, who, *non missura cutem nisi plena cruoris hirudo, sticks like a leech, nor drops till full of blood.*

TWO PASSAGES IN VIRGIL'S GEORGICS.

It is now generally agreed, that, in settling the text of any ancient writer, conjectural emendation is to be avoided as much as possible. Wetstein's learning and critical boldness are well known; yet he says in the prolegomena to his edition of the New Testament, that, "though he thought that the greater part of the conjectural emendations, which he had noticed, were both learned and ingenious, and found nothing to blame in those, by whom they were suggested, he still was bound to confess ingenuously, that scarcely two of them had his cordial approbation." This observation applies particularly to those authors, the manuscripts of whose works are numerous.

Acquiescing in the truth of this observation, I yet venture to point out two passages in the *Georgics* of Virgil, which, though they exist in all the manuscripts, and I may add in all the printed editions of them, of which we are possessed, appear to me to be, one of them an evident transposition, the other, either that, or an evident interpolation.

1. I beg my reader to place before him the beginning of the second *Georgic*, and to read from its first to its 47th verse; and then to ask himself whether the verses from the 38th verse to the end of the passage should not be expunged from the place in which they stand, and inserted between verse 7 and verse 8.

The poet first mentions, generally, his subject; then addresses Bacchus, the founder of it; then proceeds to the didactic; and then, on a sudden, and without any connexion with what precedes or follows, introduces a second address:—this second address, if placed immediately after the first, will be felt to follow it naturally, and not to be discordant with the verses which, on this supposition, it will immediately precede, or those by which it will be immediately followed.—It may be added, that the plan will then immediately accord with the opening of the first *Georgic*.

2. I must next request my reader to place under his eyes the 3d *Georgic*; and passing over, if he can, the 48 first verses, to begin with the 49th, and thence read—he certainly will not find it a labor—till the 129th: and then consider whether the 120th, 121st, and 122d verses either are not an interpolation, or should not be inserted between the 96th and 97th, and make one sentence, not with the verses preceding, but with those that follow the 97th.

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I beg leave to ask,—As the text now stands, to what verse or sentence can the word “*Quamvis*” be applied?

I shall add no more,—in fact inquiries of this nature are rather to be decided by feeling than argument.

R.

NOTICE OF

An Introduction to the critical Study and Knowledge of the HOLY SCRIPTURES. By the Rev. T. HARTWELL HORNE, M. A., &c. &c. &c. Second Edition, revised, corrected, and enlarged. Four large volumes, 8vo. Pr. 3l. 3s.

IN a preceding number¹ we submitted to our readers a brief notice of the first edition of this most valuable of modern theological publications. Impressed with the conviction that the laborious research, the extensive reading, and undoubted talent of the author, deserved the most decided and almost unqualified approbation and praise, we did not hesitate to bestow our eulogy in such unmeasured language, that we must have excited the contempt of our readers if the work had been unfavorably received. We willingly incurred the danger. Far from fearing to commit ourselves, we were willing to pledge on this truly useful work, whatever credit we might have sometimes obtained from those articles which have been most generally approved. We have not been mistaken in our estimate of the discernment of the public; we have not been disappointed of our anticipated gratification in the universal approbation with which Mr. Horne has been so justly rewarded. The first edition has been received in the most favorable manner; “In addition to the extensive circulation which the work has obtained in the Universities, and other theological seminaries in England, it has recently been adopted as a text-book in the College at Princeton, New Jersey, and in the protestant Episcopal seminary at Newhaven, in North America.” The career of the work has but begun. We have no doubt but that it will become the standard reference and text-

¹ Class. Journ. September, 1819.

book of our several Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, and will find a place in the library, not only of our candidates for orders, and theological students in general, but be received with pleasure by those who have completed their preliminary studies, and have made extensive progress in the science of theology.

The first edition of Mr. Horne's work was divided into three parts. Part the first comprised a concise view of the Geography of Palestine, and of the moral, civil, religious, and political state of the Jews, illustrating the principal events recorded in Scripture. The second treated on the Interpretation of Scripture in all its branches. The third was appropriated to the Analysis of Scripture; and contained a history of the sacred canon of the Old and New Testament, together with an abstract of the evidence for the divine origin, credibility, and inspiration of each; copious critical prefaces to each book were given, with accurate and masterly synopses of their respective contents. These synopses were so drawn up as to present, so far as was practicable, at one glance, a comprehensive view of the subjects contained in each book of Scripture. To these three divisions was added an appendix, embracing the principal topics of biblical criticism—such as manuscripts, and editions of the Scriptures, various readings, lists of commentators, &c. which could not be introduced with propriety into the body of the work, without blending together two subjects which are evidently distinct—the criticism, and interpretation of the Bible.

This second edition, which we have long anticipated with eagerness, and which we rejoice to be now able to recommend to the closest and most frequent examination, that the apparently extravagant praise we thought it our bounden duty to bestow on the first, and to reiterate on this second edition, may be demonstrated to be just, is arranged in four volumes.

Volume 1. contains a critical enquiry into the genuineness, authenticity, uncorrupted preservation, and inspiration of the Holy Scriptures; including, among other subjects, a copious investigation of the testimonies of profane authors to the leading facts recorded in the Scriptures, particularly a new branch of evidence for their credibility, which is furnished by coins, medals, inscriptions, and ancient structures. This is followed by a full view of the arguments afforded by miracles and prophecy for the inspiration of the Scriptures, and a discussion of the whole of their internal evidence, furnished by the doctrines, the precepts, and the harmony, &c. &c. of the Bible; together with a refutation of the very numerous objections which have been urged against the Scriptures in recent deistical publications. An appendix to

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this volume comprises a particular examination of the miracles supposed to have been wrought by the Egyptian magicians, and of the supposed, or alleged contradictions, which are said to have been discovered in Scripture. This discussion is followed by a table of the prophecies relating to the Messiah, and their fulfilment, and by an examination of the pretensions of the apocryphal books of the Old and New Testament.

In the first edition Mr. Horne had given a very brief outline only of the evidences for the genuineness and inspiration of the Old and New Testaments, being naturally unwilling to augment unnecessarily the number of treatises on these subjects. Called upon, however, publicly, and by name from the press, to reply to the infidel objections of the day, he thought it his duty not to shrink from the task, and proceeded accordingly through all the disgusting sophistry, the specious objections, the gross and illiberal attacks, which to this day have been revived or invented against Christianity. To the labor of a compiler he has joined acuteness, judgment, and perfect freedom of inquiry. With eloquence, spirit, and earnestness, such as became a Christian, he entered fully and fairly into the labyrinth of perplexing controversy. When a laborious author attempts the compilation of interesting or useful matter, on other subjects, it frequently happens that no originality is induced, no animated paragraphs, or proofs of intellectual exertion enliven the reader, who toils through the dull and lifeless pages. In the study of Theology this is seldom or never found to take place. Whoever with freedom and impartiality, with a hand prepared to labor, a heart impressed with the importance of the subject, and a head well stored with varied and useful information, devotes himself to the apparently humble labor even of a compiler on sacred subjects; with him languor, dullness, and lifelessness, seldom occur. Eloquence is induced by the magnificence of the subjects discussed. Animation is given by the number, and boldness of the enemies of revelation. Interest, and strength, and spirit, will always follow the heartfelt, and personal concern which an author generally takes in those subjects, which concern both him and all mankind, as immortal and accountable beings. Such is the case with Mr. Horne in the volume before us: had he been devoid of native talent, and energy, they would have been in some degree unavoidably induced by the nature of the topics discussed. But when in addition to the spirit of research, unwearied diligence, and acknowledged talent, he has dedicated himself to the study of Scripture, its author, its mean-

ing, its object, and its end, it will not excite surprise that he has attained to a power of language, a strength of argument, and an enforcement of conviction, that will make this part of his work essentially useful and necessary to the biblical student.

Volume the second treats on Sacred Criticism. It includes an historical and critical account of the original languages of Scripture—the principal Mss., &c.—the history of the authorised version, with its ample vindication from late objections—the benefit of attending to the study of Jewish and rabbinical authors. To these discussions are added a dissertation on the various readings of Scripture; of which a comparatively brief, though valuable notice only, was given in the first edition. A learned chapter follows, on the quotations from the Old Testament in the New. In the former edition tables of reference only were given to the quotations from the Old Testament in the New: but as these quotations have been frequently made the subject of cavilling by the adversaries of the Scriptures, and as all students have not the time to find out, and compare several hundred references, they are now, in this edition, given at full length, (accompanied with critical remarks,) in Hebrew, Greek, and English, showing their relative agreement with the Hebrew and the Septuagint; and showing whether they are prophecies cited as literally fulfilled; prophecies typically or spiritually applied; prophecies accommodated; or simple allusions to the Old Testament. This part concludes with a well-written chapter on the poetry of the Hebrews, and on harmonies of the Scriptures.

The second part of the second volume is appropriated to the interpretation of the Scriptures. We mentioned in our preceding notice, that this division of the work in the first edition was more particularly valuable. In addition to the several topics we there recount as introduced by the author, are many others, containing the most curious, interesting and important information. They are however so numerous, that a mere list of the principal topics discussed, would enlarge this notice beyond its required limits. We entreat only of all who are truly anxious to make themselves intimately acquainted with the sacred writings, to peruse these useful pages. So much has been added to this part, and to the discussion that follows it, that it may be in some measure considered as new. The discussion is on the proper application of the principles of interpretation to the ascertaining the sense of Scripture. These are applied to the historical interpretation—to the interpretation of the figurative language of Scripture, its tropes, figures, metonymies, meta-

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phors, allegories, parables, proverbs, &c. ; to the spiritual or mystical interpretation ; to the interpretation of prophecy, of types, doctrines, moral passages, promises, and threatenings of Scripture ; concluding with the inferential and practical reading of Scripture. The appendix to the volume contains critical notices of an immense mass of lexicons and grammars of the original or cognate languages of Scripture—lists of writers, commentators and expositors of the Bible.

The third volume is entirely new. It consists of four parts ; treating respectively of the historical geography of the Holy Land ; the political and military affairs of the Jews ; their religious or sacred affairs, arranged under the heads of sacred places, persons, times and seasons ; the corruptions of religion among the Jews ; their sects, and condition in the time of Christ. Part the fourth discusses the private life, manners, customs, and amusements of the Jews, and other nations, incidentally mentioned or alluded to in the Holy Scriptures. The Appendix to this volume contains, besides chronological, and tables of weights and measures, a geographical Index of the principal places mentioned in Scripture, with an abstract of profane and oriental history, so far as it was necessary to elucidate the sacred writings.

The fourth volume is appropriated to the Analysis of Scripture. Mr. Horne has not found it necessary to make many alterations in this part of his extensive work, the observations therefore which were made in our former number are still applicable, and to those we beg to refer our readers : and we shall add but one remark as a conclusion to our necessarily rapid survey of this second edition. Since that notice was written we have had ample opportunity of studying the work at our leisure, and of hearing the several opinions, formed by many impartial and able judges, on its merits and pretensions. We have not only found no reason to come to other conclusions than those to which we formerly arrived ; on the contrary, we repeat them if possible more fully and decidedly than before ; and with respect to the opinions of others, we never remember to have heard of a work which received in all companies, from men of all opinions, such uniform, such unqualified approbation, as we have listened to when this work became the subject of conversation. We rejoice that the public can appreciate these laborious volumes as they deserve, and we again congratulate Mr. Horne on his honorable and complete success.

We shall conclude this notice by mentioning one or two

points which we think interesting to the purchasers of the first, as well as of the second edition. The first edition was comprised in two thick closely-printed volumes, with an appendix: it contained about seventeen hundred printed pages. The second edition is comprised in four large volumes, and occupies nearly three thousand pages. But not only has the laborious author thus enlarged the size, and increased the value of his book, he has adopted both a wider page, and employed a small but distinct and clear type, to introduce, without adding to the price, a large mass of new and important matter. Anxious however to render justice to the purchasers of the first edition, Mr. Horne has published the entire third volume of his new edition, together with all such newly introduced critical matter as could be detached from the context, in the form of a supplemental volume to the first edition. In this additional volume also he has inserted six new plates, and eighteen woodcuts, interspersed among the letter press. By this plan ample justice will be rendered to those, who may be disinclined to purchase both editions.

It is the custom with some of the more modest and diffident of our editors of newspapers, should they ever anticipate the measures which the legislature proposed to adopt, to exclaim in triumphant gratulations,—“we are happy that his majesty’s ministers have at length taken our advice”—“we strongly recommended a change of measures, so long as a year ago”—with much more of the same solemn style and facetious manner. We shall not imitate this pleasing complacency by asserting that Mr. Horne, in consequence of our animadversions only, has added several improvements to his new edition, but we are glad to see that his judgment has adopted many of those alterations, which we thought essential to the perfection of his design. With the exception of any original remarks on the shepherd-kings of Egypt, and on the curious questions respecting the dispersion and the original settlements of mankind, discussed by Mr. Bryant and Mr. Faber, which have not yet received the attention and examination they deserve, we see with pleasure that all our other remarks are no longer necessary. The celebrated and very learned work of Mr. Nolan on the integrity of the Greek Vulgate, and the curious theory of its author on the authenticity of the disputed verse in St. John, is admirably condensed into a very small compass—the index of general matter, as might indeed have been anticipated, is greatly enlarged—much has been added to the account of the patriarchal times, and the patriarchal religion; and an ample index of fifty pages, of the

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passages of Scripture quoted, illustrated or explained in the work, has been added, as we earnestly recommended to the author, and were satisfied he would have added to the new edition. Mr. Horne however advises us, that he committed the compilation of this index to a literary friend, who seems to have executed the task allotted to him with great care and accuracy.

Among the other supplemental matter, we observe that Mr. Horne has added very much to his work, from an attentive perusal of the several important publications which have issued from the press since the appearance of the first edition. Among others, Mr. Jebb's very admirable work on the poetical style of the Hebrew Scriptures, with the application of certain principles, and parallelisms to the style of the New Testament. An ample account of this work, with many extracts of instances of the author's reason, is given by Mr. Horne. Dr. Lawrence's tract, the republication of the book of Enoch, an account of the harmonies of the Scriptures, and of Lightfoot's Chronicle, with a brief statement of Torshell's plan, is made introductory to a very satisfactory notice of Mr. Townsend's newly published arrangement of the Old Testament. Mr. Horne informs us that he had intended, after the completion of his present undertaking, to commence an arrangement or harmony of the whole of Scripture, but that this work, so far as it respects the Old Testament, is happily rendered unnecessary by Mr. Townsend's publication. Of that work Mr. Horne expresses the most decided and favorable opinion; that it is exceedingly useful to all clergymen, and indispensably necessary to those who design to enter upon the sacred office. Mr. Horne has noticed many other new works, those published on the continent as well as in England. Neither has he omitted the very interesting illustration of the Scriptural history of the overthrow of the army of Josiah, given us in Belzoni's travels. We might mention many other very important excellencies in the work before us, but we are not permitted to devote much space to the notice even of such works as this. We trust that in another edition still greater perfection will be given to this book, by many useful and valuable discussions, and additional information on many points. And let not this wish excite surprise. The Scriptures will never cease to attract the attention, and exercise the faculties of man, till a brighter scene of existence open upon him. Every day new sources of illustration open to us. "Many run to and fro, and knowledge is increased." Much as Mr. Horne has accomplished, by executing, with the labor of twenty years, the Introduction we are now noticing; though he

has placed himself at the head of his class of biblical writers ; and though his work, in our opinion, is the most useful, interesting, and important of any that has yet appeared on the critical study of the Bible—much still remains, and will ever remain, to employ the time, the talents, and the researches of our critics and students. We shall mention a few only of those alterations or additions which may be introduced into a future edition : if, on perusing the whole more attentively, others occur to us, we shall certainly wish to insert them, for Mr. Horne's attention, in the pages of this Journal. We would advise, then, that in a subsequent edition, the Greek that is quoted should be accented—that a more ample account be given of the labors of Bryant, Faber, Heidegger, and others who have treated on the earlier history of the antediluvian or postdiluvian patriarchs ; particularly the labors of Bochart, and his successors—Middleton's labors on the Greek article might have been related at greater length—a map of St. Paul's travels, on the plan of that given by Barrington in the *Miscellanea Sacra*, might have been useful. Lord Barrington traces on the map five several journeys of St. Paul, instead merely of the usual route which is given by Mr. Horne. Lord Barrington's theory, too, of the preaching and dissemination of Christianity, first among the Jews, next among the proselyted Gentiles, and lastly among the idolatrous Gentiles in general, would have been acceptable. There was room too for some additional remarks on Diodati's analyses of the several books of scripture, and more on the several systems of chronology—for a disquisition on that most interesting subject to a Christian, the identity of the angel Jehovah of the Old Testament with the Messiah of the New—for a more extended account of the Apamean medal, and for some other topics of minor importance.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

WE were in hopes that our redoubtable opponent, Dr. Blomfield, had said "*Odiis exsaturatus quievi.*" But, not satisfied with assaulting us with the thundering cannon of the Quarterly Review, he has brought into the field a piece of less calibre, long disused, to pour in a volley of small shot.

With his usual mildness, candor and accuracy, he is pleased to say¹ that "for TEN YEARS TOGETHER we have been laboring to provoke a castigation." For a refutation of this assertion, we refer our readers to No. 46 of this Journal, where we gave a list of the passages which we could collect, of these instances of aggression against Dr. Blomfield, of which he so bitterly complains. Of these the first, "*Meliorum lectionem excogitavit Blomfieldius*," began in 1811; and the last, "It is easy to disprove this unqualified assertion, upon testimony, which Mr. Bl. himself will scarcely fail to admit," was printed in 1815!

But, not to dwell on the substitution of ten for five, we ask, has Dr. Bl. had just reason to complain of our want of candor or fairness? As Editors of a critical Miscellany, supported by the contributions of correspondents, we consider ourselves as bound to insert any article in fair commendation or censure of a literary work. If we had held Dr. Blomfield's name too sacred to be mentioned, he might perhaps not have thanked us for our silence. Authors generally complain of personalities, when the criticism is more just than agreeable; and the public are too well aware of this to trust to their querulous representations.

But to prove our sincere desire to avoid giving offence to a man of Dr. Blomfield's temper, we abstained from noticing him from that time,—although many severe articles were sent to us, and offers were made to translate the Jena Review for our use, —except in one article, No. 39, p. 214, in which we gave him and his lamented brother that praise and credit, which would have softened the resentment, if not obtained the good will, of a man of placability and feeling.

¹ His name indeed is not affixed to this diatribe, which may be written by some inferior associate, in the same style and spirit. But he is the primary Planet, attended perhaps by a few Satellites; he is the Saturn; whose influence is intended to be fatal to us.

Neither our silence nor our commendation availed. He continued to fulminate his anathemas against us; and directed the bent of his hostility even against the printer of this Journal. "Still did we bear it with a patient shrug," until the publication of his article in the Quarterly Review,—an article on the spirit and tendency of which there are not two opinions,—when forbearance would have been a dereliction of our friend's interest, and silence would have had the appearance of a forgetfulness of our own character. We do not hesitate to court the decision of the impartial reader, whether Mr. V.'s Reply in No. 43 of the Classical Journal to the first, and our own in No. 46 to the second, article of the Quarterly Review, were not as moderate and unassuming, as Dr. Bl.'s attack was intemperate and petulant. After this diatribe, we leave the reader to judge whether "we had neither provocation to excite, nor fuel to keep alive, animosity." Yet the imputation of "animosity" we anxiously deprecate, and solemnly disclaim.

We are accused of noticing, in No. 15, p. 18 of this Journal, a mistake of his. On turning to it, we find that the writer of that article, who is exceeded by few in depth of classical learning, attributes it to "oversight and hurry." A mild reproof surely, compared with the Editor of Sappho's invective against the German Editor, couched in these uncourteous words: "*Contra tamen disputat Volgerus, ineptissimis argumentis fretus.*"

After seven or eight years we are again reminded, in no very gracious terms, of some errata, from which we must confess, *ut vineta cadamus nostra*, that few of our Numbers are perfectly free, in consequence of the general hurry with which Periodicals are committed to the press. But a candid critic would have been convinced that they could have been occasioned only by "oversight." In the absence of the Editors and principal Reader, a sheet was left to the care of the Translator of the article, who left a few such blunders as "Apollonius of Tyaneus." He would observe that we had called that writer "Apollonius Tyaneus, Apollonius of Tyana, and Apollonius de Tyane." Yet for this we are taxed with "ignorance." We leave our

opponent in full possession of all the credit attached to this delicate language, and will only observe, that we did not call his far greater blunders in the Greek language, the effect of "ignorance."

We leave him in the hands of Mr. Burges on the score of plagiarism. In answer to those charges, he justifies himself by accusing an eminent scholar, whom the hand of death has long removed from all opportunity of vindicating himself, of the same practice,—a mode of defence, which will avail as little at the bar of criticism, as it would in a court of law. On the conclusive evidence of his *lengthy* and labored article on that subject, supported as his assertions are, principally on his own *αὐτὸς ἔφη*, we wish to leave the judgment to those, who have brought more particular accusations than we are inclined to do.

His clamorous invective against the Classical Journal may disgust his readers, but cannot affect that publication, except as an indirect recommendation, perhaps as authoritative as his most elaborate panegyric. The irritable and fretful anxiety, with which he affects to despise this Journal, and his more powerful and direct accusers, proves that he is far from holding them in contempt, and that he is successful in imitating, in more than one respect, the character of Sir Fretful Plagiary.

Another, neither very civil nor usual, mode of attack is, that the Classical Journal is not sold by a "principal bookseller in Cambridge." Without presuming to discriminate the different degrees of eminence among the respectable booksellers in that town, we shall only appeal to the judgment of those members of the University, who know the connexion between that bookseller and our opponents.

We are not sorry, however, that the reflection has been made, as it gives us an opportunity of noticing, that many of our readers often find some difficulty in obtaining the Journal. We cannot complain, for we do not know the existence, except by analogical deduction, of any hostile influence, and we have a high opinion of the honor and fairness of the principal booksellers; but we have received so many complaints on the subject, that a

considerable part of our sale is sent directly from the office of the printer, whose wish and practice is to dispose of his publications through the medium of the regular trade.

Dr. Bl. is aware that he and Mr. V. are placed in very unequal situations. The former is blessed with ease, affluence and independence; the latter is toiling to obtain a subsistence in the midst of an opposition, produced by causes over which he had no control. Dr. Bl. apologises for not publishing the whole of his observations on Sophron, because a part was printed in the Classical Journal; for he fears that "typographus iste" (the reader will observe the contemptuous *iste*) would charge him with plagiarism. We are authorised to say that the printer, whose spirit of mildness and conciliation we sincerely wish that Doctor *ille* could imitate, gives him the most liberal freedom to take his articles from the Journal, and print them wherever he may think proper. In this permission we cordially unite. But such is the bitterness of Dr. Bl.'s hostility against him, that he will probably continue to oppose and pursue him with a spirit consistent with his former conduct.

Far be it from us to treat Dr. Blomfield with contempt. We respect his learning and industry; and we have found much utility in many of his publications. We acknowledge the merit of several articles in the work of which he still appears to be at the head, and shall rejoice in its success. We shall close our address to him in the words of the Dramatic poet:

"Now learn the difference 'twixt thy *heart* and ours:
Thine bids thee lift the dagger to our throat;
Ours can forgive the wrong, and bid thee LIVE."

PREPARING FOR PUBLICATION.

The Rev. T. Broadhurst, of Bath, author of "Funeral Orations, translated from the Greek, &c. &c." is preparing for publication a third edition of his "Advice to young Ladies, on the Improvement of the Mind, and the Conduct of Life." The work will be carefully revised and corrected, with several addi-

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tions; and will contain a new chapter on the subject of Female Accomplishments.

Dr. Blomfield is about to print a second edition of the *Agamemnon*; and an Abridgment of Matthiæ's Greek Grammar, for the use of the younger students in Greek. The *Chœphoræ* will be put to press shortly.

Bekker's *Thucydides* is completed. His edition of the Greek Orators will be published by the University of Oxford.

Professor Monk has been occupied for three or four years in preparing a *Life of Dr. Bentley*; a work which, it is expected, will be sent to the press early in the ensuing spring. The biography of this scholar, the most celebrated of those who ever established a reputation in the department of classical learning, is intimately connected with the history of the University of Cambridge for above 40 years, a period of unusual interest, and with the literary history of this country for a still longer time. It has been frequently remarked, that such a work is a *desideratum* in English literature: and this it is the author's endeavour to supply. He has industriously sought for documents which may throw light upon the events of those days, or tend to elucidate the character, the conduct, and the writings of Bentley. For this purpose he has searched the voluminous manuscript collections of Baker, of Cole, and of Hearne, as well as other records preserved in the British Museum, the Bodleian, the Lambeth Library, and those in the University of Cambridge. He has also availed himself of a very important correspondence between Bentley and the first scholars of his age, as well as of a still more extensive assortment of papers, comprising letters of Bishop Atterbury, Bishop Sherlock, Bishop Greene, Dr. Conyers Middleton, Dr. Andrew Snape, Bishop Hare, Bishop Zachary Pearce, and many other highly distinguished characters, who were intimately connected with the leading events of Bentley's history; also the whole of the manuscripts left by Dr. Colbatch, his principal opponent in Trinity College. He has omitted no means in his power of obtaining a sight of Bentley's letters, which are in private hands, having made applications to all quarters where he thought that such deposits were likely to be found. In several of these cases he has been successful: still he is persuaded that there exist other specimens of his correspondence in quarters to which he has not been able to discover any clue. Should this notice meet the eye of persons who possess such papers, or who can afford intelligence respecting them, the author will feel highly obliged by a communication upon the subject.

We are glad to hear that Professor REUVENS of Leyden has it in contemplation to publish a Periodical devoted to Ancient Inscriptions, and Archæological Researches. We trust he will secure the co-operation of Professors Boissonade, Osann, &c.

IN THE PRESS.

Mr. J. R. Bryce has in the Press a second edition of the Elements of Latin Prosody, with considerable improvements.

We understand that Professor Hermann has at length put his *Æschylus* to press.

LATELY PUBLISHED.

The Delphin and Variorum Classics, Nos. XXXV. and XXXVI. Pr. 1*l.* 1*s.* each. Large paper 2*l.* 2*s.* The prices to be hereafter raised.

N. B. As it may not be convenient to some new Subscribers to purchase at once the whole 36 Nos., Mr. V. will accommodate such by delivering one or two of them with each new No. till the set is completed; i. e. No. 1 may be delivered with No. 37, No. 2 with 38, and so on.

Stephens' Greek Thesaurus, Nos. XIV. and XV., i. e. Part XI. of the Lexicon, and III. of the Glossaries. 1*l.* 5*s.* each, and 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* large. The whole is pledged to be delivered in 39 Nos. The prices to be hereafter raised.

Select British Divines, No. X. Pr. 2*s.* 6*d.* hotpressed, containing Matthew Henry's Tracts. Edited by the Rev. C. Bradley, Curate of High Wycombe.

Nos. I. and II. contain Bishop Beveridge's Private Thoughts, one vol. bds. with a Portrait, pr. 5*s.*

Nos. III. and IV. contain Archbishop Leighton's Theological Lectures, together with his Expository Lectures, in one vol. bds. with a Portrait, pr. 5*s.*

Nos. V. VI. and VII. contain Archbishop Leighton's Commentary on St. Peter, one vol. bds. pr. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Nos. VIII. and IX. contain Archbishop Leighton's Sermons, one vol. bds. pr. 5*s.*

After Henry will succeed the works of Hall, Horne, Doddridge, Watts, Charnock, Hopkins, Howe, Baxter, Flavell, Owen, W. Jones, Pearson, &c. &c.

This Work will consist of a uniform Reprint of all the most valuable Pieces in *Devotional* and *Practical* Divinity. The Authors, from whose writings they will be selected, are those who have either been consistent members of the Established Church, or whose sentiments have been in strict accordance with the general tenor of its Liturgy and Articles. With this object in view, the Pieces will occasionally be taken from those Divines, who were the ornaments of the English Church in the century preceding the last.

A short Biographical Sketch of each Author will be given, and in some instances a Portrait.

The Work to be comprised in about 40 Vols. Any Author, however, may be purchased separately.

Cæsar's Commentaries. Translated by Duncan ; with Woodcuts, and an Index. 9s. 6d.

Virgil. Translated by J. Davidson, 6s. 6d.

As it has ever been considered superfluous to print a work, which is *only intended as a book of reference*, in a large type, in order to swell the Volume, the present Translations have been published in such a form as to be sold at a moderate price.

Each Author, as published, may be had separate.

Museum Criticum, No. VII.

Æschyli, quæ Supersunt, Fabulæ et Fragmenta, Supplices. a G. Burges. duod. Pr. 8s. In Usus Scholarum.

Of all the remains of the Greek Dramatic Poets, we believe no play is so corrupted in the language, and obscure in the arrangement, as the *Supplices* of Æschylus. Potter, who had a kindred poetical genius, has in his translation given us something like what the original author might be supposed to have written. Mr. Burges has made a similar attempt, and has given us a Greek Play, of which a considerable part is original, by conjectural emendations or substitutions. This play is not indeed that which passes under the name of Æschylus, but it is an attempt, in which few scholars since the days of Scaliger, have been possessed of sufficient knowledge of the Greek language to succeed. We may resume the consideration of this ingenious performance in a future number.

Mr. Burges has also just published the *Eumenides*, in the same form for Schools. Pr. 7s. In the Preface, he takes occasion to rectify a mistake, which he had made in the *Supplices*,

relative to Dr. Blomfield ; an instance of candor, of which we shall hail the imitation.

Munusculum Juventuti ; seu Phædri Fabulæ Versibus Hexamëtris Concinnatæ ; necnon specimina quædam solutæ orationis, non tam ad sensum earundem fabularum aperiendum, quam ad regulas linguæ Latinæ illustrandas, accommodata. Auctore Daniel French, Armig. Jureconsulto. Pr. 8s. To this we shall return.

Mr. Briggs, who is well known to scholars, by the emendations of Theocritus, which are subjoined to Mr. Gaisford's edition of that poet, has just published the Greek Bucolic Poets. We hope to give some account of this work.

Professor Gaisford has published a complete collection of the Scholia on Hesiod and Theocritus, forming the 3rd and 4th volumes of his edition of the *Poetæ Minores Græci*. His Stobæus is in the press.

Aristophanis Nubes, fabula nobilissima, integrior edita auctore Carolo Reisigio Thuringio : accedit Syntagma Criticum cum additamentis et commentatio de vi et usu æv particulæ. Lipsiæ, 1820.

Aristophanis Pax, ex recensione G. Dindorfii. Lipsiæ, 1820.

A sixth volume of Matthiæ's Euripides has just appeared, containing his notes upon the first four plays.

A Key to the Latin Language, embracing the double object of speedily qualifying students to turn Latin into English, and English into Latin : and peculiarly useful to young gentlemen, who have neglected or forgotten their juvenile instructions.

We have examined this elegant little work, and find more originality than is often found in similar elementary books.

An Introduction to Latin Construing ; or, easy and progressive lessons for reading ; to be used by the pupil as soon as the first declension has been committed to memory, adapted to the most popular grammars, but more particularly to that used in the college at Eton ; and designed to illustrate the inflection of the declinable parts of speech, the rules for gender, for the preterperfect tense, and of Syntax ; having the quantity of the words marked, and accompanied with questions, to which are added some plain rules for construing. By J. Bosworth.

Latin Construing: or, easy and progressive lessons from Classical authors; with rules for translating Latin into English, designed to teach the analysis of simple and compound sentences, and the method of Construing Eutropius, and Nepos, as well as the higher Classics, without the help of an English translation; intended for the use of junior classes in schools, and of those who have not the advantage of regular instruction, for whom the quantity of those syllables, on which the pronunciation depends, is marked; to which is added, a full account of the Roman calendar, with rules for reducing the English to the Roman time, and the Roman to the English.

These two little volumes are calculated to introduce the pupil to Latin construction, according to the rules of Syntax, as given in the Eton, Valpy's and Ruddiman's Grammars.

An Enquiry into the doctrines of Necessity and Predestination, &c. by E. COPLESTON, D. D. Provost of Oriel, Oxford. *Iliacos intra muros peccatur et ultra.*

Dr. Copleston is the able defender, and one of the brightest ornaments, of the University of Oxford. In this work he has shown his orthodoxy in religious, and his sagacity in metaphysical, discussion. But he will acquire strong claims to the gratitude of disputants on all subjects, if he executes the plan mentioned in his Preface,—an attempt to prevent the *equivocal use of words*. If this were done with respect to the terms most commonly employed in abstract reasoning, “it would tend” to use his words, “to abridge many a useless, and to settle many a mischievous, controversy. It is the key to a thousand errors, which have abused mankind under the false name of philosophy; and nothing would tend more to the advancement of knowledge, than such an enquiry into the use of words; because the same vigor of mind, which is now often strained and baffled in contending with imaginary difficulties, would then be exerted in a right direction, or at least would not be spent in vain. Something of this kind I hope hereafter to be able to execute, not however without apprehension of incurring the displeasure of those, who, if my speculations are well founded, will appear to have lost their time in logomachy, and to have wasted their strength in endeavouring to grasp a phantom, or in fighting the air.”

As a specimen of the author's manner of arguing and writing on the subject, we extract the following passage:

"The doctrine of fate and predestination was strenuously maintained by the Stoical School, and we collect from Cicero, in his treatise *De Fato*, what the knot was which tied them down to such unnatural opinions. Every proposition, they said, is either true or false. This is essential to a proposition, and it is universally admitted. Although, therefore, I may not know which it is, yet that it is one or the other, and that it is so at the time it is uttered, is certain; and my ignorance does not at all affect the certainty of the proposition. Suppose then I say, "such an event will happen next year." It is at this moment either true or false, because the proposition is now, and when the thing happens, the truth, which lay hid in the proposition before, is only made apparent then; its nature is not altered. This they called a demonstration, and thought that nobody could deny it, who was not prepared to deny the premise "that every proposition is either true or false." But it is in fact an abuse of the word *true*—the precise meaning of which is "*id quod res est*." An assertion respecting the *future*, therefore, is neither true nor false. And if they press us still further with the nature of proposition, we have only to reply, that it is not a proposition in that sense of the word *proposition* above explained, and thus their whole argument falls to the ground. Frivolous as the example appears, when exhibited in the simple form, yet whole volumes of perplexing metaphysics have been spun out of these flimsy materials."

"The equivocal sense of the word *true* is combined with another error that runs through all the reasoning in that treatise, whether the speaker be Epicurean or Stoic. There is a confusion of *words* with *things*; physical *cause* is confounded with logical *reason*; *truth* with *reality*; certainty of the *mind* with certainty of the *object*. When these equivocations are detected and removed, the whole dispute vanishes into empty air."

Pindari Carmina recensuit, metra constituit, lectionisque varietatem adjecit Ch. Guil. AHLWARDT. Editio minor in usum Prælectionum Acad. et Schol. Lips. Hahn. 1820.

This edition, with respect to the metrical arrangement, is founded on the following canon, which is laid down in the Preface: "*Poëtis Græcis dividere vocabulum inter duos versus non licuisse, et quemque versum integro vocabulo cœptum clausumque fuisse.*" This discovery the learned editor first announced to the literary world in the year 1801, and therefore with justice disputes the palm with Professor Boëckh, who in 1808 published it as the result of his own investigations. With

respect to the accuracy, however, of this axiom, we quote the following observations from the Preface to Matthiæ's Euripides: "Levius est, nec tamen prætereundum, quod Ahlwardtius et Boëckhius monuerunt, nusquam versum finiri, nisi finito etiam vocabulo, nec unquam verbum in duos versus distribuendum esse. Qua in re pergratum mihi accidit, quod, quibus argumentis ego hanc sententiam in litteris ad Hermannum datis impugnaveram, ea hujus viri rei metricæ et scenicæ Græcorum longe peritissimi assensu et suffragio comprobari, e præfatione ejus, Herculi fur. præmissa p. ix. sqq. intellexi. Igitur sententiam illam jam satis ab Hermanno refutatam esse puto, quod, in tragicis certe, concessit nuper ipse Boëckhius Præf. ad Pindar. p. xxx. in Pindaro aliam rem esse contendens. Et de Pindaro quidem nunc non disputo: hoc tantum addo, non plus offensionis habere unius verbi in duos versus distributionem, quam sensus, ut ita dicam, distractionem eam, qua in priori versu articulus, præpositio vel alia particula cum sequentibus arcte copulata, in altero nomen vel verbum positum legitur, qualia multa occurrunt in Boëckhii Pindaro, ut in Olymp. 2, 99. 6, 17. 53. 9, 19. 47. 70. 10, 19. 11, 21. 14, 1. 5. Nam, sive versu finito finiri etiam numerum existimes, absurdum est, verborum compagem cum numeri natura pugnare; sive, id quod verius est, numeros continuari statuas, et hanc ob causam v. c. articulus in altera numerorum parte poni, in altera nomen sine offensione potest, quid impedit, quominus etiam verba in duos versus divisa esse dicamus, quæ pronuntiando non magis divellebantur?"

For ourselves we can only add:

Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites.

M. Tullii Ciceronis Libri tres de Natura Deorum ex recensione J. A. Ernesti et cum omnium Eruditorum notis, quas Jo. Davisii editio ultima habet. Accedit Apparatus Criticus ex xx. amplius codicibus Mss. nondum collatis digestus a G. H. Mosero, Philos. D. et in Gymnasio Ulmensi Professore, qui idem suam annotationem interposuit. Copias criticas congregavit, Danielis Wytenbachii selecta Scholarum suasque Animadversiones adjecit Fr. Creuzer, Théol. ac Philos. D. et Literar. in Acad. Heidelb. Professor. Lipsiæ, 1818. In Bibliopolio Hahniano.

The title-page to this truly elaborate edition, sufficiently explains its merits and utility. In addition to the materials detailed in it, are subjoined, "Insigniores aliquot Lectiones ex Schützii Ciceronis Operum Editione (T. xv. Lips. 1816.) enotatæ;" "Excerpta maximam partem critica ex Animadversioni-

bus F. A. Wolfii ex familiari interpretatione Ciceronis de Natura Deorum ad L. 1. c. 1—10. editis in Libro, qui inscribitur : *Litterarische Analekten*, Herausg. v. F. A. W. 11. p. 277—320.;" and two Indices, one *rerum et verborum, quæ in notis explicantur*, the other *auctorum, qui in notis, maximam partem a Davisio, emendantur, tentantur, vindicantur*. The *Scholæ* of Wyttenbach are extremely valuable, and would singly constitute a very useful and compendious edition of these three books of *Natura Deorum* for the higher classes of our public schools.

Eclaircissemens historiques, sur le Papyrus Grec trouvé en Egypte, et connu sous le nom de contrat de Ptolémaïs ; par M. Champollion Figeac. Paris 1821.

Io. Nicol. Secundi Hayani Opera omnia, emendatius et cum notis adhuc ineditis P. Burmanni Secundi denuo edita cura P. Bosscha Litt. humm. in illustri Daventr. Athenæo professore. Leyden. 2. 8vo. 1821.

Domine salvum : prière pour les Grecs ; musique d'un Grec [M. Nicolopoulos de Smyrne], arrangée à trois voix par M. Berthon. Paris fol.

Système perfectionné de Conjugaison des Verbes Grecs, présenté dans une suite de tableaux paradigmatiques, par D. Fréd. Thiersch, prof. au Lycée de Munich ; traduit de l'Allemand par F. M. C. Jourda, D. M. P. Paris 1821. fol.

De l'Origine de la Crémation, ou de l'usage de brûler les corps : Dissertation traduite de l'Anglais de Mr. Jamieson par A. M. H. B * * * *. [Boulard.] Paris 1821. 8vo.

Ἀριστοτέλους Πολιτικῶν τὰ σωζόμενα, ἐκδιδόντος καὶ διορθούντος Α. Κ. [the celebrated Adamantius Coray.] φιλοτιμῶ δαπάνῃ τῶν ὁμογενῶν ἐπ' ἀγαθῇ τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Paris 1821. 8vo. (Extensive and very interesting Prolegomena are prefixed.)

Les Oiseaux et les Fleurs, Allégories Morales d'Azz-Eddin Elmocaddessi, publiées en Arabe, avec une traduction et des notes par M. Garcin, Paris. Imprimerie Royale. 1821.

Erklärung einer Ägyptischen Vakunde auf Papyrus in Griechischer Cursivschrift vom Jahre 104. vor der Christlichen Zeitrechnung, in der öffentlichen Sitzung der Königl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften den 24. Jan. Vorgelesen von August Boeckh. &c. Berlin 1821. 4to.

Index Lectionum quæ in Universitate Literaria Berolinensi per semestre æstivum instituentur. Berol. 1821. 4to. (To this VOL. XXIV. Cl. Jl. NO. XLVIII. 2 G

index is annexed, as an introduction, a learned explanation by Prof. Boëckh, of two Greek inscriptions recently found in the neighbourhood of Athens).

Procli Philosophi Platonici Opera e codd. Paris. nunc primum edidit, Lect. Variet. et Comment. illustravit V. Cousin, prof. philos. &c. Tomus iv, continens 11. priores libros commentarii in Parmenidem. Paris 1821. (See p. 336 of this No.)

De Apolline Patricio et Minerva Primigenia Atheniensium, pro facultate docendi in Academia Ruperto-Carolinæ scribebat J. C. F. Bähr. Heidelberg. 1820.

Olympiodori in Platonis Alcibiadem priorem Commentarii. Primum edidit Annotationemque subjecit Frid. Creuzer. Francof. ad M. 1821.

Vossiana mit Anmerkungen, Von Friedrich Creuzer. 1821.

The edition of Aristænetus' Epistles by Prof. Boissonade will immediately appear.

NOTES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The elegant Alcaics of X. Y. Z. from Cambridge, on the Death of the Queen, savor too much of party politics for this Journal. We wish to call the learned writer's attention to a general canon, which we have endeavoured to establish, that in Lyric poetry if a verse ends in a short vowel, the next verse should not begin with a vowel, unless where the sense ends with the end of the line.

We shall have to notice in our next No. several new works, which the press of accidental matter in this obliges us to postpone.

The same cause will, we trust, apologise for the delay of the Dublin Essay, of several articles in Prose and Verse, and of the *Adversaria Litteraria*.

We are afraid that the article of P. R. conveys an indirect attack on the religion of our country.

"On the pronunciation of *Coriolanus*" in our next.

We shall notice the project lately addressed to the Sovereigns of Europe for the foundation of a Latin city.

END OF NO. XLVIII.

